

Interventionist sport as mediatized
utopia: a practice-informed critique of
Football 4 Peace

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Abstract

Football 4 Peace (F4P) is a sports-based coexistence initiative that operates between divided communities in Israel. The project has nurtured a number of high-profile partnerships with various local, national and international agencies and organisations. The F4P programme utilises an innovative methodology that foregrounds a 'values-based' approach to coaching. Like many sports interventions, the project is highly mediatized and has been the subject of a number of documentary film projects.

The originality of the approach to this study is primarily through an appropriation of Ernst Bloch's long neglected 'sociology of hope' into the specific socio-cultural milieu of Sport, Development and Peace interventions. Bloch's work provides an interpretive framework for a critique of Football 4 Peace and its utopian potential. The primary methods of research are a range of visual research methodologies. These practice-informed methodologies are supported by a range of text-based analytical approaches to the critique of the documentary artefacts of F4P. The originality of this approach is extended by the synthesis of Bloch's interpretative framework with visual research practices to provide a practice-informed exploration of the utopian interventionism of Football 4 Peace.

The thesis reviews sports interventions through the lens of the utopian Marxism of Ernst Bloch, focusing on the sports cultures of Israel and Football 4 Peace in particular. It also tracks the reach of mediatization into sports initiatives such F4P and interrogates the codes, conventions and culture of sports documentary interventions. These themes build towards a critical analysis of Football 4 Peace and a research film that provide an interpretation of the utopianism of F4P that draws on Bloch's philosophy. The researcher's field experiences are also assessed in a critical reflection on visual research practice. The thesis concludes with an assessment of the anticipatory elements of the F4P project, discusses how the media representations of the project can be situated as utopian and reflects on the continuing relevance of Bloch's utopianism for visual research.

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Note to readers

Due to the interdisciplinary and practice-informed aspects of the thesis, it is best approached in the following way. The literature review and methodology, Chapters 1 through 7, should be read initially. The analysis contained in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 is then best followed with a viewing of Chapter 11, the practice-informed, *Visions of Hope* (2012). Finally, the conclusions should then be assessed and the remaining appendices and bibliography reviewed.

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Introduction

“Work without Hope draws nectar in a sieve,
And Hope without an object cannot live” (Coleridge, 1978:209)

This thesis examines how sports interventions can be situated as utopias: in the specific context of the complex political dynamics and cultural realities by which these interventions interact with the media. The thesis therefore links three conceptually varied subjects of analysis – Utopianism, Sport and the Media. Throughout the thesis the intersections, trajectories and possibilities of these categories will be reviewed, assessed and analysed. In order to make the connections between these disparate elements, some clear definitions and meanings need to be clarified. This introduction defines the key terms, outlines the concepts and explains how they are drawn upon in the thesis.

The imaginary cartography of utopia sketched out by Sir Thomas More in ‘*Utopia*’ continues to resonate with critical utility. Kumar (1991) outlines the appeal of utopia as being bound up with the linkages between dreams and realities:

Utopia is nowhere (*outopia*) and it is also somewhere good (eutopia). To live in a world that cannot be but where one fervently wishes to be: that is the literal essence of utopia. To this extent utopia does share the quality of a dream. To deny that would be to miss one of the most powerful sources of its appeal. But if that were all that it was, were utopia no more than a waking dream, we would have no more of a passing interest in it (Kumar, 1991:1).

Utopia’s conceptual fluidity allows us to examine its potential in a range of contexts: from science fiction novels (Jameson, 2005), architecture (Redhead, 2004), ecology (Callenbach, 1975) and Nation-States (Baudrillard, 1989). The

combination of the inherent instability of the concept and the potential value of its critical insights also allows utopia to be focused in extreme environments, such as the State of Israel, a site that is often portrayed as problematic (Honderich, 2006). Our digitally networked, hyper-mediated world potentially further extends the usefulness of the concept by allowing us to view utopia through a media lens.

Therefore utopia is an ideal concept with which to frame an analysis of the current trajectories of Sport, the Media and the State of Israel. It provides a potent conceptual tool to show how contradictory processes intersect, feed off one another and converge. Indeed, despite the political, social and cultural issues within Israel and Palestine a number of high-profile projects work with the utopian potential of culture in the region, such as the *West-Eastern Divan Orchestra*. This project brings different communities together within an orchestral setting and was created by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said. Many of these projects are also communicated to the world via the media and have been situated as utopian (Barenboim & Said, 2003), (Beckles-Willson, 2009), (Raymond, 2009).

The concept of utopia therefore provides a framework for a contemporary critique of the sports cultures within Israel that accounts for the currents of both the imaginary and illusory. It provides an analysis that is grounded in the present but one that also accounts for future possibilities. Israel also provides a multicultural, globalized and hyper-mediated research site that remains at the centre of world events.

If we examine the development of the utopian frame of critique, we can see that prior to Sir Thomas More, it was present in the work of a number of the classical philosophers who used it as a mirror by which to view their own imperfect and problematic societies. More used his fictional account of utopia as a code for the critique of an oppressive society. As Turner points out in the introduction to *'Utopia'*:

The form, then, of Utopia was designed not only to entertain, but also to create a context in which More could say what he liked, without laying himself open to too much criticism. It enabled him, in an age when rash expressions of opinion were apt to land one in the Tower, to disclaim responsibility for any view that might be considered subversive (Turner, 1965 in More, 1965:10).

More's invocation of utopia redefined the form and gave birth to a new literary genre (More, 1965). This literary genre peaked during the Victorian age and critiqued the ills of imperialist societies (Wells, 1905). The utopian genre is often associated with activists, artisans and artists such as William Morris, who used the Janus-like qualities of the concept to critique the society of the day but also to anticipate future possibilities that were being constructed in the present. The conceit is often invoked in literary fiction and subsequently spawned the sub-genre of dystopian fiction. The concept of utopia has also been utilised by numerous architects, artisans and artists in order to reflect the humanism that is central to their work and their unfolding visions of the social world.

Utopia has also been an attractive conceptual tool for scholars, with sociologists in particular utilizing the concept as a lens through which to examine the social world, critique it and project future possibilities. It has particularly been associated with Marxist scholarship throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Geoghegan (1987) has commented that:

The classic utopia anticipates and criticizes. Its alternative fundamentally interrogates the present, piercing through the existing societies' defensive mechanism-common sense, realism, positivism and scientism. Its unabashed and flagrant otherness gives it a power lacking in other analytical devices (Geoghegan, 1987:1-2).

These critiques of society have ranged from Fourier, Owen and Saint-Simon's visions of utopian socialism to various dismissals of utopianism as an impediment and threat to a final communist state. The critical theorists of the Frankfurt School such as Benjamin, Lukács, Marcuse and Adorno in particular, have all used the concept to illustrate their theories of culture and societal change (Adorno, 1999), (Ivancheva, 2006).

However a contemporary of the Frankfurt School scholars, the philosopher and social theorist Ernst Bloch, was perhaps the first to dissect the concept and integrate it into a critical utopianism that was at the heart of his Marxist critique of culture and society. Bloch views utopias as being present in the everyday dreams, practices and artefacts of individuals, cultures and societies. The central drive of his critique is the conceptualisation of hope as a basic human drive and motivation. Bloch's critique, although tainted by a veneration of the Soviet system and a subjective critique of the cultural products of its nemesis, the USA, has certainly been influential with traces of

his influence outlined by critiques of culture and society by more recent theorists such as Baudrillard (2006), Bauman (1976), Jameson (1991), (1994), (2005) and Žižek (2009a), (2009b). Indeed, Frederic Jameson (2005) has stated “Bloch’s interpretive principle is most effective when it reveals the operation of the utopian impulse in unsuspected places, where it is concealed or repressed” (Jameson, 2005:3).

However Bloch’s work has been noticeably neglected as a conceptual whole, perhaps due to the sheer breadth and range of his work. Jameson (2005), who has continually invoked Bloch throughout his work, critiques the philosophy: “to see traces of the utopian impulse everywhere, as Bloch did, is to naturalize it and to imply that it is somehow rooted in human nature” (Jameson, 2005:6). More recently, Bloch’s work has been re-evaluated for its relevance for the twenty-first century (Thompson, 2007, 2011). The utopian scholar, Ruth Levitas, has placed Bloch at the juncture of “Marxism and Romanticism” (Levitas, 1990:97). Levitas (1990) describes Bloch’s project as a synthesis of utopia and Marxism and an attempt to “reinstate Marx’s own intentions within Marxism through the fundamental but neglected *Marxist* concept of utopia” (Levitas, 1990:97).

Bloch’s work on hope as a guiding principle of humanity is perhaps the most influential of his ideas. This focus on the concept of hope in the academy suggests a developing body of work that utilises the possibilities of hope for political, social and cultural reform. Indeed, the rhetoric of hope was the central platform of the recent US Presidential electoral campaign of Barack

Obama (Obama, 2006). Raymond Williams was perhaps the first contemporary British cultural theorist to take up the challenge of utilising hope in modern sociology (Williams, 1989). The focus on hope has been re-interpreted and perhaps reinvigorated, as a contemporary 'sociology of hope' by the sociologist Les Back (Back, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c).

The focus on hope as a conceptual tool, a harbinger of change and a guiding path towards the future – 'to get there from here' - has also been taken up in other areas of scholarly activity, such as psychology by Gary Synder in the *'Psychology of Hope'* (Synder, 1994). In this text and subsequent work, Synder appropriates the future orientation of hope in order to change and transform the inner world.

One significant aspect of the academic work on both hope and utopia that is relevant to this thesis, is to view both of these concepts as process, as working towards the future, by being both orientated towards change but also being historically contingent. The developing and unfolding potential of hope and the transformation and sustenance of utopias, as a process, is mirrored by another key aspect of the critique of sports cultures outlined herein.

To view sport as utopian also allows us an interpretive framework to review a strand of the historical processes that influenced the development of sport. It potentially takes us on a journey back through the pre-history of organised play and the development of a leisure-orientated society (Veblen, 1970). This

journey leads us to assess some influences on the development of codified rules, organised sports clubs and bureaucratic governing bodies within modern sport (Holt, 1989), (Elias & Dunning, 1986). We can then pause to gaze at our contemporary sports culture and its increasing appropriation by a range of commercial interests, both public and private, that seek to utilise the myths of sport for social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

However as well being a critical tool that both allows us to re-imagine the past and critique the present, utopia's great gift is to also allow us the critical toolkit to imagine how the future might evolve. Sport as utopia also provides us with an opportunity to continue the journey, to glimpse into the future. It gives us a critical framework to assess the development and metamorphosis of sports institutions, organisations and cultures. Thus, sport as utopia provides a lens that reflects the historical processes that forged contemporary sport cultures in the Western democracies; it also refracts the future possibilities being created in the present by interventions into sports cultures.

Sports interventions, in all their guises, also tap into one definition of utopia, as eutopia or a 'good place'. This definition inevitably draws attention to the organisations and agencies that use sport to intervene into societies and cultures. It focuses our gaze towards examining how the discourses of sport are utilised to present sporting disciplines and practices to the social world and towards claims that these disciplines and practices can be understood "as a good thing" (Coalter, 2007a). Sports organisations and institutions thereby promote the discourses, practices and disciplines of sport to provide

examples of utopian potential to cultures and societies that desire to evolve internally or are impelled towards change due to external pressures. Sport interventions are therefore invoked as utopias.

These sports interventions have burgeoned in the hyper-mediated and commercialised sports world that has emerged over the last few decades. Sport was famously pressed into the service of the grand political experiments and social movements of the past, in places as politically and socially diverse as the Soviet Union and the USA. However sport has now moved well beyond serving national interests and political projects.

Sports interventions also serve the public sector, in areas such as the promotion of citizenship, and the private sector to underpin various manifestations of corporate social responsibility. Therefore the conceptual range of utopia can also be applied to these diverse categories of interventionist sport. It can also be equally applied to the commercialised media that promote these sporting discourses for the elites that control, commodify and disperse sport in a globalised society. Sport is now supranational and its mythologies and meanings float above industries and borders (Eco, 1987).

Therefore, sport as utopia can exist in the past, the present and the future, often at the same time. This is why the lens is such a powerful metaphor for observing the complexity of contemporary sport. The lens is how sport is often communicated to the world. Sport, in late capitalism, has developed through a

process, to be assimilated into the media ecosystem. In the view of many theorists, sport and media are barely distinguishable and perhaps indivisible (Whannel, 1992). Rowe (1999) has stated that this process means that sports cultures are increasingly defined by their close links to the media, so much so that the industry can be referred to as the “sports media cultural complex” (Rowe, 1999). This relationship mirrors the concurrent processes by which all political, economic and cultural institutions and the structures that govern them, submit to ‘media logic’ or become ‘mediatized’ (Hjarvard, 2008).

The utopian ideologies of those who seek to extract utility from sport and who maintain the institutional structures that govern and promote sport can be pinpointed by viewing sport via its relationship with the media. We can now begin to speculate whether this process has led to the mediatization of sport, in one form, as utopia.

From this vantage point we can continue to tap the central themes in the psychological birthplace of utopia. Within Sir Thomas More’s imaginary world, utopia is also alternatively defined as being outopia or ‘no-place’. This literary conceit describes the representational strategies of the media and in particular highlights how the imaginary can be created and sustained within the “sports media cultural complex”. The linkage between the imaginary and the media is outlined in an overview of cinematic utopias by Chris Darke, in which he discusses the potential of film to represent the future-orientated capacity of utopia (Darke, 2010). Drawing on the work of Bloch and the French film theorist Serge Daney, Darke argues that:

film conjugates events in tenses of possibility and provisionality, bringing the time of the 'Not Yet' to bear onscreen, and it does so through specific spatial operations. In extracting its images from the actual spaces and places of the world, and by reconfiguring them as possibilities and propositions, it enables the time of 'Not-Yet' to take place (Darke, 2010:11).

Therefore film representations are a useful tool to be utilised in extracting the future-orientated utopianism of the everyday objects, spaces and practices of our social world. The future-orientated representational potential of film that is invoked by Darke is also evident in other representational media forms.

Sport's symbiotic relationship with the media is the vantage point where these two worlds collide.

The ubiquity of sport, its endless promotion and circulation in the media sphere is never saturated. This is increasingly evident in the vocal claims made for sport and its potential for promoting social change either through its inherent ability to promote positive virtues or via interventions into a range of social, political and cultural arenas and contexts (Coalter, 2007a). These interventions can take many forms and lead to a range of outcomes, both in the present and in terms of the future possibilities being created. However, within the "sports media cultural complex", they require some relationship with the media in order to fully function in contemporary society, whether it is the oxygen of publicity, to attract funders, to sustain the interest of recruits or to celebrate their 'success'. These interventions therefore submit to 'media logic' as a pay-off for publicity and promotion in the highly contested and competitive sports media.

Mediatization as a concept is based on an understanding of the influence of the media on society and culture and how this can also be understood as a process. Mediatization as a concept has a number of diverse meanings and contexts and is used in different ways by a number of theorists (Auslander, 2008), (Cottle, 2006a, 2006b, 2008), (Couldry, 2008), (Knut, 2009). However there appears to be a more concrete definition developing that situates the term as describing how societies and institutions submit to 'media logic' over time. As Hjarvard, (2008) points out:

By the mediatization of society, we understand the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic. This process is characterized by a duality in that the media have become integrated into the operations of other social institutions, while they also have acquired the status of social institutions in their own right. As a consequence, social interaction – within the respective institutions, between institutions, and in society at large – take place via the media. (Hjarvard, 2008:413)

Therefore the mediatization of aspects of society influences the representation of cultural products, practices and artefacts. The process of mediatization also allows a critique of the organisations and institutions that use the media, submit to their 'logic' and ultimately, in the context of this thesis, provides an exploration how the utopianism of the sports interventions intersect with the media products that emerge from them.

In fact a key distinction on how we can understand the impact of the media on society emerges out of Hjarvard's definition and theorisation of mediatization.

He argues that it differs from mediation in a number of important respects and delineates these terms thus:

Mediation describes the concrete act of communication by means of a medium in a specific social context. By contrast, mediatization refers to a more long-lasting process, whereby social and cultural institutions and modes of interaction are changed as a consequence of the growth of the media's influence (Hjarvard, 2008:414).

The thesis will review how this process is evident in relation to utopian sports interventions and how the process impacts on the development, sustenance and evolution of interventionist initiatives within sport.

Another key aspect of the thesis is to approach the mediatization of utopias by exploring how research film can be constituted as being able to represent the utopian. In short, rather than by critically engaging with this concept exclusively through written research, the critique and research results are also presented in the textual form under interrogation, using the language of film as a tool to critique the utopianism of sports interventions and the film products that emerge from them. The thesis therefore provides a practice-informed critique that draws on the practices of visual research, an understanding of the construction of film products and in particular, the codes and conventions of media production. The thesis also potentially opens possibilities for the mediatization of research via an exploration of the possibilities of producing a visual sociology that focuses on the utopian. It therefore offers the potential to produce a 'visual sociology of hope' (Back, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d, 2010), (Bloch, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c). As Back (2010) has stated the 21st century provides us with new opportunities:

The challenge is not only to find new methodological techniques for attending to life, it also raises the question of how to enliven and transform sociology itself and better communicate the results of our craft (Back, 2010:25).

The particular focus of study in the thesis is an interventionist sports initiative in the Northern Galilee region of Israel. This intervention uses football to promote coexistence amongst the many communities that inhabit the area. In particular, the thesis focuses on the project Football 4 Peace (F4P), its 'values-based' approach to coaching and its interaction with various media.

The development of the methodological approach to the study began in April 2005 as the researcher documented the development of the Football 4 Peace project, collected film data for use for future research purposes and for the film data to act as 'aide memoire' for researchers working on the project. Therefore the initial research brief was fluid and the data collection was built up as the project was filmed. This field research experience was initiated at this point because it coincided with a UK-based training week attended by all the key constituents of the Football 4 Peace team.

After several chastening experiences with technology and data collection that are outlined in more detail in Chapter 7, a detailed review of forms of cultural research and analysis utilising film as a method and a practice was undertaken throughout 2006 and 2007. This methodological review included the researcher's attendance at a year-long ESRC funded studentship; 'Live Sociology', co-ordinated by various staff employed at Goldsmiths University. This review then led towards an understanding of the role that visual

ethnography could play in examining an increasingly mediatized interventionist project such as F4P. The visual ethnography was built from data filmed both in the UK and in Israel while the researcher was working day-to-day with many of the project team over three years.

In addition the long period of research also had an impact on the supervisory process and the relationship between supervisors, the researcher and ultimately, the direction of the thesis. The relationship between the researcher and the supervisors fluctuated and changed throughout the process of the research.

This is an inevitable consequence of having three supervisors on an interdisciplinary research project. It also reflects the theoretical and methodological approaches and how these shifted, in relation to the expertise of the supervisors, as the thesis developed. These shifts also had to account for the events in the field, such as the Lebanon War, that also had an impact on the research.

While these shifts in emphasis were due to the research expertise and interests of the three supervisors, they were also, in one case, due to the supervisor's role as the Director of the Football 4 Peace project. The subsequent impact of this relationship on the research and the overall direction of the thesis are more fully explored in Chapter 7. This reflection provides a commentary on the researcher's relationship with the project, the insider/outsider relationship, the impact of the camera on respondents'

discourse, and on how the research process can have some subtle influences on social interventions.

Some reflections on how the relationship between the researcher, the supervisor and research subject can be understood are also included in the concluding chapter. The conclusions also provide some recommendations for future researchers who undertake this type of research.

The long period of data collection also allowed the research to be approached reflexively and made possible a constant reassessment of the role of a visual researcher and image producer (Ruby, 2005). This constant renegotiation allowed an incorporation of a range of viewpoints, perspectives and therefore allowed the project to be viewed from a range of vantage points. This reflexivity also allowed the development of the practical skills of the researcher to be reassessed. The development of research, filming and editing skills enabled the project to be relocated as a practice-informed project. During the research period around 200 hours of video footage were recorded, which were archived, catalogued and then analysed. This footage provided the raw material for the development of the visual ethnographic film *Visions of Hope*, (2012) presented in Chapter 11.

The development of the theoretical core of this thesis also emerged directly from the experiences and data collection during the research process. As the project was filmed, the participants interviewed and problematic events chronicled, the awareness that hope was the dominant discourse of the

intervention became evident to the researcher. It was this discourse that was consistently articulated by those of the project, rather than the discourse of 'peace', or the politically naïve (at least in the contemporary context of Israel) 'justice'.

Indeed, hope provided the ideological core of the project and accounted for a developing process of change and shifting phases of the project's utopian character. This was much more evident than any of the 'values' that appear to be artificially grafted onto the project for promotional or ideological purposes and that are often critiqued as being problematic. This thesis therefore provides an opportunity to reflect on how a visual ethnography can produce a sociology that works within the theoretical framework of Bloch and works towards the production of a 'visual sociology of hope'.

The development of the theoretical aspects of the thesis therefore grew out of the research experiences and the external factors that had an impact on both the sports intervention and on the wider socio-cultural milieu. During the initial stages of research the links between the reality of project and the media products of its representation were explored through the process of mediatization. Therefore the potential of Baudrillard's ideas of hyper-reality, simulation, simulacra and mediatization were explored as the theoretical core of the thesis (Baudrillard, 1993, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2006).

These theoretical ideas were explored during 2005 through to 2007. However events in Israel and in the field caused a re-evaluation of the theoretical

direction of the study as it became apparent that the value of Baudrillard's theoretical position and how this theoretical position related to the researcher's experience of sports interventions were increasingly at odds. Three issues forced this change of theoretical direction. Firstly, the data from the field research suggested that the project's endurance, in spite of many challenges, was compelling. In addition, the discourse of hope articulated by its participants, sponsors and supporters – the expressed belief that all were working towards new possibilities - formed a central pillar of the F4P project and was at odds with Baudrillard's critique of society.

Secondly, the discourse of hope was in direct opposition to the nihilism that is central to Baudrillard's critique of utopia. In fact, Baudrillard's critique postulates that we currently exist in utopia in the present, the culmination of his critique of simulation, simulacra - the ultimate mediatized utopia. The future-orientation of utopia, for Baudrillard, is now an illusion (Baudrillard, 1994). Finally, despite Baudrillard's exploration of photography as a practice, his fascination with the object and experimentation with the photographic form to visualise aspects of his research, his theorisation of mediatization and utopia is problematic. It is also a difficult theoretical position to adopt when working within the parameters of visual research, as it is not grounded within field research methodologies, is difficult to integrate into visual research products, and fails to add any value to the theorisation of visual ethnography.

In addition, experiences in the field suggested that Baudrillard's critique of contemporary society had less value and while his ideas are seductive, field

research and the associated reflexivity during the research process forced a re-examination of his positions against the reality of the sustenance of hope in the sports intervention and its media representations. Therefore the thesis supports Hjarvard's critique of Baudrillard's mediatization model: that it is both overly simplistic, in that it suggests a single transformation from experiential to mediated reality, and an all-encompassing nihilistic, deterministic and unrealistic critique (Hjarvard, 2008). Indeed, Hjarvard's critique calls into question the value of a number of post-modern concepts:

In science, in the media, in everyday life people still distinguish between fact and fiction, and vital institutions like the family, politics and the nation continue to be focal points in social life, for individuals and for society at large. Furthermore, Baudrillard's reference to an overall and dominant 'code' that 'administers' the circulation of symbols and signs in society, remains unclear. On the whole, his claims regarding media simulacra, hyper reality and the disappearance of reality seem exaggerated; at the least, they lack empirical confirmation (Hjarvard, 2008:411).

The critique offered herein provides the engagement with the social reality that is so lacking in Baudrillard's critique of the mediatization of society. It is an analysis grounded in the field. It is therefore an experience of the 'reality' of a sports intervention and also an investigation into the production and circulation of mediatized visions of the intervention. In addition, the observations and data collection led the researcher towards an alternative theoretical framework based on the philosophy of Ernst Bloch.

Therefore the critical development of the researcher throughout the thesis also allowed an assessment of the extent to which the utopia was mediatized. This analysis takes two forms in the thesis. Firstly, it is presented via a critical

analysis of the media products of the sport intervention, the *F4P trilogy*, which contains a critique of the circumstances of production and an interrogation of documentary codes and conventions. This analysis subsequently outlined to the researcher the need to be familiar with a critical film practice. As has already been outlined, Bloch's idea of the utopianism contained within cultural products provides a conceptual tool to redefine film as practice. Therefore, Blochian ideas can reshape film, theoretically and in practice, and suggests a pathway for film as research that is utilized in the second form of analysis and displayed in the practice-informed results presented as *Visions of Hope*, (2012) in Chapter 11.

Thirdly, the F4P project remains in development. It has recently celebrated its tenth year working within the State of Israel and still faces many of the challenges outlined in the thesis. It also may be passing into a more radical utopian phase, with sustained work in Jerusalem and the West Bank still the ultimate goal for its leaders and ideological architects. The project remains under sustained research scrutiny. It is also still highly mediatized as it sustains its utopian dimensions and indeed is still subject to media scrutiny and a process of mediatization, as suggested by more recent film productions such as, *Football for Peace* (2010) and *F4P Ireland* (2011). Indeed, *Football for Peace* (2010) continues to represent the discourse of hope as the project continues to evolve and extends its work into the West Bank.

This thesis explores three potential contributions to knowledge. Firstly, it assesses the utopianism of sports interventions via the utopian lens of Ernst

Bloch. Secondly, it explores the reach of mediatization, as a process, into the sphere of interventionist sport and how mediatization is implicated in the representation of utopianism. Finally, the thesis engages with the practices of visual research and synthesises the Blochian utopianism of the sports intervention and the mediatization of the F4P project in order to communicate the mediatized utopianism of the sports intervention.

The thesis is divided into twelve chapters. Chapter 1 reviews the literature on international organisations and approaches to Sport, Development and Peace. Chapter 2 reviews how sports interventions can be situated as utopian. Chapter 3 focuses on the sports cultures of Israel, through the lens of the utopian Marxism of Ernst Bloch. Chapter 4 builds on this section to assess the utopian phases of Football 4 Peace. Chapter 5 situates the mediatization of sports initiatives. Chapter 6 explores the codes, conventions and culture of sports documentary. Chapter 7 reviews the methodological approach and in particular focuses on visual ethnography and documentary practice. Chapters 8 and 9 provide an analysis of the documentary artefacts of Football 4 Peace, the *F4P trilogy*.

Chapter 10 is a practice-informed critical reflection on visual research practice and also provides a written commentary for Chapter 11, which consists of the results of the visual research in digital video form. Finally, Chapter 12 provides some conclusions and highlights the anticipatory elements of the F4P project, discusses how the media representations of the project can be

situated as utopian and reflects on the continuing relevance of Bloch's utopianism for our understanding of sports interventions and visual research. There is no conventional literature review foregrounding the thesis, as sources are introduced, reviewed and evaluated at appropriate points in the analysis and argument.

Chapter 1 Theorising Sport, Development and Peace

“A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing” (Wilde, 1969:299).

The enduring and ‘wishful’ desire to use sport, arguably the primary cultural force in the early twenty-first century, to pursue development goals and peace can be viewed via any brief search of the Internet. The associated visual material that accompanies the web content on these pages offers convincing evidence of a mediatized sports culture. In this culture, images, videos and graphics converge to demonstrate Rowe’s (1999) theorisation of the “sports media cultural complex” and the contemporary applications of sport. A glance through the first page of the most popular hits for these search terms tells us even more about the power of the global organisations that thrive in the increasingly corporate-focused search engine logarithms in our mediatized age.

The most popular websites that promote Sport, Development and Peace are those that are operated, promoted and organized by the United Nations (UN), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Fédération Internationale de Football Associations (FIFA). The primacy of these organisations in the mediated fusion of Sport, Development and Peace pinpoints how these organisations are seduced by the idealist potential of promoting societal change, while maintaining their hegemonic power. The goal of driving change, therefore, suggests a utopian potential within the structures of sport in

international organisations but also displays how these structures have been traditionally orientated towards the status quo. A review of the historical links between Sport, Development and Peace, in global terms, teases out some of the utopian elements embedded within world sport cultures and can begin to show how they are philosophically embedded into institutional ideologies.

The juxtaposition of Sport, Development and Peace therefore carries a cultural power and resonates with latent emancipatory possibilities. These possibilities shadow the utopian impulses that initiated the creation of these 'progressive', global organisations that now work to manifest a utopian fusion of physical culture and philosophy. This utopian potential has been utilized by social and cultural elites for generations. As Kissoudi (2008) states, there have always been politicians who have "asserted faith in the capability of sport of 'bringing people together' and of 'creating unity' which transcends differences in religion, class race and nationality" (Kissoudi, 2008b:1693).

As well as being a favoured tactic of politicians, this faith in the possibilities of sport has also been extended to the civil servants employed by global organisations. However this faith in the power of sport and its 'innate' ability to provide a positive contribution to societies and cultures is increasingly being replaced by dogma, as international organisations increasingly utilise sport as a tool to promote and disperse their ideologies, messages and power. This is increasingly evident in tournament bidding processes and the associated media presentations from bidding nations and cities (The FA, 2010).

Therefore a review of the historical development of international organisations

and the events from which they emerged can begin to unpack some of the reasons behind this utopianism and contribute to an understanding of how sport is articulated as utopian in these contexts.

If we track the development of global organisations it becomes evident that these organisations are filled with the hope generated by the disparate utopian ideologies generated by the major historical movements of the last century. These include the global organisations that emerged from the embers of the century's greatest social and political disasters and were built to bolster and serve the power of the twentieth century's imperial powers (Hardt & Negri, 2000), (Morison et al, 1983), (Zinn, 2005).

The organisations work towards promoting global citizenship, international peace, cultural understanding and increasingly, sporting fraternity. The goal of uniting peoples, nations and religions is the great project of these global institutions. Sport, Development and Peace is a natural fit with these organisations; it is a culmination of the political, social and cultural logic that created them.

1.i Global Organisations and Utopianism

The United Nations, for example, was created out of the ashes of its precursor, the League of Nations (LON), an international body that was supported and promoted as a forum to arbitrate international disputes, to

promote peace and to aid the self-determination of nations emerging from imperial aggression (Hardt & Negri, 2000), (Morison et al, 1983).

The League of Nations was championed by the US President Woodrow Wilson during the second wave of American imperialism between the World Wars (Morison et al, 1983). Despite being hamstrung by intra-national disputes, global uncertainty and social tensions created by the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson's continued promotion of the League of Nations worked to fix the idea of US political hegemony and is an example of what the American social historian Jay Winter (2006) calls a 'minor utopia'. These 'minor utopias' are distinct from the 'major utopias', which, in his view, are ideologically driven and work towards a final goal, such as Capitalism, Communism and Fascism. 'Major utopias' are therefore characterized by "their commitment to the ruthless removal from the world of those malevolent elements blocking the path to a beneficial future" (Winter, 2006:4).

In Winter's typology of utopia, 'minor utopias' are imagined on a smaller scale, "without the pretensions, hubris and cruelties of the 'major' utopian projects" (Winter, 2006:5). For Winter, 'Minor utopias' are therefore created by 'visionaries' who promote "a blueprint of a future society where social conflict no longer existed" (Winter, 2006:5).

However we can question the veracity of Winter's typology of utopia when we consider the League of Nations' promotion of national self-determination for states emerging from the decline of the Great Empires, the backdrop of

imperial aggression and expansion by its main sponsor and the ruthless promotion of liberalism and the unrestrained capitalism that led to the crash of 1929. It is arguable that the League was inspired by the same utopian aspirations and impulses to change the world or ideologically mould it as those that inspired the ideologies of Fascism and Communism.

The social theorist, Ernst Bloch, also provides an overview of the utility of utopia although his analysis offers much more than a typology and is an account of how utopias emerge, how they are sustained, then transformed and how they then re-appear in different contexts. Bloch's research outlines how utopia is inextricably linked to all progressive societies. As his translators point out:

Bloch understands utopia not as an impossible ideal, but as a real and concrete final state, which can be achieved politically. He sees the development of socialism as the modern expression of the utopian function, which effects this change, the goal to which the process of history is impelled by utopian thinking (Plaice et alia, 1986:xxviii).

Plaice et alia (1986) situate Bloch as a philosopher who thinks against the currents of his time and his Marxist contemporaries. Bloch's utopian vision is an achievable final state that is built out of hope. This is very much against the discourses of utopia that situate it, in Marxist terms, as being the product of 'false consciousness' or in the literary sense of the unobtainable fantasy. Bloch's Marxism therefore synthesises what his translators characterise as the "cold and warm streams" of Marxism and fuses the critical rigour of Marxism with the "idealistic and imaginative receptivity" of utopian socialism (Plaice et alia, 1986:xxvi).

Bloch's categories of utopia are both impressive and wide-ranging. They range from biblical and historical examples of utopian communities, to literary examples, medical, architectural, group and social utopias. Bloch also discussed the utopian potential of these global organisations in his major work, 'The Principle of Hope' (1986). He viewed these institutions as an integral part of a potential "bourgeois-democratic future". However Bloch identified these global organisations as a bulwark to power and focused the lens of his Marxism on their association with the maintenance of the status quo and imperialism. Writing about what he terms as 'group utopias', such as Zionism and the Feminist movement, Bloch identifies how despite their utopian potential, group utopias' always work in the service of capitalism. He views the League of Nations within this context and writes about the inherent hypocrisy of the vision of the "bourgeois-democratic future" at the centre of Woodrow Wilson's promotion of the League of Nations; "freedom from fear cannot be brought by those who represent and produce the cause for fear; freedom as the utopia of western capitalism is chloroform" (Bloch, 1986b:584).

The successor to the League of Nations, the United Nations (UN), built its political and cultural power from dystopian remnants of World War Two and the Holocaust. This global institution was supported by the economic, social and cultural hegemony of that most utopian of nations, as Baudrillard called it, the United States (Baudrillard, 1989). The organisation's cultural wing, UNESCO, carries this utopian drive into the cultural sphere. Culture therefore becomes a vessel to carry the utopian ideology of global institutions. The

communication of this utopianism is a primary concern of international bureaucrats. Therefore the international media is a natural bedfellow to these various international organisations and a useful and powerful tool to promote their utopian ideologies.

1.ii Global Organisations and the Media

One of the most prominent media theorists of the late twentieth century, Jean Baudrillard (1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006), used the frame of mediatization as the backdrop to many of his speculations on culture, society and politics. In particular, the term 'mediatization' formed the backdrop to his most famous contributions to scholarship and his theories of 'Simulation' and 'Simulacra' and the impact of the media on the social world. Baudrillard's critique postulates that the ubiquity of the media in late capitalism means that truths become unstable, the hyper-circulation of signs and symbols break down reality and this leads to the disappearance of reality, or at the very least, the blurring of distinctions between reality and its representations. This critique leads towards an analysis of global institutions and the maintenance of power, often through interactions with the media. Baudrillard contends that resistance to these new forms of power becomes futile. Moreover, Baudrillard's critique of society suggests a code administers this media eco-system and the world now exists as a fractal, mediatized utopia.

While Baudrillard's complex theory about the primacy of the object and the disappearance of the subject has been hugely influential, it has also attracted

many critics (Norris, 1992). For some, Baudrillard's ideas are dangerous, reactionary fantasies that fail to interrogate powerful institutions and ideologies and thus the status quo, thereby limiting progressive politics. For other critics, Baudrillard has been falsely labeled a postmodernist, and is the theorist of a hyper-real, mediatized culture that reflects the crisis in Western societies (Redhead, 2011).

One area where Baudrillard's critique appears to have some relevance for contemporary culture is the prevalence of the media and the impact of the media industry on institutions, governments and societies in late capitalism (Jameson, 1991). For any scholar studying the prevalence and ubiquity of the media, that these relationships have shifted and heralded long-lasting and institutional changes in many sectors of society is self-evident. The media is an undoubtedly powerful influence in the contemporary world. Some critics would even argue that this means the industry is a powerful institution in its own right.

It is also clear from Baudrillard's critique that the media influences how reality is both communicated and experienced. Therefore despite Baudrillard's often playful and controversial positions, it is evident that a key question in highly mediated societies addresses the potential impact of this heightened media power and influence on global institutions and organisations. The question then ultimately leads us towards the interplay of institutional ideologies and practices - in other words, the process by which these global institutions and organisations become mediatized.

This is the key aspect of the position set out by Hjarvard (2008), who in his critique dismisses Baudrillard's wilder positions and speculations, but focuses on some of the core theoretical ideas. Hjarvard's critique of Baudrillard's theoretical position focuses on mediatization as being a process of media integration into social institutions. These institutions and the social interaction both engendered and prompted by them increasingly takes place via the media. Indeed, institutions become organized by their responses to the demands of the media. Therefore the institutions of power and their communicative acts become subject to what he calls, 'media logic' (Althedie and Snow 1979), (Hjarvard, 2008). Hjarvard therefore offers the potential to use mediatization as a mirror to view the interplay of media and global institutions and how their discourses are communicated. This critique therefore provides an opportunity to assess the codes, conventions, practices and rituals of the media and how these relate to powerful institutions (Couldry, 2008), (Hepp, 2011), (Knut, 2009). Strömbäck (2011) builds on Hjarvard's understanding of mediatization to assess the symbiotic relationship between journalists and politicians in Sweden and to assess the perceptions of the media's influence within the political class and media workers.

Another key theorist has isolated how some aspects of media phenomena become 'mediatized rituals'. Cottle (2006b, 2008) outlines mediatized rituals as "an identifiable and variegated class of performative media enactments in which solidarities are summoned and moral ideas of the 'social good' are unleashed and exert agency in the social life of societies" (Cottle, 2006:411). Cottle views his conception of rituals as a challenge to Carey's (1989:43) notions of media rituals being "sacred ceremonies drawing people together in

fellowship and commonality by the creation, representation, and celebration of shared even if illusory beliefs” (Cottle, 2006:412). Cottle therefore challenges some of the more orthodox views of media ritual and also supplements Hjarvard’s (2008) work on mediatization by explaining that:

to count as a ‘mediatized ritual’ the media must be doing something more than simply reporting or ‘mediating’ them; they will be performatively enacting them, that is, ‘doing something’ over and above reporting or representing them (Austin 1975) and ‘mediatizing’ them in a subjunctive mode-invoking and sustaining public solidarities based on ideas and feelings (collective sentiments) about how society ought to be (Cottle, 2006:415-416).

Cottle’s typology of mediatized rituals takes a number of forms, such as ‘media panics’, ‘celebratory media events’, ‘conflicted media events’, ‘media disasters’, ‘media scandals’ and ‘mediatized public crises’, and also draws together some insights on how performance works in mediatization: “ideas of performance and performativity invite analysis of the ways in which media purposefully deploy symbolization and sentiments, views and voices, and rhetorically embody solidaristic appeals” (Cottle, 2006:428). Cottle’s work on mediatized rituals initiated a dialogue in the pages of *Media, Culture and Society* with other scholars. This debate was primarily around the use of ritual in the media. Couldry and Rothenbuhler’s (2007) stated that Cottle, “makes no mention of recent debates about mediatization as a social process (Hjarvard 2005), which draws in turn on earlier work on ‘media logics’ as socially transformative (Althedie and Snow 1979)” (Couldry & Rothenbuhler, 2007:693). Cottle’s response is revealing in a number of ways, with relevance for this thesis beyond academic debate. This is because Cottle begins to

articulate something hitherto lost in the mediatization debate since Baudrillard.

This is how mediatization can be connected to utopianism:

It is for this reason that my encompassing definition also made reference to the subjunctive orientation to how society should or could be, which is premised on the collective identities and imagined and contending moral conceptions and projects orientated to 'the good life' (Cottle, 2008:139).

This statement therefore takes us full circle, back to Baudrillard and his conception of the ubiquity of the media and its connections to utopia. The ubiquity of utopia is therefore defined as being bound up with the process of the creation and sustenance of 'media logic'. Cottle's emphasis on 'media doing' and 'performance', Hjarvard's understanding of 'process' and Baudrillard's questioning of reality all become evident when we see how interventions into society become mediatized. The interplay of all these factors becomes important when understanding how global organisations communicate their work in the cultural sphere. Therefore sport, also manifestly a cultural activity, is also subject to many of these influences when it placed in the service of global organisations and communicated to the world

1.iii Global Organisations and Sport

Beutler (2008) tracks the development of the utility of sport in the international community and organisations and tracks how the United Nations and UNESCO began to take sport seriously as cultural form that had potential within its various spheres of influence. This research tracks how sport was recognized in the *Declaration on the Rights of the Child*, the *International*

Charter of Physical Education and Sport and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* as a fundamental right. (Beutler, 2008:360).

The recognition of the place of sport in the UN has been developed since the turn of the millennium into more concrete policy goals. The UN report, *Sport for Development and Peace; Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals* was published in 2003. Beutler explains how the report found that sport was a “powerful vehicle” for its internal agencies and that Sport for Development and Peace, should be used in the mainstream work of the UN, could be coordinated and strategized using a partnership approach and focused on “sport for communication and social mobilization” (Beutler, 2008: 361).

This report signaled a shift in the UN’s attitude to sport in terms of communication and policy and led to a more structured approach to Sport, Development and Peace. This shift ultimately resulted in the UN to declaring 2005, *The United Nations International Year of Sport and Physical Education* out of which a report, *Sport for a Better World; Report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005* was drafted, cementing sports place in UNESCO’s cultural toolkit (Beutler, 2008:363).

This focus on sport has subsequently led to other international institutions mirroring the UN’s lead; the World Economic Forum 2006 had an event dedicated to sport for development and peace (Beutler, 2008). Sport is therefore a driver of institutional goals, at the forefront of international

organisations policy direction and the subject of increasingly complex communication strategies.

The practice of sport and the communication of these practices within global organisations are therefore an important diffuser of institutional ideology. If we examine the relationship between sport and international organisations, we can see that Marxist theorists of sport have long provided a critique of these relationships. Jean Marie Brohm (1989) explains from a neo-Marxist perspective the ideological function of sport in relation to these institutions:

Sport is the practical application of the ideology of 'peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems'. This status quo is strengthened by the integration of the sports organisations into the institutions of imperialism – the World Health Bureau, the International Trade Union Bureau, UN, and UNESCO (Brohm, 1989:179).

From this perspective, these global organisations have extended sport's utility, to generate development goals, to nurture peace settlements, to work towards the resolution of conflicts and therefore maintain the status quo. These new activities also incorporate international sports non-governmental organisations (NGO's) into the status quo. These international organisations and their relationships therefore have to be situated in terms of the global institutions that govern global finance, international development and also the power relationships that govern the wider socio-economic and political milieu (Hardt & Negri, 2000).

1.iv Global Sporting Non-Governmental Organisations

It is also the case that within International Sport NGO's the utopian impulses within the discourses of sport have also been strongly evident. The use of sport as a tool for promoting peaceful coexistence has therefore a long but oblique history within International Sports NGO's, going back to the roots of the creation of modern, global sporting institutions. In some organisations it is built into their very fabric. Sport and peace inspired de Coubertin's Olympian ideals and the subsequent focus on development has sustained many of the activities of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) into the twenty-first century. The Olympic ideal encapsulates the ideas of international understanding, fraternity and equality. McDonald (2011) discusses the Olympic movement and its relationship to the tropes of utopianism in his recent essay on Olympic film.

As the official ideology of the Olympic Movement, Olympism is an oft-debated term. Olympism reflects a synthesis of de Coubertin's interpretation of classical Greek and English public school conceptions of sport: its basis is a belief in the progressive educational value of sport, generalized from the individual to the sphere of international politics. Thus, Olympism places sport at the centre of a universal campaign for peace and international understanding, drawing on the mythology of the truce and the symbol of peace associated with the Games in Antiquity (McDonald, 2011:111).

The combination of an idealized sports culture fused with critical potential is exactly where Bloch places himself theoretically. For Bloch, sport is part of "the real struggle for improvement" (Bloch, 1986b: 452), and is an aspect of very fabric of utopian potential that is dissected in his research. However, for Bloch, bourgeois sport is "promoted from above", by "ideological institutions"

and he shares with Brohm (1989) the view that sport “stultifies the mind” (Bloch, 1986b: 452). Bloch views sport as being emancipatory when based on socialist principles but, importantly, also filled with hope for the future in all its guises. As he states; “there is no un-political sport; if it is free then it is on the left, if it is blinded, then it hires itself out to the right” (Bloch, 1986b:452).

For Bloch, the global institutions of sport would be firmly wedded to the right. The liberalism inherent within the practices and culture of de Coubertin’s Olympic movement, the subsequent IOC presidencies of Brundage and Samarach and the relentless commercialism of the IOC, suggests that this has been the case in the Olympic movement (Tomlinson & Whannel, 1984), (Jennings & Simson, 1992), (Jennings, 1996), (Jennings & Sambrook, 2000). Yet it remains the case that despite the political and commercial shifts of the Olympic movement, it is clear that the utopian power of the juxtaposition of Sport, Development and Peace have been built into the ideology of the organization (Reid, 2006).

Despite this juxtaposition and rhetoric the Olympic movement itself has historically refused to engage in international politics. Seppanen (1984) points to the lack of real engagement with the reality of war, conflict or peace by the Olympic movement, questions its power and suggests that its legacy is one of impotence in the face of political reality. He also highlights the relationship to utopian narratives and the dream-like elements of Olympic sport.

The independent contribution of the Olympics in affairs of peace and war has been rather negligible. The dream of the Olympic movement,

of a more peaceful world has remained a Utopia. Actually the Olympic movement has been quite powerless in putting its dreams of mutual understanding into practice (Seppanen, 1984:115).

Critics such as Jennings (1996) would suggest the IOC has been much more successful in promoting both its cultural power and financial resources.

However despite the murky ideals and tainted relationships it is clear that the utopian rhetoric of the Olympic movement does at least have an historical and ideological connection to the goal of international harmony and of Peace and Development through Sport. This is evidenced in the power of de Coubertin's initial utopian vision (McDonald, 2011). It is also expressed and problematised by what Carrington (2004) has expressed as being a cosmopolitan Olympism. (Carrington, 2004). Tomlinson (2005) has isolated the "universalist spiritual idealism" of the Olympic movement and stated that:

the global religiosity at the core of the de Coubertin vision is consistently re-peddled, institutionally and individually. We see this in early messianic tributes to Olympism, in individual lives forged by a commitment to its ideals, and in the worldwide thinking of contemporary figures (Tomlinson, 2005:61).

Other international sporting organisations have a more chequered history with the fusion of sport, international harmony and peace. The same conflict that created the conditions for the creation of the League of Nations and arguably sustained the rhetoric of the early Olympic movement also threatened the early existence of FIFA. This was due to the withdrawal of the Home-Nations, who refused to play former enemies following the carnage of the First World War.

The presidency of the first incumbent, Guérin, was also unlikely to have been sparked by a desire to promote Sport, Development and Peace. The development of FIFA was primarily driven by economic factors connected to promoting association football around the world. As Sugden and Tomlinson (1994, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2007) and Jennings (2006) describe, the economics of football, the commercialization of the game and its dispersal around the globe are the primary considerations of the football's governing body.

Sport, Development and Peace can therefore be utilised for the pursuit of economic, political, as well as cultural power. The discourses and practices of Sport, Development and Peace can help to obscure the corruption that stains football at the elite level and it can provide opportunities for self-aggrandisement for those that control the game and its ethos at this level. This is evident in the recent promotion of Sport, Development and Peace by FIFA in the World Cup 2010 in South Africa and the subsequent utopian narratives employed by FIFA (FIFA, 2010a, 2010b), (Press Association, 2010b).

Indeed, football's utility for being used as a tool for to demonstrate peaceful harmony is evident even in the contest to host the World Cup finals. For instance, England's bid to host the finals in 2018 explicitly focused on sports capacity to bring people together and utility as a tool for development goals both in the UK and overseas (Press Association, 2010a).

The bid's media presentation and the myths engendered by the media products and the discourse of the project team echoed the successful bid Olympic for the 2012 Olympics. Throughout its unsuccessful presentation to delegates, the 2018 bid team utilised similar visual reference points to those used to highlight the legacies of London 2012 (The FA, 2010). The fact that the bid failed to get enough votes to even get to the second round points towards a general understanding that international politics and finance still have primacy within FIFA and the organization is commercial to its core, despite the mythologies promoted by Sepp Blatter.

The governance and organisational structures of international sport are therefore inflected with varying degrees of utopianism. In addition, the communication and promotion of the governing bodies' activities, via various media strategies, also suggest that these organisations are succumbing to 'media logic', and are therefore undergoing a process of mediatization. Therefore the utopian narratives of Sport, Development and Peace become central to the wider production of meaning communicated by these organisations. The images from the international projects and events now circulate the multimedia eco-system and provide a powerful reminder to the public of the fraternal bonds created through sport. They also work to sustain these utopian narratives in the public imagination. Therefore we are at a time in our cultural history when sport and the utopian impulses it arouses in organisations has led to these utopian narratives being an integral tool for promoting and communicating the ideology of Sport, Development and Peace

in a variety of intergovernmental, organizational, commercial and social arenas.

These various organisations are as diverse as the communities they seek to serve. They usually constitute Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's) and are loose coalitions of the public and private, commercial partnerships, or grassroots organisations. They often promote religious, cultural and social interaction within communities. Research by Armstrong and Giulianotti (2004) has explored the diversity and range of these organisations in Africa. They argue that:

As the state withers, international non-governmental organisations (NGO's) have stepped in, allowing foreigners to take control of whole sections of health, education and welfare provision. Some have argued that NGO's are new forces of neo-colonialism (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2004:6).

1.v Sport, Utopianism and NGO's

Non-Governmental Organisations have spread their reach across the globe during the present phase of the globalisation of the world's social, political and economic systems. The globalisation, commercialisation and commodification of sport have increased the profile and reach of these organisations. We could speculate that in certain contexts they now form an alternative site of cultural power (Giulianotti, 2004). These organisations are generally organised and headquartered in Europe and North America and work primarily in the Middle East, Africa, South America and Asia. They are conceived in the overdeveloped North and work in the underdeveloped South. They are funded

in numerous ways and form a variety of public and private local partnerships and coalitions. Increasingly, these organisations have seized on the utopian potential of sport to support their ideological, cultural and social work in places where sports infrastructures are non-existent, commercially vulnerable or paralysed by internal division (Giulianotti, 2004).

The goals of these organisations are also varied. They range from the promotion of conflict resolution, co-existence, gender equality, international development, the rehabilitation of child soldiers and the fight against HIV. These examples highlight a variety of approaches of the promotion of Sport, Development and Peace. However the multiplicity of events, networks and approaches mask the true utopian nature of these projects. Despite the myriad of approaches and the variety of international, national and local contexts, these projects inevitably lead towards the promotion of an abstract fusion of various ideological approaches to Sport, Development and Peace. All share a utopian approach to the application of sport.

If we apply Winters' (2006) typology of historical utopianism, the 'minor utopians', those visionaries who orchestrated the social movements of the twentieth century that were devoted to freedom, social justice and self-determination could now be reconstituted as contemporary 'micro-utopians'. These 'micro-utopians' are characterised as working in small-scale networks, often in partnership with NGO's, in projects that have limited scope as individual concerns. However when these projects are assessed collectively they provide convincing evidence that the utopian impulse remains a powerful

motivation in many sports cultures and that nowhere is this more evident in than in Sport, Development and Peace cultures. In many respects these groups resemble the “molecular revolutionaries”, where social change is promoted by marginal and disparate groups (Guattari, 1984).

Alternatively, if Sport, Development and Peace cultures are viewed through the frames of Bloch’s utopian philosophy, these projects are merely a group of utopians that struggle to locate their abstract hope into a concrete form.

These projects can therefore be added to the many examples analysed by Bloch to show the utopian potential in all cultural forms, social constructions and ideologies that provide a distraction from the greater goal of emancipation through socialism.

The recent academic research into the various manifestations of these sport, development and peace cultures and the movements that sustain them has reached critical mass in the early twenty-first century. An increasing number of scholars have reported findings from localized projects, provided critiques of NGO’s and researched the wider philosophical and critical assessments of the relationships that form the Sport, Development and Peace movement (Darnell, 2012). We could even speculate whether this movement forms a new cultural industry (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009). Darnell’s work (2012) is only the latest work that catalogues and critiques this movement. One aspect that is neglected in this academic work on Sport, Development and Peace is how to measure the success of these projects. Coalter has pointed out the

difficulties inherent in the measurement of these types of intervention and the different agendas that they serve (Coalter, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b).

My experience of more than a quarter of a century of contract research – seeking to combine academic rigour (and increasing experience) with the understandable demands of the commissioning agencies for relatively unambiguous ‘evidence’ of the effectiveness of *their* investments to placate their masters – has convinced me that there is a need to think more clearly, analytically and less emotionally about ‘sport’ and its potential (Coalter, 2007a: 7).

Levermore (2008) addresses this issue and focuses on the relationships between these interventions and institutional power. He suggests that despite this increase in research outputs, little is understood about the impact of these projects. He claims that within the international bodies that fund the major development projects, for example, little of this research filters through (Levermore, 2008). Levermore (2008) also acknowledges that the major research in this area is in sport studies, rather than within international development studies, in which this phenomenon is little understood. There is therefore a gap, he suggests, in understanding generated by research within the Sports Academy and the wider policy driven ethos of Development Studies. The recent surge in these projects has led Levermore (2008) to classify the diverse projects into categories:

- Conflict resolution and intercultural understanding
- Building physical, social, sport and community infrastructure
- Raising awareness, particularly through education
- Empowerment
- Direct impact on physical and psychological health, as well as general welfare
- Economic development /poverty and alleviation.

Levermore (2008) also outlines the groups that work within and across this broad categories of Sport Development and Peace and concludes that while successes are evident in some cases, marginal in other cases, one issue that they all appear to share is the “lack of core development agency engagement”:

The main institutions promoting sport –for –development are clearly from either the sports sector (such as governing bodies/federations and clubs), or sports NGO’s voluntary groups that set up sports programmes, but often with development as a secondary interest after establishing a sports infrastructure. Conversely, many of the major development agencies (World Bank, IMF ETC) have failed to embrace sport-for-development. This gap is demonstrated by the draft World Bank 2007 report on youth development, in which only one sport-for – development project is listed in 464 pages on projects that initiate youth development (in an area where sport is particularly well disposed to assist youth development) (Levermore, 2008:188).

His explanation for this omission is a suspicion of sport and popular culture within the bureaucracies of the development agencies. He cites a 2007 *World Development Report* that states the use of sport for development is “promising but unproven” (Levermore, 2008:189). Perhaps this omission and suspicion is symptomatic of the amount and range of these projects, the lack of clear definitions and strategies in their conception and the lack of a results data-set that can be placed on a balance sheet. However it may also be due to the development agencies approach to intervention, which is ideologically attached to neo-liberalism and organs of power such as the World Bank and IMF. The suspicion of the utility of sport within these policy driven bureaucratic bodies also neglects the utopian potential of sport. If we examine some historical examples of interventions into sports cultures we can track the twin threads of utopianism and ideological struggle.

Chapter 2 Situating Sports Interventions

"Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to unite in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair" (Mandela, 2000).

2.i The State, Intervention and Utopian Sport

One distinctive subset of the organisations which work for Sport, Development and Peace are those that attempt to make social and cultural interventions into external communities to influence and change the political and social landscape of the communities in which they work. These interventions often use what Coalter calls the "mythopoeic" powers of sport that was cultivated:

In such institutions as the English public schools and movements like Muscular Christianity, sport was regarded as 'character building', developing virtues or moral personality traits such as discipline, honesty, integrity, generosity and trustworthiness. (Cotalter, 2007a: 8).

This type of intervention parallels the diffusion of modern sport cultures throughout the world. Some scholars claim that the dispersal of modern sport is an example of cultural imperialism or cultural hegemony in action (Guttmann, 1995). These critics claim that modern sports such as cricket, football and rugby were used to solidify imperial administrations, bolster local bureaucracies and provide social opportunities for émigré communities that subsequently allowed them to flourish. These critics explain how the British Empire was partially built and maintained on the playing fields of the public schools of England and then carried into the colonies. As Guttmann (1995)

has observed, sport contributed to the ideology of Empire and was a conduit of the social mores, societal roles, traditions and culture of the Mother Country. Although Guttman (1995) recognises that:

Worthier motives - such as the desire to improve the health, to encourage the fortitude, and to diminish the religious animosities of the native population - cannot be ignored or condescendingly discounted as mere colonialist camouflage (Guttman, 1995:174).

Sport, therefore, was used as a tool to support the colonisation of communities and also to frame the socialisation of new emigrants into colonial society. The introduction of organised sport also aided the pacification of rebellious locals, engaged local administrative communities and gave colonial masters and administrators some cultural links back to the Mother Country. Sport's ability to provide outlets for the display of discipline and organisation in the aid of the imperial project is only rarely disputed (James, 1993).

In addition the bureaucratic and administrative success of the diffusion of sport in the imperial contexts was supplemented by other strategies that aided imperial projects. One strategy was through the diffusion of religion by Christian missionaries. These evangelicals promoted Christianity both amongst colonial societies and indigenous populations. Thus both religion and sport were powerful agents of imperialist hegemony. Both of these aspects of colonial society came together and 'Muscular Christianity' helped to fix imperial ideologies and physical cultures into the societies of conquered peoples. This combination of evangelical missionary work and sport was another way that sport is implicated in the formation of ideological institutions

(Althusser, 1971). Guttmann (1995) argues that sport has historically been invoked in this very manner through its use as a tool to promote Christian ethics and values. He observes how the imperial project was indivisible from the spread of Christianity and the dispersal of the Liberal ideologies that drove the economics of Empire. Sport was, according to Guttmann, at the very core of the imperial project and “many proselytizers for modern sports felt a conventional religious vocation” (Guttmann, 1995:177).

However the rich diversity of global sporting cultures also allows sport to be utilised as an intervention beyond the boundaries of formal empires to change cultures, politics and societies. Therefore the maintenance of imperial projects and the religious hegemony of Protestant Christianity is not the only way Empires and the State have sought to use sport as an intervention into cultures and societies. Indeed, the previous Chapter has outlined how both the public sector and private enterprise seek to make social, political or cultural capital out of sport (Bourdieu, 1986). If we focus on how the State has directly utilised sport as an intervention to support political, social and cultural projects, we can begin to theorise how these interventions into sports cultures can be situated as utopian.

A review of the sports cultures of the two major totalitarian utopias of the twentieth century is one perspective from which to view utopian interventionism (Winter, 2006). If we examine the approaches to sport within Fascist Germany and Soviet Communism, we can see how sport was pressed in to the service of the State. An analysis of these wider contexts forms the

basis of the Marxist critiques of sport outlined by Rigauer (1981) and Brohm (1989). The Marxian critiques of these State-sanctioned sport cultures suggest that sporting interventions work in number of ways but they primarily work to bolster the totalitarian utopian projects they serve.

Within German Fascism, the sporting culture of the Reich was built on the remnants of gymnastic movement of the late nineteenth century and can be situated as an intervention by the State to discipline the lives of German citizens for service into National Socialism. Sport and physical culture were powerful allies in the promotion and maintenance of the values of National Socialism and aided the assimilation of the German population into the Reich.

Rigauer (1981) provides a neo-Marxist analysis of the gymnastics movement headed by the German nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, and the development of the sport culture of the Third Reich. Rigauer argues that Imperial Germany utilized the ideology of the gymnastics movement for military purposes (Rigauer, 1981). This idea was then replicated in the 'utopia' of National Socialism, which built on these values, the associated physical culture of the gymnastics movement and its visual symbolism to support the ideology of Nazism. This utopian imagery bolstered a Fascist ideology and is also one of the first examples of a mediated sports culture working as utopian propaganda in the service of the State. The film representations of Levi Riefenstahl could be said to present the first evidence of an emerging mediatized utopian sports culture (McFee & Tomlinson, 1999).

However Bloch's (1986) Marxist analysis offers a more holistic view of the gymnastics movement and its relationship to Imperial and Fascist utopias. Bloch situates Jahn's gymnastic ideal as being a direct challenge to the Imperial and Fascist ideologies. Bloch focuses on how the reality of the power of the state repression in Imperial Germany, "a cowed nation", in his view, ensured the utopian potential of the gymnastic movement was never realised. He also identifies that the gymnastics movement remained utopian despite its later appropriation by the Fascists and resisted being fully incorporated into the project of National Socialism:

The soul of gymnastics is the life of the people, and this only flourishes in public, out in the air and light. Thus dangerous ideas were spawned by the straightened back or associated with it, and the young gymnast thought of freedom (Bloch, 1986b:452).

However the repression of sport in the Imperial and Fascist utopias led to the very real marginalisation of citizens. This repression was directly in opposition to the wider discourses of sport and peace that were central to the sports organisations and the ethos of freedom within these movements. As Kissoudi (2008b) argues the aggressive anti-Semitism of Nazism directly contradicted Olympic ideals and had a direct impact on the sports cultures of Nazi Germany from an early stage. Indeed, the 1933 boycott of Jewish businesses directly led to the exclusion of Jewish performers and officials and then to a complete segregation of German sport in 1935 (Kissoudi, 2008b).

In another twentieth century totalitarian utopia, the Soviet Union, sport was pressed into service of various projects under successive regimes. The

promotion of sport by the Soviets differed in a number of ways from the use of sport in German Fascism. Rather than attempting to force divisions, emphasise difference, marginalise citizens and emphasise myths of racial superiority, sport was primarily utilised to unite various disparate groups under the banner of Soviet Communism (Riordan, 1977).

Sporting cultures were used to promote the ideal of Soviet Communism throughout the latter part of the century in the Soviet propaganda of the era. This intervention by the State into sporting cultures led to the veneration of sporting prowess and a socialist physical culture being used as battering ram to promote the superiority of Soviet culture, society and ideology. As Riordan (1977) states, sport was important in the Soviet Union because:

In the development of Soviet society sport has always been state-controlled, encouraged and shaped by specific utilitarian and ideological designs, primarily for labor and military training and the all-round development of the ideal citizen. Sport is proclaimed an essential ingredient of the way of life of all citizens (Riordan, 1977:399).

Sport, therefore was central to the formation and dispersal of ideology and the utopian propaganda of the Soviet state. Kissoudi (2008b) argues that the Soviet government used sport to “emphasise the importance of teamwork, collectivism, comradeship, hard work and progress” (Kissoudi, 2008b:1692). Sport in the Soviet Union can be characterised as being filled with utopian potential. It was seen as having a positive impact on the culture of the citizen, (citizen) and the progress of the Soviet project. However, Bloch’s analysis of Soviet sport being, “free on the left”, is open to serious critical interrogation as evidence has emerged since the collapse of the systems of sport in the Soviet

Union and its allies in the Eastern Bloc. The systematic doping, forced dispersal of athletes and coaches around the Soviet Empire and the 'selling' of athletes in order to raise foreign currency is proof enough, that in this respect, Bloch's veneration of the Soviet system and its legacy in modern Russia looks deluded with the benefit of some historical revisionism (The Inner Ring, 2008).

However the nations within the Eastern Bloc did engage in utopianism within the communist culture of sport that has left an impressive utopian legacy in many areas of sport. For example, within the sports culture of professional road cycling, the annual 'Peace Race', the 'Tour de France of the East' raced through Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia and promoted fraternity, international peace and a socialist brotherhood from 1948 - 2006 (Sykes, 2012).

2.ii NGO's, Intervention and Utopian Sport

These historical examples of State interventions into sporting cultures show how the state has intervened into sport to promote utopian projects. An analysis of the sporting culture in the USA and the emerging EU super-state can also highlight further utopian elements within the State's approach to sport. However, the State's interventions into sport have now arguably been superseded by the social, political and cultural changes in the West that have seen the weakening of the State, especially in relation to sport and the associated increasing importance of NGO's within sport. The contemporary

sports arena in Western democracies is experiencing a process whereby NGO's replace many functions of the State (Armstrong & Guilianotti, 2004). These NGO's now often intervene into a variety of environments to promote conflict resolution, to combat inequality and to promote coexistence on behalf of the State. These functions are now essentially subcontracted out to NGO's by the State.

This reflects the rise of the NGO's to prominence towards the late twentieth century as the major utopian projects crumbled and totalitarian State control weakened. Current academic research into interventionist sport is theoretically diverse and is currently focused on exploration of what these projects mean in historical and contemporary terms and is centred towards understanding interventionist sport as a social movement. Kidd (2008) traces this movement back through "rational recreation interventions in the late nineteenth century" and links this movement to its interventionist predecessors:

But the current manifestation is different in the rapid explosion of the agencies and organization that are involved, the tremendous appeal it has for youth volunteering, the financial support it enjoys from the powerful international sports federations, and the extent to which it has been championed by the United Nations and significant partners (Kidd, 2008:371).

Darnell (2010a), (2010b), (2012), has made an assessment of this 'Sport for Development and Peace Movement' (SDP) and advocates a Cultural Studies approach to the study of SDP programs:

Through this lens, understandings of sport as a development tool cannot be separated from the social and historical relations, particularly the global political economy, foreign policy economics and international trade and sociopolitical hierarchies (Darnell, 2010a:57).

However as insightful as the Cultural Studies approaches can be, especially in regards to the wider social and historical contexts that envelop the SDP movement, this approach neglects to situate these projects against their own and a historical utopianism within interventionist sport. The approach also currently neglects to explain how the 'Sport for Development and Peace Movement' (SDP) appropriates the media in order to promote discourses and ideologies. This research also does not provide an analysis of how these sports interventions become part of a wider process of mediatization, that affects many institutions of power that succumb to 'media logic.' Although Coalter (2007a) has commented on "sport's mythopoeic status" and how sports "myths contain elements of truth but elements which become reified and distorted and 'represent' rather than reflect reality, standing for supposed, but largely unexamined, impacts and processes" (Coalter, 2007a:9). In addition, Darnell (2012) has recently switched his gaze to assess how Mega-Events and Celebrity are implicated in the SDP movement (Darnell, 2012).

Jarvie (2007) has attempted to account for how the SDP Movement engages with both the media and wider utopian projects. He characterised the disparate SDP movement as having tripartite core in a European context. These interventions therefore generally focus on creating media exposure, generating debate and focusing opposition onto neo-liberal financial and political agendas:

NGOs from local to the international level have increasingly realised the importance of organising themselves into coherent alliances in order to gain influence within the European Union. Both European and World Social Forums have been set up in the early part of the 21st

century as focal points for various activists students intellectual, environmentalists, economists and researchers among others to meet and link together in an expanding network of opposition to the neoliberal cause (Jarvie, 2007:421).

However, for Jarvie the “the transformative capacity of sport” is compromised by the range of approaches adopted by these organisations and the range of intentions, actions and ideologies. The sheer diversity of approaches to intervention and the models of action mean that within SDP movement “forms of action may be classified along the continuum from reformism to radicalism or from ideological to non-ideological or from issue orientated to collective forms of action” (Jarvie, 2007:416).

Finally, and perhaps crucially, Jarvie also argues that the empirical thrust of research into these interventions has led to progressive change in some areas but also signifies a devaluing of political activism that has been a feature of recent sports scholarship (Jarvie, 2007):

Yet, the examples provided, in part, are evidence that sport can help to i) change some people’s lives, ii) symbolise change and iii) contribute to and facilitate social change. Sport has the capacity to work across societies and agencies to help or attempt to make the world a better place. In a general sense, the potential of sport to contribute to different visions of what the world is and should be should not be overstated or underestimated (Jarvie, 2007:416).

Despite Jarvie’s assertions that sports’ capacity for progressive change is not ‘utopian’, he neglects to really engage with the more subtle and progressive aspects of utopianism that is provided in Bloch’s theoretical framework. The fact that present scholarship on the ‘SDP Movement’ relates to these projects in only a historical or contemporary context suggests that the utopian aspects

of sports interventions do need to be considered in more detail and primarily with a re-assessment of the value of utopianism at the core of the critique. Indeed, how the future might be imagined is surely the basis for assessing interventions into any socio-cultural milieu. The difficulty with many of the empirical and evidence-based contemporary assessments of these projects is that they neglect to account for the future possibilities that are being created. Assessing sports interventionism is therefore both a philosophical as well as a critical task. This is exactly why Bloch's analysis of the utopian function of culture and the forward dreaming of future possibilities is so valuable when considering sport and its interventions. Bairner (2009) recently highlighted some of the problems faced by measuring the impact of sports interventions and the impact of activism and public intellectualism:

This is not to suggest that Sugden and others fail to bring the insights drawn from professional sociology to bear on their sport-related social activism. But the activities involved do not in and of themselves constitute public intellectualism. Indeed although '*Football 4 Peace*' has attracted well deserved attention, it has not provided a platform for making influential pronouncements on politics in the Middle East or even on sport in Israel and in the Arab world. Indeed, why should it when more practical concerns necessarily remain paramount? (Bairner, 2009:116).

2.iii Sport, Interventionism and Utopianism in Northern Ireland

Bairner's critique of the work of public intellectuals, activists and their wider impact on politics and cultures has some relevance due to his own experiences and his work with Sugden in an interventionist paradigm within the sports cultures in Northern Ireland. Sugden and Bairner's (1995, 2000) research and the associated activism that emerged out the research can be

situated against the wider interventionist approaches to the sports, culture and politics of Northern Ireland. The coalitions created in these interventions have used sport as a tool to promote cross-cultural activity and cross border co-operation (Sugden, 1986, 1991), (Sugden & Bairner, 1995, 2000). Sugden's work in Northern Ireland found that sport was an important aspect of Northern Irish culture and that it had the capacity to be "both fraternal and sectarian" (Sugden & Harvie, 1995).

The activism of Sugden et al in Northern Ireland and the associated research activities that emerged from this activism led to claims that institutional attitudes of some of the sports organisations began to change and that the intervention worked on an ideological level within the State to facilitate change within the attitudes to sport. Sugden suggests that various schemes emerged with the expressed purpose of facilitating cross-community sport (Sugden, 1991). The relative 'success' of these schemes has had an impact not only in Northern Ireland but also as a testing ground for other interventionist projects around the world.

The experience of a disenfranchised local youth, a sectarian sports infrastructure and a weak State in Northern Ireland provided the ideal conditions for many of the NGO's and global organisations to begin the task of intervention into these various divided communities and cultures. Hughes & Donnelly (2006) and Lynch (2007) also provide an interesting comparative assessment of this type of work in education cultures in Northern Ireland and

Israel that also chimed with some of results of Sugden & Harvie's research (Sugden & Harvie, 1995).

However Northern Ireland is different to many of the geographic areas where the majority of the sports interventions take place in this phase of globalisation. Firstly, although it is relatively poor and 'underdeveloped' in terms of rest of the Europe and the UK, Northern Ireland is still based in a 'developed' geographic region. The sporting conflict at the heart of the problems of Northern Ireland is underscored by strong cultural traditions and oppositional and divergent sports cultures in both of the main communities at the centre of the conflict. Finally, the period of research and activism within Northern Ireland coincided with the concurrent processes that culminated in the Good Friday agreement and the normalisation of Northern Ireland (Bairner, 2004). Therefore, in this instance, reconciliation was already being pursued socially, culturally and politically. In addition, work that was started approximately two decades ago is still being implemented, reflected upon and refined. The legacy of this work is hard to measure. Bairner (2009), for instance, has expressed reservations about its legacy in relation to changing the political cultures and ideologies in the province:

In most of these schemes it was a constant concern that any real impact on the people involved would inevitably be short lived given that the society as a whole remained deeply divided. Furthermore there was little point asking young people to engage in cross community projects if, at the more senior levels of sport, sectarian attitudes and forms of behaviour were seen to be rife? (Bairner, 2009:272).

In addition, even today, despite decades of work by a myriad of groups, the entrenched attitudes within some communities have proved to be easier to break down than the attitudes of those in charge of the political processes and in the bureaucracies of the sports organisations. It may be that the power to engender any true ideological change remains beyond the activist:

Because the aspiration to make sport in Northern Ireland more inclusive is itself laudable, it is easy to point the finger at sports administrators who have refused to take on board any suggestions that they can and should play a part in bringing together two warring communities. It is difficult to be optimistic, however, about such efforts when they are expected to bear fruit in a political context in which sectarian differences have been legitimised and given a formal recognition through those very mechanisms that are intended to help create a more peaceful and less polarised Northern Ireland? (Bairner, 2009:282).

Bairner (2009) suggests that the role of the public intellectual is limited when communicating the work of these interventions. He argues for 'organic intellectuals' to support critical sociologists in communicating these messages to 'multiple publics' more effectively and points to his work in Northern Ireland to underscore his experiences in this milieu.

Yet it is also the case, when reflecting back on this work in Northern Ireland as a test-bed for sporting interventions by NGO's, we can see that fruits of this type of intervention are only now being realised in some forms. It is also evident that this work is being continued in other arenas and that it is evolving and being built on in other contexts. More importantly, if we invoke Bloch's (1986a, 1986b, 1986c) theorisation of utopia and how it is indelibly orientated towards the future, the value of wishful, future dreaming becomes a little more

evident. We can also see the futility in the desire to measure the 'success' of projects that work in this milieu and in conflict and post-conflict environments by contemporary NGO's. As Coalter (2007a) acknowledges, 'success' is difficult to measure and attempts to do so are notoriously difficult for practitioners, NGO's and those groups that sponsor them:

This might be difficult for the sports evangelists, for those who have invested much in their professional repertoires, for those wanting apparently cheap and simple answers (if not solutions), for generalist civil servants with little understanding of 'sport' (but a desire to 'do something') and those operating in a still relatively marginal policy area with demanding, if often ill informed, masters (Coalter, 2007a:7).

For when this type of empirical bureaucracy becomes foregrounded, when the administrators, activists and policy makers attempt to measure success, they all act in the service of the institutions of power and the wider political cultures that often promote the 'fear' that Bloch identifies as being the death of hope.

For Bloch, the value of projects like these lies in the domain of the anticipatory, because the anticipatory:

as a directing act, as a cognitive kind (and here the opposite is then not fear, but in this way are utopian, this again not in the narrow sense of the word which only defines what is bad (emotively reckless picturing, playful form of an abstract kind), but rather in fact in the newly tenable sense of the forward dream, of anticipation in general (Bloch, 1986a:12).

Bloch's philosophy, as Geoghegan (1987) suggests, can puncture the discourses of "common sense, realism, positivism and scientism" (Geoghegan, 1987:2). It accounts for how these utopias are harnessed by corporations, agencies and international NGO's to serve their own power as abstract utopias. It therefore allows a critical interpretation of the contemporary relationships of power that circulate sports interventions.

Chapter 3 Sport, Utopianism and the State of Israel

“The hope of 2000 years: To live as a free people. In our own land: The land of Zion and Jerusalem” (Imber, 1886).

3.i Zionism, the State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority

Another international conflict has built on the research and activism into Sport, Development and Peace (SDP) that was pioneered in Northern Ireland. Israel now provides a primary site for the State, NGO's and sports organisations to combine to intervene in the nation and wider region for a range of ideological purposes. Israel is the site of much of the most developed work in SDP and a myriad of organisations work in Israel for a number of different goals. These organisations reflect the complexity of utopian interventionism into sports cultures in the twenty-first century. Israel is at the forefront of this utopianism that reflects, in many ways, its very existence. To track this utopianism at the heart of Israel it is helpful to review some of the main events in the short history of the Jewish state and to utilise the utopian framework to critique the State of Israel, and to make connections to other utopian movements.

The creation of the Jewish utopia of the State of Israel and the subsequent responses by its Arab neighbours has led to the creation of an anti-utopia for the other inhabitants of British Palestine – the Arab Palestinians (Said, 2005). This is the outcome of a complex balance between colonial and post-colonial struggles and the utopian aspirations underlying Zionism as a social and political force. Just as the socio-political history of Ireland can be described as

the narrative that bookends the British Empire, the story of Israel also is one that can be viewed through the twin-poles of post-colonial struggle and utopian aspirations in late-capitalism (Said, 2005).

The rise of Zionism as a social and political force was aimed at both securing a Jewish homeland and the renewal of the Jewish people. However, like all utopias, the Zionist state was contested from its very birth, both internally and externally (Smith, 1974), (Said, 2005). The momentum towards the creation of the Jewish state was maintained politically by the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which following the Great War, divided the Arab territory of the Ottoman Empire into various spheres of influence under British, French and Russian control. However the Balfour Declaration (1917) was pivotal in setting the conditions for a future Jewish state and the possibility of Zionist dreams being realised in the future. (Hazony, 2000), (Smith, 1974)

The League of Nations Mandate formally ratified the British occupation of Palestine in 1922. Britain oversaw the political, economic, social and cultural development of the region between the two world wars and thus the history of Israel must be understood in the colonial and postcolonial contexts (Smith, 1974). During this period the British attempted to manage the flow of Zionists intent on returning to a spiritual homeland and a range of Jewish refugees from anti-Semitism in Asia and Europe. This migration both supported Zionist aspirations for a Jewish state by boosting the social and political power of the Jewish population in Palestine and was also resisted by various indigenous Arab communities in British Palestine (Said: 2005).

The Jewish population set up civil organisations such as the Jewish Settlement Police and paramilitary organisations such as the Haganah, Irgun and Lehi (Stern Gang). These organisations would provide Jewish leadership throughout the twentieth century and a parallel political, civil and military base that worked both against and alongside the imperial power to control the territory. These parallel institutions would prove to be indispensable to the new State when Britain withdrew from the territory and they also highlight the future-oriented vision that is integral to Zionism (Smith, 1974).

The Peel Commission (1937) that was set up to investigate the Arab Revolt recommended the formation of separate enclaves: an Arab State and a Jewish State. These proposals were looked upon more sympathetically within the international community when the Third Reich's repression and anti-Semitism of the 1930's evolved into racist, industrialised murder and the near extermination of European Jewish communities. This anti-Semitism is also reflected by the 1939 White Paper which severely restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine just as the Holocaust was unfolding.

In response to these restrictions the Haganah organised the illegal immigration of approximately 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine during the war years. The closing of borders, at the height of the Fascist repression of Jewish communities also had the effect of bolstering the ideology of Zionism and made the State of Israel a more likely political reality (Smith, 1974). The Partition Plan (1945-48) formalised the recommendations of the

Peel Commission by separating British Palestine into two separate states in one of the defining acts of the post-war successor to the League of Nations, the still youthful, United Nations. The failure of a realised Arab state, as envisioned in the Peel Commission and the Partition Plan, tells us much about the socio-political implications of Zionism and the failures of international organisations in the region (Said, 2005).

The State of Israel has legitimised its defence and supported its settler communities by expanding into neighbouring territories (Smith: 1974). This has led to widespread Arab displacement from the land, both within the Jewish state and outside its immediate borders via the appropriation of lands (Said: 2005). The State of Israel has consistently and illegally expanded territory and resisted and hindered the formation of a viable Palestinian state (Said: 2005).

Israel seized around 60% of the area of the proposed Arab state in the first Arab-Israeli War (1948-49) therefore making the creation of the proposed Arab state unviable. This created 750,000 Palestinian refugees, who were either displaced or expelled from their lands (Gregory, 2004), (Said, 2005). The Second Arab-Israeli War (1956) was focused on maintaining and supporting the hegemony of Israel in the wider Middle East region. The Suez crisis, while signalling the end of the power of formal European empires and heralding the era of postcolonial struggle in these territories, has had little long-term effect on Israel. This is because the State of Israel continues to be supported militarily and economically by the most significant global power.

The USA emerged as Israel's main sponsor after the decline of the British and French Empires. Israel has remained at the nexus of global geo-politics due to its controversial creation, its regional strength and its relationship with the USA (Gregory, 2004).

Israel, from some Marxist perspectives, is seen as an agent of capitalist hegemony and expansion (Gregory, 2004). From these perspectives, the State of Israel acted as a bulwark to Soviet expansion in the region while also suppressing pan-Arab postcolonial aspirations (Gregory, 2004). Therefore, critics from these perspectives view the maintenance of Zionism as being closely connected to the wider colonial and postcolonial struggles (Hardt and Negri, 2000), (Said, 2005).

Israel's colonial expansion to aid its own development is demonstrated via an analysis of the outcome of the 3rd Arab-Israeli War or The Six Day War (1967) (Smith, 1974). The outcome of this war led to the territory under the direct control of the State of Israel tripling in size. This expansion has become another major factor that hinders the creation of a viable Palestinian State. While some of this territory was returned to Egypt after the 4th Arab-Israeli War or Yom Kippur War (1973) the return of the Occupied Territories and the shrinking of Israel to its pre-1967 borders or to the 1948 borders agreed by the UN remains a key site of contestation between Israel and Palestinians. Indeed, the conflict continues to be focused on control of the land and the suppression of a viable Palestinian homeland (Gregory, 2004), (Said, 2005).

Palestinian resistance has been wide-ranging and sustained. This resistance has evolved from the internal revolts and rebellions during the British Mandate. The formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) under the leadership of Yasser Arafat has kept the Palestinian cause in the worldwide consciousness and in the international media. However, the subsequent high-profile terrorist actions by a wide network of groups that are affiliated to the PLO such as the Japanese Red Army, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Black September has led to a widespread condemnation of the use of terrorist tactics against Israel and its allies in the West (Said, 2005). While these attacks are aimed at highlighting the Palestinian struggle, Said (2005) has argued that they have ensured a lack of understanding of the wider connections between the Palestinian cause and postcolonial emancipation at least in Europe and the USA (Said, 2005).

Said has claimed that as well as being part of the wider Orientalist discourse, the Palestinian struggle, led by Arafat and the PLO, lost its way and needed to reconnect to wider postcolonial struggles through a concerted re-imagining of its ethos and by emulating the tactics employed in successful postcolonial struggles that took place in India and South Africa (Said, 1994), (Said, 2005). The resistance movement has also been forged within the Occupied Territories. The First Intifada (1987-1991) was an uprising by Palestinians that led to state-sponsored repression of Palestinians (Gregory, 2004).

Israel continues to sporadically expand and retract its borders ostensibly to create security zones around its territory. This is evident in the First Lebanon

War (1982), which was fought to break up the PLO and the Second Lebanon War (2006), which fought to break up the Fatah and Hezbollah movements. Israel's subsequent tactical retreats are often in the context of the wider political currents in the region and to support its settler communities in the post-1967 acquisitions (Gregory, 2004).

The peace process continues to be problematic and subject to the same types of subterfuge that have characterised the wider process of colonisation in the region (Gregory, 2004). However the peace treaties and agreements between Israel and neighbouring states have shifted the international focus towards attempts to broker agreements between Israel and the Palestinians (Reinhart: 2006). This led to a concerted attempt to bring the two sides to the table and begin to negotiate a path to peace in 1993 (Reinhart, 2006). These attempts were sponsored by the US President Bill Clinton, hosted by Norway and produced the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords which outlined the necessary elements and conditions for a future Palestinian state. The subsequent awarding of the Nobel Peace prize to Yitzak Rabin, Shimon Peres and Yasser Arafat signalled that perhaps the peace process could yield significant results for both parties, most of all the creation of a viable and sustainable Palestinian state (Reinhart, 2006).

The Camp David Summit in 2000 built on the Oslo agreements and began negotiations on a proposed political settlement. This would lead to the creation of a political entity. The Palestinian Authority would have some powers to administrate in Gaza and the West Bank (Reinhart, 2006), (Said,

2005). Arafat's refusal to sign up to the agreement then led to the Taba and Beirut summits. Israel's admission that it would not withdraw to 1967 borders or agree to the right of return for Palestinian refugees displaced since 1948 caused further political problems for Arafat whose power was waning in the wider Palestinian circles due to his perceived isolation from the realities of everyday life in the Occupied Territories and hardships of those communities involved in the Intifada (Reinhart, 2006), (Said, 2005).

The creation of the Palestinian Authority did however lead to some autonomy although this has been critiqued as being a betrayal of the Palestinian cause (Said, 2005). This political entity was complemented by the 'Road Map' to peace that was sponsored by the USA, the EU, the UN and Russia. The 'Road Map' was released in 2003 after the appointment of Mahmood Abbas as the first Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority after Arafat was sidelined from power by internal power struggles (Reinhart, 2006). The 'Road Map' called for independent actions by both sides and set conditions on both sides that would lead to the creation of two viable, sustainable and secure states (Reinhart: 2006). Many of these conditions remain unmet and peace appears as far away as ever before.

The failures of the peace process also led to the Second Intifada (2000-2009) in the West Bank that saw the fracturing of the Palestinian Authority into factions in the West Bank led by Fatah and the Hamas-led Gaza Strip (Said, 2005). This fracturing of the Palestinian leadership has mirrored the subdivision of the proposed Palestinian state into smaller parcels of land that

echo the Bantustans of apartheid-era South Africa (Said, 2005). The Gaza War (2008) and the continued blockade of the enclave suggest that the State of Israel continues to be maintained at the expense of a settlement of land claims.

The Zionist utopia can draw a critical gaze towards the actions of the State of Israel whilst simultaneously projecting a commitment towards future change and reform. It is this historical, political and ideological reality, which any SDP intervention in Israel must recognise.

3.ii **Socialism, Zionism and Utopia**

From a Zionist perspective, the State of Israel can be situated as the manifestation of a utopian dream and as the culmination of the hopes and dreams that underpin Zionist ideology. This is encapsulated in the lyrics of the national anthem '*Hatikva: the Hope*' (Imber, 1886). Israel, like all utopias, is still in process; it is continually being made and remade. The nation in Blochian terms is the 'Not-Yet' and is still in the process of being built. This process can be tracked from the ashes of the decline of the imperial utopias through the disaster of the totalitarian utopias of National Socialism and the Soviets into the future. The State is therefore in flux, constantly undergoing change, renegotiating its ideology and its relationships with its allies and hostile states.

This process and change is also evident in shifts in the ideology that drove the development of the State of Israel and Zionism. The ideology of Zionism during its initial phase was synonymous with socialism and is a perfect example of what Bloch calls an “outline of a better world” (Bloch, 1986b). This better world was designed for Jews displaced by historical anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. In the latter half of the twentieth century the State of Israel has moved away from many of the socialist principles that underpinned this ideology. Bloch’s theorisation of utopia situates the Zionist dream as partial, an illusion and set apart from the greater dream and final goal of the socialist utopia (Bloch, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c). Bloch views Zionism as being one of the “group utopias” that splinter the wider socialist project to deal with their group’s oppression and emancipation:

The programme of these groups does not contain revolution but secession, exodus from a manifold ghetto. What they strive for and dream of is of course an influence on society, in a way a new virtue pouring out of youth, womanhood and national Judaism (Bloch, 1986b:583).

Bloch’s analysis of Zionism is also based on a wider critique of the imperial and political machinations being played in the early twentieth century by “the council of civilised nations” within the League of Nations. The Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the subsequent British mandate of Palestine, is described by Bloch as being initially an “Arab State”, with the Jewish population being restricted to one third of the Arab population (Bloch, 1986b). Bloch also characterised the early Zionist state as being “admirably suited to Imperialist England”, as a place to which politically awkward Jews could be deported as “troublesome foreigners” and he condemns the hypocrisy of the

British Empire that closed the borders of Palestine just as the Holocaust was unfolding:

the Zionist dream arrived in time to provide a refuge for the later victims of fascism. Or rather, it would have arrived in time if the England, which opened the homeland had not closed it at the very moment it was most urgently needed (Bloch, 1986b:605).

Bloch concludes his analysis of Zionism by attempting to re-connect Zionism to socialism and the wider emancipation that is promised by this ideology.

This emancipation is not exclusively focused on a “group utopia” or ethnicity, ‘race’ and religion but on a more nuanced understanding of the interconnectedness of culture and its linkages with socio-economic power.

This means that there are no solutions to the so-called Jewish question, in so far as it exists, without an overall solution to the economic and social one. Zionism is not even possible in Palestine without such a settlement; there is no pax Britannica any more, let alone a pax Americana (Bloch, 1986b:607).

Nevertheless, the early history of the State of Israel has very real connections to utopianism and Zionism that still have a contemporary legacy. The most obvious manifestation of this synthesis is the Kibbutz movement. These predominately communal settlements operated on broadly socialist principles and would, on first glance, become the very embodiment of the utopian socialism that was invoked by Bloch.

Chyutin & Chyutin (2007) outline some of the developments of this Kibbutzim movement and how the character of utopian socialism also influenced its utopian architecture. The association between the physical construction of a

'New World' based on socialist principles in the 'Promised Land' barely needs to be made when we consider the utopianism of the Zionism that drove the Kibbutzim settlements. However the construction of these utopian settlements was often on disputed land (*Visions of Hope*, 2012). Even today, these lands are subject to disputes and the State of Israel's activities in the West Bank also continue many of these debates to be developed into contemporary contexts. Indeed, for Bloch's frame of utopianism we can see the how his philosophy does provide a way to account both for dreams to be realized and the ability to critically problematise utopianism. For Bloch, the potential development of Zionism and its projects was a distraction from the wider emancipation promised by the universal socialist project:

If a Jewish nation no longer exists, then experience shows that there remains an old affinity in the best Jews with everything which suggests the destruction of the great Babel, and a New World. This dream has its action centre where the country of their birth and education is, where it helps to build the language, history and culture of the latter, where it participates both patriotically and expertly in the struggle for a new earth (Bloch, 1986b:611).

While the connections between the developmental process of utopian socialism and the current realization of the Zionist project need to be considered, it is also helpful to assess how Culture, and Sport in particular, have contributed to the development of the State of Israel. The maintenance and transformation of the Zionist utopia, its associated power and the political culture of the contemporary Jewish State are therefore key sites of contestation.

3.ii Muscular Judaism, the 'New Jew' and Sport

Helman (2008) describes how sport played a crucial role in pre-war Palestine and outlines the conflicts over sports participation on the Sabbath. He highlights both the legacies of 'Muscular Christianity' on the ideology of sport in Jewish culture and its impact on early Zionist ideology. Helman's critique of 'Sabbatarianism' therefore suggests sport was central to the Zionist project. His critique outlines that just as the Christian missionary promoted 'Muscular Christianity', aimed at promoting the virtues of faith, physical culture and Empire, the Zionist Leader Max Nordau advocated 'Muscular Judaism' and incorporated this ideology into the wider Zionist project:

The Zionist movement cultivated ideas launched by the Jewish Enlightenment concerning the importance of modernizing and 'healing' the Jews. Zionists aspired not just to transfer Jews from the Diaspora to the Land of Israel in the geographical sense, but also to transform and regenerate the Jewish people. They wished to turn the supposedly weak, cowardly and passive 'old Jew' of the Diaspora, whose stereotypical traits were influenced by anti-Semitic notions, into a strong, brave, manly and active 'New Jew' (Helman, 2008:44).

Nordau's 'New Jew', Zionist physical cultures and the practice of sport became tools to help build the nationalist goal of statehood for the Jewish diaspora. Helman (2008) contends that the ideology was not necessarily religious, even though it was built on the belief system of Judaism. It was therefore a nationalist project and Nordau's belief was that 'Muscular Judaism' would "boost Jews' self-esteem and also teach them to unite, cooperate with each other and employ 'manly discipline' in order to achieve their shared goals" (Helman, 2008:44).

Sport had an important position in the Zionist utopian consciousness even before the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. This deep-rooted utopian physical culture provides evidence that, albeit singularly Jewish, sporting interventions to promote co-operation and create a national consciousness go to the roots of the creation of the modern State of Israel.

The development of the cultural institutions within the State reflects the ideology of 'Muscular Judaism' and aspects of the colonial experience under the British Mandate but with a particularly developed political and Zionist imprint. However Helman contends that the influence of the British and the wider imperial legacy is sometimes overstated and argues that the development of the cultural institutions demonstrates how Palestine was untypical of other regions in the British Empire during the Mandate (Helman, 2008:49). Nevo (2000) develops this critique of the exceptionalism of Israel's approach to the institutions of culture and tracks how the ideologies of Israel's social, political and cultural institutions have evolved in relation to sport. He describes how cultural institutions became politicised and how political parties influenced the development of all aspects of culture in Israel. He argues that the pervasive influence of political parties that were sympathetic to Zionism meant that:

as a result parties were the chief purveyors of culture within society, providing education, youth movements, theatre, employment agencies, building societies, health services, consumer cooperatives and so forth. The political parties accompanied their members in almost every area of life (Nevo, 2000:335).

This political influence and control of culture also manifests itself in the sporting arena during the British Mandate. After the declaration of independence and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the political and bureaucratic control of the nation's sporting institutions and cultures became more pronounced (Nevo, 2000). Sport was used in preparation for national development, social cohesion during the process of nation building, the development of a national consciousness and the consolidation of the power of the State through its institutions. Sport cultures in Israel were pressed into the service of Zionism and the very survival of the Jewish state from its inception.

Sport in Israeli society has deep roots in the Zionist movements' earliest political and cultural apparatus. Reshef and Paltiel (1989) outline how sport was "assimilated into the ideological framework of Zionism" (Reshef & Paltiel, 1989:305). They argue that Jewish sport promoted a Zionist ideology from its earliest appearance in Israel and then "Zionist parties appropriated sports clubs as tools of competition" (Reshef & Paltiel, 1989:305). Sport in Israel was built on the institutional foundations laid down by the British Mandate, the experiences of the Jewish diaspora in Western Europe and the needs of the Zionist State.

This distinctive history of sport and nation means that the utopian impulses that ignited Zionism as a cultural dream, then a political goal and finally a tangible social reality has required a constant re-assessment of sports' role in the State. It suggests that the organisation of sport in Israel has always been

committed to the utopian projects of its political masters. Therefore the tension between utopia and the State is built into the very fabric of Israeli society and its relationship to Sport.

However these connections remain problematic for Israel, international Jewry and the wider political goals from a Blochian perspective. The existence of a Jewish State is not an imperative for Bloch; rather, he recognises the utopian aspects of Zionism by seeing it as working in opposition to the wider interests of the Jewish diasporas and a global socialist revolution.

In short, this partial movement could come to an end without a Jewish component itself coming to an end, whether as a nation, whether-in a considerably more genuine fashion – as witness to and evidence of a messianic cast of mind; Zionism flows out into socialism, or it does not flow at all. (Bloch, 1986b:611)

For Bloch, Zionism is central to the Jewish narrative and therefore the continuing power of messianic Zionism in contemporary Israeli society has a resonance beyond its role as the ideological justification of Jewish settlement. This ideology is built into all the institutions of culture in the State of Israel. This is also evident in the sporting culture of Israel, and therefore sport, and its relationships to various incarnations of utopia, is also bound to what Yadgar (2006) calls the “Zionist meta-narrative” which “assigns a unique importance to the past as legitimising the Zionist project as well as dictating its course” (Yadgar, 2006:300). This has significance for the contemporary character of the State of Israel and its future shape unfolding in the Not-Yet.

3.iii The Organisation of Sport in the State of Israel

The subsequent formation of the institutions of sport and the associated federations that administered sport in Israel was primarily political according to Nevo (2000). The federations developed over nationalist and political lines and fed directly into the political, educational and cultural programmes of the State. These federations developed from the first sporting federation, Maccabi, which was affiliated with the centrist Liberal party. The other federations include the Ha Poel Federation, which represents the workers, Unions and the political left, and the Beitar federation, which represents the nationalist movement and the political right. The Rightwing Elitzur also provides an outlet for Orthodox Jewish sport (Nevo, 2000), (Reshaf & Paltiel, 1989).

These sporting federations directly organised sport in Israel. They also used the federation frameworks to inculcate the ideology of the political parties into the sports clubs members and recruit party members (Helman, 2008), (Nevo, 2000), (Reshaf & Paltiel, 1989). The social, cultural and political influence of the sports federations in Israel continues to extend to how the state organises sports participation in Israel. State sanctioned sport in Israel is organised by several political entities within the governance structures of the nation. These are the Ministry of Culture and Education (MCE), the Israeli Sports Authority (ISA) and the Israeli Sports Federation (ISF). These organisations are also subject to political interference and to the influence of patronage. Reshaf and

Paltiel (1989) explain the particular relationship between politics and the institutions of sport in Israel:

Since appointments to major positions in the governing sport bodies are underlain by political considerations, sport in Israel, is controlled to a large extent by politicians. Politicians do not possess any expertise in their jurisdiction: in fact the experts are often found at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy (Reshef & Paltiel, 1989:313).

The politicisation of sport clubs in Israel also has an impact on how they are financed. Funding comes from a number of sources: the ISA, local municipalities, membership fees and a sports lottery (Levy and Galiliy, 2009). Research by Levy and Galiliy (2009) outlines how the development of sports gambling was designed to both serve political interests and the leaders of sports institutions. Since financial support is limited in a nation with competing social, cultural and political requirements, clubs seek the support of political parties for additional funding (Levy & Galiliy, 2009). Therefore the institutions that control sport in Israel can be understood to have been financially dependent on and politically orientated towards the shifts in the political language of political leaders. These institutions were also historically complicit in the maintenance of the State and the promotion of the Zionist project (Kaufman & Galiliy, 2009). The ideological, political and financial control of the sporting culture of Israel directly influenced the ISA. Although these forces impact hugely on the sporting institutions and culture of Israel these organisations are not static; they shift with the internal politics of Israel, the development of the State and negotiate both the global and the local (Kaufman, 2005), (Kaufman & Galiliy, 2009), (Shoor, 2008). Kaufman &

Galiliy (2009) have outlined how these issues have developed as Israel has shifted politically, socially and culturally during its recent development:

The social, economic and political changes the country has undergone in the last 40 years have caused sports to lose their function as a political tool and as a tool for spreading propaganda. Instead sports have become one of the only forms of producing collective identification that can unify the Israeli public, and this identification is not necessarily related to Zionist ideology, but rather to civilian identification with the State of Israel (Kaufman & Galiliy, 2009:1025).

Nevo (2000) outlines the contemporary political culture of Israel's sports institutions and how Israel's sports culture also tracks its political culture. He concludes that changes in the commercial character of Israel in a neoliberal globalized world, allied with the hyper-commodification of sport, means that links between institutions and the ideology of the State are now weakening. He argues that only the names of clubs and their associated symbols retain any wider political context within Israeli society and concludes that the commercial as well as nationalistic, political and social pressures form the culture of modern day Israeli sport (Nevo, 2000:342). These links are more explicitly depoliticised in the development of Israel's most prominent sports clubs that are now both globalized and commercialized, especially the two most high-profile sports in Israel – basketball and football.

3.iv Football, Israel and Society

Football's place in the wider culture of Israel has its roots in the years that preceded the British Mandate. Ben-Porat (2009) outlines how the Palestinian Football Association (PFA) was initiated by sports organisations that represented the Jewish population of what was then Palestine. However the

Arab sector of Palestine established its own Sports Association and left the Palestinian Football Association in 1934, although an Arab representative was invited to join the PFA and Arab teams joined the structure of the organisation (Ben-Porat, 2009). The end of the British Mandate in 1948 and the subsequent creation of the State of Israel saw the politicisation of Israeli football become entrenched and the birth of the Israeli Football Association (IFA) (Ben-Porat, 2009). Nevo (2000) contends that this politicisation is rooted in the division of power in the institutions of sport (Nevo, 2000).

The internal politicisation and the associated Zionist projects of the nation builders suggest that football was just as political as any Israeli cultural and sporting activity. Football reflected how Jewish sport was organised in Palestine by being under the ideological control of the political community organisations, Maccabi, Hapoel, Beitar and to a lesser extent, Elitzur (Ben-Porat, 2000:271).

The Israeli Football Association (IFA) was organised around an equal division of power in which one half of its representatives were allocated to Hapoel and the other was divided between Maccabi and Beitar (Kaufman & Galiliy, 2009). In addition, no new clubs could join the IFA independently, as all clubs had to be related to one those organisations, thereby marginalising Israeli Palestinian power. In the event, most Arab clubs that remained in the State opted for Hapoel (Kaufman & Galiliy, 2009). According to Ben-Porat (2008), as soon as the State of Israel had been established football was utilised as a propaganda tool for Zionism, to articulate the ideology of the 'New Jew' but

also as a social cohesive to bind the emerging nation. However, and this is important for an understanding of the contemporary context of football in Israel, in the early part of the history of the State, football was particularly Jewish, as Ben-Porat (2009) states:

The story of soccer in Israel in 1948 to 1951 derives from the process of building not just a state but a specifically Jewish state, so Arab soccer was virtually ignored by the state at that time (Ben-Porat, 2009: 129).

Therefore football was placed in the service of the State, the promotion and maintenance of Zionism and Jewish power to both its external and internal critics. Prominent football tours took place in both Russia and in the US, the media reports of these tours worked as propaganda for the new state to external nations, which fed into wider narratives within the state of Israel (Helman, 2008). As Ben-Porat (1998) argues:

Football in the Jewish sector in Palestine was integrated in the practical history of Zionism, which, according to its ideology was aimed at rebuilding society and the people (Ben-Porat, 1998:271).

Israel's football culture worked at the local level to promote national solidarity and Jewish hegemony but also on a global level to promote the ideology of Zionism to the world in general and the Jewish diasporas in particular:

Soccer therefore was a tool of nation building and a manifestation of political rivalries during the first decades of statehood. The political model dictated the behaviour of clubs, the players and the fans. However from the 1980's the stature of soccer as nationalism and even more so, its relationship to politics began to wane as the commercialisation of the soccer impacted upon relations between the clubs, the players and the fans (Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004:432).

This local and global dichotomy is at the heart of football in contemporary Israel and echoes Nevo's (2000) research on the sports cultures of Israel. Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat (2004) outline how this has been intensified by the changes in the cultural and political landscape of Israeli soccer. This change in Israeli society is mirrored by the wider globalisation, commercialisation, commodification and liberalisation of Israel (Ben-Porat & Ben-Porat, 2004).

The socio-political conflict provides a backdrop to life in the State of Israel and the wider society. This is also evident in the approach to players and spectators within the state. For while the Jewish approach to football outlines its integral place in formation of Zionist hegemony, the exclusion and marginalisation of Palestinian Israelis tell the other side of the story. Indeed, this aspect of football in Israel could be said to highlight the real story of football in Israel. Palestinian Israelis form approximately twenty percent of the population of Israel. They share citizenship and formal rights in the State of Israel, but in many ways are alienated from social, cultural and political power (Sorek, 2003). They have been described as a 'trapped minority' (Rabinowitz, 2001). Sorek (2003) states:

The development of Arab football since the 1950s has been closely related to the deliberate endeavours of the Israeli authorities to channel the energy of young Arabs into a sphere that is considered both apolitical and under inspection (Sorek, 2003:424).

Sorek (2003) outlines how Palestinian Israelis have to negotiate a "marginal political position" in their social reality. He argues that the Arab Palestinian minority and their relationship to the institutions of football can be termed "an

integrative enclave". This enclave works to negotiate aspects of Israeli Palestinian identity but also to hide it from wider Israeli society:

The creation of the integrative enclave, I argue results from the ambivalence of the Jewish majority towards the liberal discourse and at the same time from the need of the Arab minority to relieve the tension created by the contradictory expectations stemming from their identities as Palestinians by nationality and Israelis by citizenship (Sorek, 2003: 424).

Sorek (2003) also outlines the Palestinian relationship to football in Israel as being a "unique sub-sphere of Israeli public life". This sub-sphere allows Arab citizens opportunities to integrate with, compete against and achieve success alongside Jewish citizens. He argues that this is also expressed in the public discourse on Arab teams playing in Israel (Sorek, 2003:426). Therefore the position of Arab Israelis is unique in many respects:

The Arab Palestinians in Israel are not 'normal citizens' in any sense except their formal citizenship. Israel is by definition a Jewish State and the political practices that derive from this definition set Arabs in Israel in permanent marginality in Israeli society (Sorek, 2003:446).

However in terms of both their success and representation in the game, Arab Israelis connections to football are characterised by "intensive inclusion" (Sorek, 2003). One of the more insightful aspects of Sorek's analysis of Israeli Palestinians football is the issue of the use of Hebrew in the game. Hebrew is the official language of the State of Israel and is closely associated with the Zionist project. The language is used in the public sphere across communities. As with any nationalist project, the issues of language and power are central to the ideology of the government. Sorek's analysis shows

that despite Arabic being the language used at home and in the workplace for Arab Israelis, Hebrew is the public language that Arab Israelis use to interact within the State of Israel.

Sorek's analysis thereby contends that football in Israel is connected to the hegemony of Jewish culture. This is maintained through the negotiated consent of Arab Israelis, through the adoption of Hebrew as the "language of football", the lack of the display of national symbols in public spaces and the support of Jewish players in Arab teams (Sorek, 2003):

Their choosing to adopt the integrationist interpretation and reproduce it does not change their inferior status. The normalcy felt by Arabs in the football sphere is contained in that arena. The Arab minority uses the sports arena only to maintain an enclave of integrative relations with the majority and reserves protest for other occasions. Both sides exploit the potential of sports to produce nationality blind discourses such as professionalism and achievement isolated from the discriminatory character of the state (Sorek, 2003:446).

Sorek (2003) claims Arab Israeli resistance is primarily expressed in the sports media with representations of Arab identity being celebrated in this cultural sphere. Although, as Said has reminded us, within Western media productions we are often confronted with a range of problematic 'Orientalist' representations and discourses of the Near East (Said, 1995). Therefore it is within the Arab sports media that resistance to the dominant discourses within Israel become apparent. This theme is more fully developed in Chapter 6, which explores how the sports media and documentary have represented both dominant ideologies and resistance (Uriely et al, 1999).

Chapter 4 Situating Football 4 Peace as Utopia

“Then let the daydreams grow really fuller, that is clearer, less random, more familiar, more clearly understood and more mediated with the course of things. So that the wheat which is trying to ripen can be encouraged with the course of things and be harvested” (Bloch, 1986a:4).

The social and political background to the football culture in Israel therefore provides the backdrop to the sports interventions that work in the region. This chapter will situate one such intervention, Football 4 Peace, against this socio-political backdrop and examine the project through a Blochian utopian lens. This lens provides the theoretical framework to link the disparate strands of the analysis of the utopianism of sports interventions presented in this thesis.

Football 4 Peace (F4P) is a sports-based coexistence initiative that operates between divided Jewish and Arab communities in Israel. The project has nurtured a number of high-profile partnerships with a mixture of agencies and organisations. The programme utilises an innovative methodology that foregrounds a ‘values-based’ approach to coaching (Lambert et al, 2004a).

The University of Brighton became a lead partner of F4P in 2000. F4P has since developed partnerships and associations with British inter-university sports organisations, the German Sports University in Cologne, the British Council, the FA, the EU and the Israeli Sports Authority. In addition, many of the key architects of F4P have worked as consultants and advisers to a number of other projects and international organisations that work in the area of sports interventions. As many of these individuals also work in the

academy, the project has also been presented, critiqued and assessed in international academic fora and also a number of academic articles and publications (Sugden, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a). The project therefore has a significant profile and impact as it works across a number of areas of influence and expertise such as the education sector, the NGO sector and the sports development sector. An analysis of this project therefore allows these sectors' relationships to sport to be critiqued, their interactions assessed and the utopianism of these organisations to be pinpointed.

The 'interventionist' model the project employs is based on neo-Liberal interpretations of socio-political relations that draw on humanist myths about the potential power of sport. These approaches are drawn to the creation of utopian visions of the power of sport or 'physical utopias'. The F4P project itself draws on the perceived 'neutrality' of sport and its British base and a range of British 'values', specifically linked to notions of citizenship. As Coalter (2007a) drawing on the work of Smith and Waddington (2004) outlines, the focus on the neutrality of sport has a well developed tradition: "the supposed efficacy of sport was strengthened by being regarded as a 'neutral' social space where all citizens, or sports people, met as equals" (Coalter, 2007a:9). In addition, Coalter also explored the notion of citizenship and how "citizenship implies responsibilities and duties as well as rights" (Coalter, 2007a:8). Football 4 Peace can therefore be situated as being part of the long tradition of sport and the arts being used as a 'positive' intervention into a social conflict and as a tool to begin dialogue between groups. This type of

intervention has been utilised in many conflict and post-conflict zones across the world including South Africa and Northern Ireland (Burnett, 2009), (Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008) (Sugden & Bairner, 1995), (Sugden, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a).

Like many projects that attempt to create 'physical utopias', the project has directly engaged with the media and the circulation of signs and symbols to promote and cement its utopian vision. In 2003, a short documentary promoted the project, (*Worlds Sport Peace Project*, 2003). In 2004 the project team employed a film crew to document the project, (*Football for Peace*, 2004). While in 2005 the project was the subject of a documentary film that claimed to represent the 'reality' of one of the projects (*Children of Jordan Valley*, 2005), (*Goal Keepers*, 2006). In addition, F4P has sustained a high level of sustained media interest in the project, both in the UK and Israel. This interest has allowed the project to be represented as an example of mediated hope, in a region where most media narratives tend towards the negative (Wolf, 2011).

4.i Researching F4P as an Intervention

During its existence Football for Peace has been the subject of numerous research activities, in an attempt to measure the impact of the project on individuals and understand the wider cultural politics of its milieu (Sugden, 2004a, 2004b, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a). This research attempts to understand the nature of the project itself and its many meanings

to various agencies. Initial attempts to gather research data primarily utilised questionnaires, translated into both Hebrew and Arabic, to measure the coaches and children's attitudes before and after engagement with the project (Sugden, 2006b). The researchers also conducted numerous interviews with key personnel and participants to assess changes in attitudes (Sugden, 2006b). All research data was translated into English and the results led the project leaders to claim that in the short to medium term, participation in the project can have a positive impact on children's and coaches perceptions of 'the other' community (Stidder & Sugden, 2003). The researchers claim this research indicates that F4P is an effective vehicle to promote co-existence and influences how community leaders and policy leaders approach cross-community sport (Sugden & Wallis 2007).

However these methods of data collection proved to be inadequate to uncover the wider impact of the project on partner institutions and in the regions in which it works (Sugden, 2006b). In order to capture the range of experiences during a long-term involvement in the project, the diverse perspectives created by engagement in Football 4 Peace and the fluctuating ideological standpoints of individuals who engage with the project, the research team experimented with different methodological tools (Doyle, 2007). This shift reflected changes in the nature of the project to an interventionist paradigm, based on initial research outcomes, supported with empirical data and firmly wedded to the team's professional experiences of how sport can be used to build bridges across communities (Sugden, 1989, 1991), (Sugden, & Bairner, 1995). This shift also attempted to engage directly within the socio-cultural

fabric of Israel's local and national sports institutions themselves, in order to facilitate cross-community co-operation and networking. This shift has been outlined elsewhere by the project leader and chief ideological architect, Professor John Sugden (Sugden & Wallis, 2007).

During this research period a number of the associates of the project and some on the team itself became increasingly concerned about some of the core ideological assumptions of F4P (Caudwell, 2007). Therefore the contexts within which Football 4 Peace works, the compromises the project leaders have to make and the relationships it has to maintain to survive all impact on the 'neutrality' claims the project makes. However some of these core assumptions have also proved to be very attractive to a number of partnership organisations. Therefore the ideology of F4P is both a process and a site of contestation. Thus tracking the shifts in this organisational ideology can work towards situating its utopianism.

Some of the tools that Football 4 Peace utilises can be seen to be problematic from various perspectives. The project's use of a coaching manual, devised by British project leaders, comprised of 'principles and values' plucked from a British socio-cultural system is one such tool. Other tools such as 'trust games' and coaching drills can also be critiqued against the use of sport as a disciplining activity (Lambert et al, 2004a).

In addition some of the projects core partnerships must be critiqued. Many critics have viewed the project's relationship with the British Council as

problematic. This is due to the institution being what some on the political 'left' view to be a neo-imperialist state body, a body whose very existence is devoted to promoting British culture and 'values' to the world through the resurrection of protean myths about British superiority. The tentative support of the Football Association (FA), an organisation increasingly concerned with its international power, prestige and profile is another such relationship that demands critical interrogation.

Other local issues such as the relationships, involvement and support of the State of Israel via the Israeli Sports Authority (ISA) and issues around the use of English and Hebrew as working languages on the project also potentially fracture any claims of 'neutrality' (Sorek, 2003) (Sugden, 2008a). These relationships, the impact on the direction of the project and its influence of the decision making of the F4P team generate a number of questions of the project and the motives of those institutions that provide support for its work. More importantly, some of these relationships potentially disenfranchise some on the project, threaten the legitimacy of the claim that all voices of those involved on the project are heard and possibly block the voices of contestation and discontent within the project (Doyle, 2007).

All the constituents involved in the project come from different ideological positions and engage in the project in different ways. They range from looking at the project as a political engagement, seeing it terms of 'making a difference', viewing it as an opportunity to meet and work with English coaches or as just an opportunity to play football. Engaging with and reflecting

on this range of experiences and perspectives continues to be one of the main strengths of this project (Sugden & Wallis, 2007). This complexity is what makes it such a rich research environment that continues to generate a significant body of research (Lambert, 2012), (Sugden, 2011), (Liebmann & Rookwood, 2007), (Spacey, 2010), (Rookwood, 2009), (Lea-Howarth, 2006).

However the institutional relationships and the networks that F4P works within are varied, shifting and subject to negotiation. These relationships have been developed for over a decade and shift depending on the phase of the project's development. However these relationships and shifts in the type of interventionism mask more subtle shifts in the character of the project and how it refracts its utopian ideologies.

4.ii Evangelical Utopianism: The World Sports Peace Project and Football 4 Peace

During the first major phase of the project's development, the organisational structure was based around inter-university sport. Its major partner in funding terms was the London Marathon, which supported the World Sports Peace Project (WSPP) as it was then known with the provision of T-shirts, some marketing materials and also by providing some places on the London Marathon itself, to aid the fundraising process. This stage of the project can be described as being its evangelical utopian phase, characterised by a secular face masking a theological philosophy (Whitfield, 2006).

This philosophy is expressed by one of the project's founders, Geoffrey Whitfield, who emphasises how Christian humanitarianism is enshrined into the project's origins. Using the diverse and influential philosophical examples of Dickens and Wilberforce, Whitfield claims that WSPP was:

part of that tradition of innovative involvement in the principle and practice of conflict prevention and resolution in humanitarian terms, in which unspoken theological or political perspectives did not need to be spelt out (Whitfield, 2007:ix)

Therefore many of the key principles of the project that developed during this phase are based on the ideological and philosophical premises of Christian fellowship and emerge from a tradition of missionary interventionism that mirror the practices of the 'Muscular Christians'. There is a certain irony in a project such as this working in the Holy Land and the unspoken, yet very much in evidence, missionary impulses of a Christian minister, working to save lost souls in the Holy Land. This missionary spirit is the key driver of the evangelical utopianism that initiated the project. If this is placed in the wider contexts of the muscular theologies and their relationship to sport and utopianism outlined in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, we can see that the WSPP in this phase was following an evangelical utopian framework, to promote the project, its values and its goals. Therefore the WSPP was both ideologically and philosophically influenced by the same drives on which the great political and theological empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were built. The role of the London Marathon during this phase of the project is also revealing, the Marathon director, David Bedford, a former Olympian himself

sees sport as a power for good. Even within the Marathon itself, once a year, a sporting utopianism emerges onto the streets of London.

During this phase of the project, (roughly from 2000-2003), the inter-university aspects of the intervention were nurtured by the organisers. With six Universities involved at one time, all providing recruits to the project, it is evident how this aspect evoked the evangelical utopian synthesis of education, sport and the missionary spirit. The goals of this fusion, so beloved of the Victorians, are to uplift individuals, communities and societies towards a Christian utopia. The chief architects were the games-masters and educationalists that were so integral to the building of empires, the key figures that inspired de Coubertin's Olympism, the ideology of which is represented in the film *Chariots of Fire* (Tomlinson, 1999a), (Cashmore, 2008).

Another emerging partner during this phase was the British Council, an educational and cultural body funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which works overseas to promote British values, culture and education. In Marxist terms the British Council is an ideological organisation – a part of the structures of neo-imperialist power. For neo-Marxists, it is a body that uses the power of culture to influence subordinate nations across the world and promote a neo-liberal economic agenda. From this perspective, the British Council uses the ideology of 'British values' and culture to enact socio-political, economic and cultural superiority. The British Council, for many Marxists, is therefore a legacy of Empire and the Commonwealth. It is often critiqued for its problematic work overseas and the perpetuation of an Imperial

ideology, based on the promotion of British global political power, international Anglicanism and a liberal free-market that is orientated towards Western economic power. This critique often focuses on the British Council's role in the promotion of propaganda. Even George Orwell, a figure often invoked by a number of the F4P team, saw that work for this institution involved the creation of propaganda (Orwell, 1946).

The British Council's role in the World Sports Peace (WSPP) project, while tentative at first, gradually increased throughout this phase of development. During this period, through the work of its offices in Nazareth, the organisation facilitated the creation of community networks in Northern Israel to facilitate the WSPP projects (Sugden, 2008a). These networks would be crucial in creating the conditions and the relationships that allowed for the re-branded Football 4 Peace (F4P) to flourish. The British Council therefore worked to legitimise the WSPP to local populations. They were instrumental in allowing the project to flourish, disperse and forge new strategic partnerships. The British Council also facilitated some of the emerging media strategies that F4P would later adopt and used their marketing expertise and publicity network to promote the projects work on a wider stage.

During this phase the strategy of the WSPP also evolved as the advice and support of a number of staff from the University of Brighton began to be more influential. Gary Stidder became the organisational and recruiting sergeant; John Lambert, the coaching guru; and John Sudden, the architect of a new

ideological framework, based on intervention, secularism and humanism (Lambert et al, 2004a), (Sugden, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a).

4.iii **Paternalistic Utopianism and 'Values-Based' Coaching**

Around 2004, the (WSPP) entered a new phase and was re-branded with a new name, Football 4 Peace (F4P). Seemingly dispensing with its evangelical baggage, the project began to work in a new paradigm, one that privileges an understanding of the inter-connectedness of social interactions and the use of empirical evidence to drive policy direction. The intervention therefore shifted from an approach that was based on the missionary mores of 'Muscular Christianity' to an approach that was more seemingly politically and culturally aware and allied to a secular humanism. However the idealism of the evangelical phase remained embedded in the projects ideology. The visions of hope that sparked the project and the ideology of earlier formations of the project remained in the next phase of its development. This is a good example of what Bloch calls utopian surplus. As Kellner's (1997) critique of Bloch points out, ideologies can be both critical but also anticipatory:

ideology is "Janus-faced," two-sided: it contains errors, mystifications, and techniques of manipulation and domination, but it also contains a utopian residue or surplus that can be used for social critique and to advance political emancipation (Kellner, 1997:109).

Now basing its rhetoric on more radical utopian philosophy and sound bites from progressive figures such as Orwell and Burke, the project readjusted not only its ideological frameworks but also shifted its organisational structure and

cemented a number of strategic partnerships within sport, culture and society to anchor itself more firmly as an utopian intervention. During this phase, the project began developing what is described as a 'values-based' approach to coaching. The philosophy of the evangelical phase can be seen to be idealistic, naïve, yet dynamic, energetic and in some ways fearless with the ambition of youth pushing the project forward. Again, this fits the model of ideology outlined by Bloch's utopian surplus. In publications during this period the project is described as working to build on the experiences of South Africa and Northern Ireland, to make:

Grassroots interventions into the sport culture of Israel and Palestine, while at the same time making a contribution to political debates and policy development around sport in the region (Sugden & Wallis, 2007: 80).

This statement is therefore more clearly ambitious, structured and overtly interventionist than WSPP/F4P in the evangelical phase. This stage of development therefore heralds the shift into a more politically interventionist phase. Firstly, it is interventionist into the grassroots sports culture of Israel via its work with community coaches in Northern Israel. Secondly, it seeks to intervene in the politics of sport in Israel. Thirdly, it seeks to intervene in sports development policy. Therefore this three-pronged intervention seeks to influence Israel on a number of levels from within the sports culture. The project therefore paternalistically exercised its cultural power to graft its ideology on various aspects of Israeli society.

This shift from an evangelical to paternalistic intervention was facilitated by the evolving organisational structure of F4P. This structure is based around the core team at the University of Brighton and is focused on the core strengths of community activism, pedagogic research and coaching expertise. The programme director John Sugden outlined the co-ordinators of the project's shift (Sugden & Wallis, 2007). Another key aspect of the shift to a more paternalistic approach to intervention was to strengthen the organisation's partnerships, in particular its relationship with the British Council. This relationship was based around the Council's ability to attract finance, its organisational bureaucracy and access to local networks. The British Council's Nazareth office nurtured a number of key relationships with grassroots coaches and the local sports cultures of Galilee and this culminated in an enduring relationship with the Israeli Sports Authority (ISA) (Sugden, 2008a).

Therefore this relationship with the ISA facilitated an intervention into the organs of power within an Israeli sports organisation. This relationship was also a key driver of influence with Israeli football coaches in Northern Galilee. It was the beginning of the networking approach that is an integral part of the work of F4P. Therefore the opening up of the Israeli Sports Authority to the ideas of F4P highlights how the ideological influence of F4P began to be diffused into grassroots sport in Israel via the coaches and children, the approaches to sports development via the sports leaders, and also the wider sports politics of Israel via the ISA.

The structure of sport in Israel and the sports authorities' role in the political culture was outlined in Chapter 3. If we take this political, social and cultural role of sports organisations into account, the relationship between the ISA and F4P was therefore very significant and offered an ideological framework, in terms of co-existence, for sports organisations in Israel. It was therefore a key way for F4P to influence the wider politics of sport in Israel. The relationship also provides evidence of the paternalistic utopianism of the F4P team in the dispersal of its techniques and ideology into the wider sports cultures of Israel. However, despite this relationship, two key shifts were instrumental in allowing the F4P team the cultural capital to gain influence in ISA's corridors of power. The first factor was the innovative shift in the coaching style, a hitherto unexplored feature of coaching in the politically orientated sports culture of Israel. This 'values-based' approach also attracted another key partner institution with a paternalistic utopian approach to sport, the English FA.

The traditional approach to coaching football has been based on the acquisition of football skills and the embedding of the 'traditional values' of sport such as skill, strength, speed, fitness and physical prowess. The 'values-based' approach promoted by F4P, is more directly focused on embedding a different set of 'values' into the sporting culture of Israel. This approach to coaching has been integral to the project's success in gaining a foothold in Israel and has both been subject to a research strategy and post-project evaluations. The project leaders argue that projects such as these require data to evaluate impact. The outcome of one such evaluation

determined that the wider project team wished to achieve more than improvements in football skills by ensuring that the contents of the football programme were underpinned by 'values' and 'principles' that fed a broader community relations agenda (Sugden & Wallis, 2007). This is the key shift that signals the paternalistic utopian agenda that is the key feature of this phase of the project. The shift signals the heightened focus on the networking into wider institutional cultures within Israel.

In order to facilitate these networks the project leaders designed a coaching manual that would "enhance opportunities for social contact across community boundaries; promote mutual understanding; and engender in participants a commitment to peaceful coexistence". The enhancement of soccer skills and technical knowledge was secondary to the broader community relations aims (Lambert et al 2004a:2), (Sugden, 2008a).

Another outcome of the evaluations of the F4P strategy was the perceived need to do more sustained work with adult volunteer coaches and community sports leaders from the participating towns and villages. This was in recognition of the limited impact a week-long coaching project can have (Sugden, 2006a). Therefore a training week in the UK was added to the project's calendar of activities. This training event prepares both British and Israeli coaches for the main project in Northern Israel and acts as a catalyst for sustained community involvement throughout the year. As Sugden & Wallis (2007) suggest, the training week, funded by the British Council and

Israeli Sports Authority, was focused on providing a neutral venue to inculcate the 'values' embedded in the coaching manual and the F4P project:

The team felt that they needed to move to ensure that the contents of that football programme were clearly underpinned by values and principles that fed a broader community relations agenda and that these values were appreciated by the local coaches and experienced by the children in practice (Sugden & Wallis, 2007:17)

The development of the coaching manual became, in many ways, the projects unique selling point in the market-based arena of sports interventions in the region. The coaching manual developed by the F4P team (Lambert et al, 2004a) contains practices and drills that focus on the 'principles' and 'values' that F4P see as being the important qualities and that are outlined as follows:

- Neutrality
- Equity and Inclusion
- Respect
- Trust
- Responsibility

This manual was piloted in 2004 and has since become an integral aspect of F4P. The coaching manual focuses on what Sugden calls "the basic values of good citizenship" (*Goal Keepers*, 2006) and allows the team to focus on bonding, teamwork and solidarity. The coaching manuals emphasis on 'trust games' and team building focuses on many of the utopian aspects of physical cultures and sport that were utilised by both the muscular theologians and utopian socialists.

However this coaching manual is a prime product of paternalistic utopianism. The values embedded in the manual are seemingly plucked from a Western society struggling with many of the same issues as Israel. While Sugden defends these values as “the basic values of citizenship”, for a number of critics it is difficult to see these values being practised and promoted in Western democracies in the early twenty-first century (Chomsky, 2010). The assumptions implicit in these ‘values’ also caused a number of coaches from the UK and Israel to have reservations about this aspect of the project, with many criticising the ‘values-approach’ to coaching as naïve at best and problematic at worst. Indeed, these schisms provided the catalyst for another key shift in the projects utopian ideology.

The F4P coaching strategy developed intensive training sessions based around the drills in the coaching manual that aimed to develop ‘human values’ connected to effective citizenship. The paternalistic approach highlights the strengths of the coaching manual, the specificity of the British base and embeds the ‘values’ associated with effective Western democracy and citizenship. One way the ‘values’ were communicated to the coaches and then cascaded down to the children was via what the F4P team have isolated and termed ‘teachable moments’. These ‘moments’ are isolated incidents within a game situation, contrived behavioural acts, constructed scenarios and set-piece events that highlight any of the project’s ‘values’. The ‘teachable moments’ are highlighted by the lead coach within a training or match-based scenario. The coach stops play, explains the context and highlights the behaviours or acts of good citizenship:

The examples of good practice alluded to above are known as 'teachable moments'. This refers to those incidents and events that happen during the flow of the practices that the coach can seize upon to illustrate the main points that he or she are trying to get over to the children. Once more this is especially important in terms of helping to translate some the five F4P principles which are concepts and abstractions into practical examples (Lambert et al 2004a:4).

These contrived acts could be described as being fanciful in some respects or even 'daydreams' and 'flights of fancy' in the Blochian sense. The 'teachable moments' do, however, highlight the paternalistic utopianism of this phase of F4P, whereby examples of behaviour, even wildly out of context on occasions, are then used to display sports power to modify behaviours, intervene into social situations and provide models of utopian behaviour. Therefore the 'values-based' approach to coaching was codified by the teaching manual, symbolised by the 'teachable moments' and transmitted in the training week and teaching sessions. The manual therefore encapsulates the ideological core of F4P during its paternal utopian phase.

Another feature of the paternalistic phase of the project was the incorporation and neutralisation of a range of criticisms of the projects work and ideology. Sugden, in particular, in a number of journal articles and conference papers, outlined the neo-imperialist arguments outlined against the British Council, the arguments about working with the Israeli State via the Israeli Sports Authority and also the commercial issues and problematic international politics of the FA (Sugden, 2007), (*Visions of Hope*, 2012). This assimilation of the critiques levelled at the project is an interesting tactic by Sugden. By acknowledging the issues and problems within the relationships and networks, he both

diffuses and neutralises the critique but also lays the foundation for his theoretical position:

F4P has been variously criticised for being ephemeral, unsustainable and as such irrelevant to the long-term future of the region. It has also been criticised for being patronising, neo-imperialistic and over supportive of the Israeli nation state and status quo. Furthermore the project has both criticised and acclaimed for being utopian (Sugden, 2006b:238).

However by acknowledging the range of criticisms that can be directed at the project and its ideology this does not mean that the project was responding to the criticisms. Instead, the F4P strategy was to strengthen its 'values-based' vision, its range of partnerships and its interventionist strategies. However a number of key events in the UK, in the field in Israel and the continued resonance of these ideological critiques led to the foundation of Sugden's theoretical position of 'Critical Pragmatism' (Sugden, 2010a).

4.iv Pragmatic Utopianism and Interventionism

The shift to 'Critical Pragmatism' can perhaps be more suitably identified as being the beginning of a new phase of the utopian scale and can be thought of as shift from paternalistic to a pragmatic utopianism (Sugden, 2007, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b). This shift can be traced to the summer of 2005. With the project team ready to fly out to Tel Aviv for the project, the London bomb attacks on the 7th July 2005 punctured some of the key assumptions of the paternalistic utopianism of F4P. The aftermath of the bomb attack in London led to some anxieties amongst the project team and was the start of a chain of

events that fractured the paternalistic utopianism of F4P and cemented the shift to a pragmatic utopianism (Wallis, 2007 in Wallis & Sugden 2007).

If the terrorist attacks in London opened up some of the fissures of the project during its paternalistic phase and began to break down some of the more problematic assumptions of the project team then events during the project in Israel further widened these fissures. The project's first real ideological schism occurred during the 2005 project. The project at Um el Fahem, until then hailed as potentially ground-breaking project for the F4P's work in Israel, given its location as a potential gateway into the Palestinian Authority, threatened to break down the core-assumptions at the heart of the values-based approach to coaching (Wallis, 2007 in Wallis & Sugden 2007).

This missionary impulse of F4P or its Blochian 'utopian surplus' has been explicit in its work, as has the desire to push the boundaries of the project and its ideology, to develop into more difficult and problematic communities. The dream to take the project out of the relatively safe environment of Northern Israel into the 'frontline' of the conflict in the Palestinian Authority has been a key feature of each phase of the project. This desire to take the project into the occupied territories, the potential of the project to move beyond the localised projects in the Galilee has always been an explicit goal of the project leader's rhetoric and is explicit in a number of publications (Whitfield, 2006, 2007). This missionary imperative to push the boundaries of the project and to stretch the resources and organisational relationships to their limit were key features of the F4P project during the shift from the paternal to pragmatic.

These boundaries were closed in the summer in 2005, when the project metaphorically hit the West Bank Barrier, which was under construction by the State of Israel. Some of the social and cultural contexts of the crisis at Um el Fahem have been outlined in Wallis (2007), however, the wider contexts are also important to understand the context of the shift to pragmatism.

The F4P's projects work in a conservative town on the border of the West Bank was hailed as a potential breakthrough to other 'harder to reach' communities. The local networks that F4P now operated within had stretched from the Mediterranean town of Acco to the West Bank at Um el Fahem spanning the Northern border of the country. The incorporation of what has been described as a "conservative, some would say fundamentalist or radical town" into the F4P project, was celebrated in the projects rhetoric, in its push for funding to support its growth and cement its vision of expansion into the Palestinian Authority (*Goal Keepers*, 2006).

Initially, the project was seen a success as documented in Wallis (2007). The local community welcomed the project, opened the doors of its community stadium and training pitches and was, in many ways, the key site of the 2005 project. The resulting controversy around the cancelation of the girls project outlined in Wallis (2007) and Caudwell (2007) by a community under internal cultural and political pressures, brought out some of the issues and core assumptions with paternal utopianism that project had been dealing with into the open (Caudwell, 2007), (Wallis, 2007).

Therefore, two key decisions that were made in 2005, to firstly continue the project against the backdrop of terror attacks in London, and the decision to acquiesce in the face of local pressures to cancel the girls' tournament were driven by flexibility within the project's motives, ideology and vision. A project with a more fixed sense of its goals would have been less likely to adapt to the local conditions and the changes brought about by moving throughout local environments. This ideological malleability and what Sugden would eventually label as 'Critical Pragmatism', masks a wider ideological elasticity (Sugden, 2007, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b). The critical aspect of these episodes in 2005 are outlined in Sugden and Wallis (2007) and in some media interviews that address how to approach the discourse of terror and the London bombs within the context of conflicts in Israel.

'Critical Pragmatism' is also outlined by the project's subtle acts of resistance to the cancelation of the project also highlighted by Sugden in subsequent interviews. Therefore during this phase, the paternalistic utopian drive is moderated both by a resistance to conform completely to certain cultural norms in certain communities and an in-built organisational and ideological flexibility that allows assimilation into local conditions. In addition the missionary impulses to drive the project forward, to work on the project come what may, to keep the momentum built up over the first years of the evangelical and paternalistic utopias is a significant factor during this phase of development.

Therefore it becomes more evident these utopias flow into and feed off each other, each shift leaving a residue of the successive phases of the character of the project. This replicates how Bloch describes 'utopian surplus' as operating. Sugden's take on 'Critical Pragmatism' provides a framework for working across different organisational, cultural and political contexts, rippling out like a pebble dropped into water from its core activity of work with children out to wider sports institutions and then on to the wider political contexts (Sugden, 2007, 2008b, 2010a). It may be equally possible to apply this model to the shifts from the evangelical to pragmatic with hope at the centre of Whitfield's vision of the WSPP project emanating through its various phases.

The other key event in the shift to a more pragmatic approach was the evaluation of the post-project of feedback from coaches on the issue of the cancelation of the girls' tournament, which caused much soul searching for some on the project (Caudwell 2007). The response to the feedback by the team further embedded the ideology of 'Critical Pragmatism' in the F4P team and strengthened another institutional relationship with the FA. The FA's role in F4P is a curious mix of the paternalistic and pragmatic. Firstly, its support in terms of some modest financial support is very much symbolic. The institution has shown an interest in the projects 'values-based' approach to coaching without committing itself in full to the programme. As well as monies, the FA also provides medals, trinkets and T-shirts to be handed out as prizes and symbolic gestures. For some, the circulation of these symbols to local officials, coaches and children, carry worrying echoes of colonialism. However these objects can also become pragmatic symbols of resistance. This is best

shown in 2005 when the excluded girls were given bright red FA branded t-shirts to identify them in the stadium of Um-El Fahem. This highlights how symbols and images can take on new meanings even when taken out of social and political contexts. It is doubtful that the FA's three-lions crest has been used to symbolise resistance to the discourses of gendered sport in this way.

The relationship between the FA and F4P is also pragmatic in that the governing body provides advice and support in terms of its approach to the grassroots sports interventions around the world. The FA therefore continues to act as a custodian of the game, celebrates being its intellectual and symbolic heart and works towards the dispersal of 'British values'. F4P's emphasis on values and its approach to coaching can be seen, at least in the Israeli context, to be a perfect fit for the FA's international work and vision.

Jane Bateman, the FA's Head of International Relations has commented that:

The FA is supportive of initiatives such as this, which show how football can be used as a vehicle to bring people and communities together. Football 4 Peace reflects the FA's own vision of using the power of football to build a better future and we wish this project every success (University of Brighton, 2005).

If this relationship is combined with the influence of the British Council, the dispersal of utopian ideology and the influence of F4P within these institutional relationships become more evident. This network also highlights the pragmatic approach, which again carries echoes of the neo-Marxist critique of the role of diplomatic services, which followed the aggressive

missionary colonisation and the dispersal of ideologies from the ideological institutions and the ability to react to change within local conditions.

The shift to pragmatic utopianism was cemented in the summer of 2006, when the project was cancelled due to the war in the Lebanon. Again, just as in 2005, the conditions for the cancelation of the project were set in motion during the week the project was due to start. The kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah on the Lebanese border brought the usual speedy response by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF), with incursions into Lebanon and a subsequent blockade and bombing of Beirut. This largely unexpected flashpoint happened during the last minute preparations for the F4P project and the project was cancelled just as the coaching team was preparing to board coaches to the airport. The decision, made by the core project team in Israel along with the project director Sugden (already in Israel), potentially stalled the momentum that had been built up. Sugden outlines his feelings about this and he states:

Yet when I remember the disappointment etched deeply into the faces of our Jewish and Arab partners when they knew the project had to be cancelled, and when I think of the children and grownups who never had the opportunity to make new friends because we could not go and run our camps, I am minded otherwise. This does not mean we should ignore the questions and issues highlighted above. Rather, they become part of the reflective and critical framework within which Football 4 Peace will continue to evolve. (Sugden & Wallis, 2007:175)

Therefore the cancelation of the summer project in 2006, while ostensibly on grounds of safety, cemented the shift to a more pragmatic approach. These shifts in local conditions, attitudes and events have all had an impact on the

shift to a more pragmatic utopianism. These events and the subsequent re-arranging of the project for December 2006 demonstrate that the shift to pragmatic utopianism was gaining momentum. The enduring desire to complete the project, the strength of the institutional relationships and moderation of the paternalistic to the pragmatic utopianism of the F4P team ensured that the project survived. The project was re-constituted in a residential setting near the border of Lebanon, with Jewish and Arab children spending a few days together in a residential setting in December 2006. This demonstrates how the pragmatic approach was able to push the boundaries of the project into new domains just as in the earlier utopian phases. While this residential aspect has not remained a feature of the project in any significant capacity, it demonstrates how this was a tipping point towards a more pragmatic utopianism within the F4P team.

4.v F4P as Utopian Sports Intervention

An analysis of utopian phases of F4P allows a critique of the relationships, character and ideology of this project to be described, analysed and situated in some form of linear scale. For many critics on the left, the utopian critiques outlined above would condemn F4P for being just another ideological tool that is at best naïve in attempting to bring about co-existence at any level among a number of communities and at worst producing a 'false consciousness' and collaborating with a militaristic and oppressive regime. For other critics on the right, working with the ideology and discourses of multiculturalism and using a popular cultural form, such as football, would be equally problematic.

F4P is also subject to the shifting definitions of 'citizenship' and 'values' within the political culture in the UK and the different approaches to interventionism.

As David Cameron demonstrated in his Munich speech, these terms and concepts are not stable in the UK:

“Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream. We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values (Cameron, 2011).

In addition, for many critics projects such as these are vanity projects for those involved and the value of those who have experienced the project is “ephemeral” (Sugden, 2006b). These critics all share a definition of the ‘utopian’, as being unrealistic, the realm of ‘false consciousness’ and based on the imaginary. Sugden outlines a number of these critiques and suggests they have some resonance when outlining his pragmatic approach (Sugden, 2008a, 2008b, 2010a). However a potentially more fruitful approach to researching and understanding utopian sports interventions and F4P in particular, is to work within a paradigm that redefines utopia, reinvigorates progressive politics and also values the dreams, wishes and hope that is expressed across range of cultural forms and social constructions. Therefore by utilising a Blochian analysis we can get closer to assessing the ideology of F4P, to situate the project into a wider tradition of utopian thinking and most importantly, to extract the full value of the project against the various critiques offered against it and other, similar, interventionist projects.

Bloch's analysis of utopia is often impenetrable, extremely wide-ranging and encyclopaedic, so it is often difficult to apply it effectively to a range of examples. Bloch's analysis of sport, physical culture and Zionism and their place within utopian thinking and progressive movements have already been outlined in Chapter 1, 2 and 3. Therefore these examples are also applicable to an overall analysis of F4P. Bloch's theorisation of utopia is also revisited in the conclusions of this thesis. However Bloch also had much to say about other more subtle aspects of society and culture that are also applicable to an analysis of F4P. Bloch's analysis of utopian philosophies contains a number of passages on youth and its close association with hope. For Bloch, children and youthfulness in general, are filled with utopian potential and are generally able to think about change and act towards new and future possibilities.

Any young person who feels some hidden power within him knows what this means, the dawning, the expected, the voice of tomorrow. He feels called to something that is going on inside him, that is moving in his own freshness and overhauling what has previously become, the adult world. Bold youth imagines it has wings and that all that is right awaits its swooping arrival, in fact can only be established or at least set free by youth (Bloch, 1986a:117).

Therefore for Bloch, youth and childhood contains all the necessary conditions for the utopian possibilities to start to work. The obvious point here is that the F4P projects focus on work with young players to promote co-existence. This works on a number of levels. Firstly, as well as being malleable in terms of influence and full of utopian potential, children are used on the F4P project as the project leaders believe that despite the lack of political and social power of children, it is at this level that change is possible in the present and for the future. Bloch concurs with this view:

During this period of youth it also becomes apparent that the only thing that actually binds us and establishes friendship is the common expectation of a common future; this unites us as matter-of-factly as working together in later years youth (Bloch, 1986a:17).

Bloch's conception of utopian potential within youth therefore fits directly with the F4P projects' strategy of working with children and the belief by some of the leaders of the project, that children are open to the 'daydreams' embedded within the ideology of F4P. In addition, a number of the F4P hierarchy believe that children can provide a compelling example to their parents, those with responsibilities in their local communities and hold up a mirror to Israeli society in general. This interaction with adults is also an integral part of Bloch's belief in the emancipatory potential of utopia. He chronicles the development in the relationship between children and adults and tracks the development of a childhood when adolescents were "kindly enslaved" at the turn of the twentieth century to the period when a "will surfaced among young people on a fairly broad scale to belong to nobody but themselves" (Bloch, 1986b:585).

In addition, the youthfulness of the student coaches who disperse the F4P ideology also contains the residue of this freedom of youth and they are not completely disciplined into wider society. Despite Bloch's conception of a childhood that is free in terms of time, potential and ideas, he still recognises that children are subject to authority, discipline and regimented in the home and within the education system. Therefore, he argues that children are socialised and disciplined into the mores of society by parents and teachers,

who prepare children for the future system under capitalism and particularly in the workplace that awaits them:

However trainers at home and at school aim actually to achieve the improbable: to make people put up with what will be done to them (Bloch, 1986c:928).

Within this context and frame of analysis, the F4P projects' use of trainee teachers, professional coaches, a teaching ideology and an educational structure to train children into 'values' and 'principles' of an alien society can be seen to be problematic. Therefore the critique of the 'values-based' approach to coaching, the associated coaching manual and the 'teachable moments' offered above is also relevant to a Blochian analysis of F4P. It is at this point, despite the various claims of an innovative, progressive, 'values-based' ideology, that many of the critiques of F4P are generated (Lambert et al, 2004a). It is also conversely, as outlined above, exactly the model of operation that has given F4P the cultural capital to work within Israel for so long and to build and develop its practitioner and partnership networks (Bourdieu, 1986). Bloch's analysis of sport suggests that a freedom from formal approaches to play and sport carry more utopian potential than heavily formalised sport, and that this type of sport has potential when movement is uninhibited, with the body itself pushing itself beyond its own limits, just as utopian movements and cultures do. This can be seen in the F4P's projects development of off-pitch activities that are more focused on this type of informal physical culture (Stidder, 2006a), (Stidder & Haasner, 2007).

Another aspect of the Bloch's analysis that is applicable to F4P is how archetypes are used to promote the project. This is outlined in much more detail in the analysis of the media products of F4P in Chapter 8 and 9. However Bloch sees these archetypes or 'canonical types' in terms of guiding images that lead us through hope and ultimately towards utopia and outlines these "respective canonical types, which can be distinguished as the respective guiding images, which are moving ahead. The warrior, the wise man, the gentleman and especially the citizen (citizens) are figures of this kind" (Bloch, 1986c:931).

In F4P's terms these canonical types are fixed to various characteristics and roles of a number of the project team in the UK and in Israel, they are displayed via the coaching events and then represented in the media products. Within the 'neutral', 'politics-free' zone of the F4P project itself, the coaches and foot soldiers of the project are the citizen, within the utopian republic of F4P.

However for Bloch, the education of children, individuals and the promotion of social change while having utopian elements and having value within these terms still lack the glory of a fully concrete utopia. He views these utopias as being fleeting, transitory and illusory in places. For Bloch, as displayed by his veneration of the national culture of the Soviets, the ultimate goal of the concrete utopia is global socialism.

But people can only truly be educated towards the guiding image of the comrade, as is already the case in one great country. This is also the

only kind of education which is utopian in the good sense, i.e. which grasps and learns the old from the new, and not vice versa, and which does not bring the canonical kind of wanting and knowing back into what is antiquated or consciously inhibited. Walking upright appears here, being oneself in communal being, pupils, teachers lie ahead, on a continuing advancing frontier. They live where the goal itself is young, towards which the learner brightens and comes into form (Bloch, 1986c: 930).

These 'guiding image's also have obvious connections to how cultures interact with the media. In addition, 'archetypes' are often communicated by the media representations. Therefore an assessment of how the media and in particular, the sports media, communicate ideologies is also relevant to how we can view how interventionist sport can be situated as utopian. The next chapter begins to map out some of these issues in more detail.

Chapter 5 Mediatizing Sports Interventionism

“Utopia is the smile of the Cheshire Cat, this smile which floats in the air before the cat appears, and for some time after it has disappeared; a little before the cat appears and a little after it has disappeared. This smile into which the Cheshire Cat disappears, and is itself mortal” (Baudrillard, 1971:59).

5.i Mediatized Interventions

In the introduction to this thesis a number of key terms and concepts were outlined. One of these concepts was mediatization. In returning to this concept and its relationship to the thesis some of the theoretical ideas will be revisited, in particular, to situate how mediatized interventionism is framed in the thesis.

One recent example of a mediatized intervention is the recent campaign film *Kony 2012* (Invisible Children, 2012a). This film is concerned with raising the issues of child soldiers, civil war and atrocities in Central Africa. The campaign focuses on the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) leader, Joseph Kony, and a bid to make him ‘famous’. The wider campaign concerns the intervention of Western military forces into the Congo to capture Joseph Kony and bring him to trial in the International Criminal Court (Urquhart, 2012). The film was produced by the campaign group *Invisible Children* and circulated around the web via social networks in early 2012, reaching around 100 million hits on YouTube in a month in April 2012 (Kanczula, 2012). The film displays all of characteristics of mediatization in one contemporary package that emphasizes how interventions become mediatized (Naughton, 2012).

The *Kony 2012* film is almost the ultimate mediatized intervention, with the intervention existing primarily in the film text itself. *Kony 2012*, in effect, precedes the wider interventionist campaign as a social, cultural or political reality, in an eerie echo of Baudrillard's speculations on the precession of simulacra. The intervention only exists in the form of the mediated intervention (Invisible Children, 2012b). The campaign is supported by an organization run by filmmaker/activists that utilise the power of 'we media', the wider media eco-system and celebrity activists to circulate their message (Curtis & McCarthy, 2012).

The campaign also displays the utopian attempts to make the 'world a better place' through invoking the social, political and cultural power of the West. The film highlights how institutions succumb to 'media logic' and also how institutions communicate via the media (Curtis, 2012). The speed by which the film circulated the web and dominated certain sections of the media also suggests elements of Whannel's theorization of 'Vortextuality' (Whannel, 2010). *Kony 2012* can therefore be situated as an example of mediatized interventionism.

Kony 2012 is only the latest and most notable manifestation of this process. The process is mirrored by the media discourses and representations of many interventions into the Middle East by Western powers. Cottle (2006a) outlines how the Iraq war was mediatized and one of Baudrillard's most provocative public statements was that "The Gulf War Did Not Take Place" (Baudrillard, 1995). Many of these interventions currently take place with the status and actions of the State of Israel at the centre of many of the disputes. However

media interventions are also prevalent in a number of spheres that extend beyond the representation of War, Conflict and Peace. Sport is increasingly one of the most highly mediatized sites in the twenty-first century.

5.ii Mediatized Sport

Modern sport throughout its history has absorbed the impact of developing media forms, from the press, radio, television, the web to social networking. Since organized sport was codified and organised it has had an extremely close relationship with the media – this extends from sport reporting and promotion to sports betting and gambling. Therefore to some extent the logic of the media has always been an influence on sport institutions and practices. Initially this influence was manifested with sport being scheduled in order to maximize media coverage and to fit into the production processes of the press and radio. This was especially evident in football in the UK and baseball in the USA. However the most influential impact on the sport media has undoubtedly been broadcast television. The colonization of sport by television has set the conditions for the wider mediatization of sport. Whannel's (1992) influential study of televised sport outlines this development:

It's more relevant to try and understand the conventions of television, how they emerged, and how television, as an economic reality and a set of aesthetic conventions, has intervened in and transformed the cultural practices of sports (Whannel, 1992:2-3).

Whannel (1992) in *Fields of Vision* tracks the prehistory of the mediatization of sport. This close relationship goes beyond individual commentators acknowledging that sport and the media need each other in a symbiotic

relationship (Humphries, 2003). Rowe (1999) builds on Jhally's conception of a 'sport media complex' (1984) and develops this argument into a more deep-seated theoretical position about the: "'media sports cultural complex', which signifies both the primacy of symbols in contemporary sport and the two-way relationship between sports media and the great cultural formation of which it is a part" (Rowe, 1999:4).

Rowe's work on the sports media and work by scholars such as Horne (2006a, 2006b, 2007) and Cashmore (2006) extends further the theorisation of the indivisibility of sport and media. Whether it is via discourses, representations, occupational practices or the political economy, the synthesis of sports institutions and the media is clearly evident. Whannel's (2002), (2010) recent research into sports media and the extension of this work into wider media phenomenon has likened the sports media's discourses and practices to a vortex and coined the term 'Vortextuality' to describe, especially in relation to mega events and spectacles, the sports media within late capitalism:

The various media constantly feed off each other in processes of self-preferentiality and intertextuality. In an era of electronic and digital information exchange, the speed at which this happens has become very rapid. Certain super-major events come to dominate the headlines, and it becomes temporarily difficult for columnists and commentators to discuss anything else. They are drawn in, as if by a vortex. Even columnists with no abiding interest in an event feel impelled to comment. There is a short-term compression of the media agenda, and other topics either disappear or have to be connected to the vortextual event (Whannel, 2010:71).

Other critics have pointed to the increasing indivisibility between live sport and media sport and focus on how they both influence and reflect each other:

“within our mediatized culture, whatever distinction we may have supposed there to be between live and mediatized events is collapsing because live events are becoming more and more identical with mediatized ones” (Auslander, 2008:32). Auslander (2008) therefore shifts the focus of the debate onto how live events are increasingly influenced by mediatized events. We can therefore safely speculate that at least by Hjarvard’s (2008) definitions, professional sport in late capitalism is increasingly mediatized. We can also see that it conforms to many of Cottle’s (2006a, 2006b) descriptions of ‘mediatized ritual’, and some evidence of Auslander’s (2008) focus on the interplay between the ‘live’ and the media event. We can also speculate that professional sport media also serves the institutions of power and by extension the power elites and the status quo. A brief excursion to examine how the two powerhouses of world sport, FIFA and the IOC, are fully implicated into the media sphere can articulate how fully both professional and amateur sport is mediatized.

The Olympics has long been a mediatized event. The Olympics is such a huge event that the battle between international cities to host the games and between broadcasters to represent them, now determine the character of the games (Marshall et al, 2010). The media’s logic is so prevalent in the decisions about hosting the games, the timing of events for media coverage, the associated advertising streams and the cultural and economic legacies that it almost becomes a cliché to point them out. However Horne & Whannel (2010, 2011) point to how these intersections now almost define the Olympic movement. The reality of the Olympic event is now indivisible from the media

of communication and the display of visions of Olympism in various media forms.

Likewise, FIFA's vast revenues and the associated financial surplus are driven by the media deals that promote the organisation's events, the televising of matches and syndicating these via the web and by associated merchandising deals with its prime sponsors and members of the 'football family'. Sugden & Tomlinson (1998, 1999a, 2003) and Jennings (2006) have outlined how these relationships keep individuals in power and the associated impact on national associations and institutions. These scholars also show how FIFA's relationship with the international media protects it from sustained scrutiny. The only real scrutiny of FIFA by the international media came in the wake of England's failed bid for the 2018 World Cup by the FA and much of this scrutiny was focused on the individual at the top of the organization.

The indivisibility of the sport media and the exercise of 'media logic' are even apparent in FIFA's attempts at corporate responsibility. For instance, the South African World Cup in 2010 was mirrored by a *Football 4 Hope* festival and a football project that focused on social inclusion in South Africa (FIFA, 2010a). This event was also highly mediatized and had a number of senior staff and representatives attached to the project. However, despite the project being held in the pre-tournament build-up in many ways the project only exists in the media sphere (Press Association, 2010b). Consumers and sponsors view this interventionist project into the sports culture of South Africa primarily through a media lens. Therefore FIFA's philanthropy is a mediatized product

that works to bolster its other activities around the world and supports the political status quo within world of football (FIFA, 2010b).

5.iii Mediatized Sports Interventions

The increasing importance of the media to showcase sporting interventionism into various societies also highlights the increased reach of mediatization in sport. Mediatized sports interventions therefore sustain the intervention, fuel those groups and individuals that take part and also promote the key agencies that fund and support them. Media coverage provides the 'evidence' that projects are 'making a difference' and 'having an impact'. In the case of the Football 4 Peace, as outlined by (Bairner, 2009), an effective communication strategy utilising 'organic intellectuals' could provide the evidence of the impact of the intervention into the sports culture of Israel.

There are numerous examples of the agency of individuals within sports cultures interacting with the media to showcase interventions. However in order to achieve some kind of prominence in the media eco-system they are usually associated with the cultural power of the sports star, the interaction of the media and the spectacle of international sporting events (Horne, 2006b, 2007) (Tomlinson, 1996, 1999b, 2002, 2006), (Whannel, 2002). The heightened media exposure of the sports star and media spectacles has also allowed interventions and the resistance to dominant ideologies and social structures to be circulated and celebrated (Cashmore, 2006), (Whannel, 2002).

An example of sporting interventions of this type were the 'Black Power' interventions by Black American sports stars in the late 1960's. For instance the Black Power 'salute' performed by Tommie Smith and John Carlos on the podium in the Mexico Olympics and Muhammad Ali's televised refusals to fight in Vietnam can be seen in this context (Wenn & Wenn 1999). These interventions allowed sports stars to highlight the contradictions of the American utopia and provide a dystopian critique of the 'American Dream' (Marqusee, 2005). The fact that these interventions were by highly mediated sports stars meant that these images were circulated around the world. Therefore these interventionist acts also highlighted the realities for the average Black American to be foregrounded in the media and the utopia of the United States to be exposed as fraudulent.

In addition, the collective agency of the Anti-Apartheid movement interventions into sports cultures to expose the racism of the South African regime is another example of agency being utilised via a media campaign. The drafting of *International Declaration Against Apartheid in Sports* by the UN and subsequent sporting boycott of the racist State provides some evidence of how the media can impact on policy direction of international organisations (Jarvie, 2007). However some sporting interventions are less celebrity orientated, commercialised and globalised and their concerns and peculiarities, when mediatized also represent the interaction between the sports organisations, NGO's and grassroots organisations to promote change in a region.

FIFA's *Football 4 Hope* campaign and the attendant media strategies of the governing body are also increasingly replicated in many sports interventions (FIFA, 2010a). These interventions by States, sports organisations, NGO's and grassroots movements also provide evidence of an increasingly pronounced mediatization of the Sport, Development and Peace (SDP) milieu. This is due, in part, on the importance of the media for the internal and external markets of the SDP world. The media are integral in attracting attention to the work of these disparate groups and also support the recruitment of volunteers. Many, if not all, of these disparate projects and groups have defined media strategies that are either built into their organizational structures or strategies that evolve as the interventionist work of the group develops.

Giardina (2010) outlines how this convergence of sport, media and commerce is manifested in sports interventions in Africa. His research examines how corporate responsibility, sports brands and peace interventions intersect. His analysis of Puma, Africa and the '*Peace One Day, One Goal*' project shows how these intersections circulate around a sustained and ubiquitous media presence and logic.

Indeed, the *Peace One Day, One Goal* campaign can be situated, like the *Kony 2012* project, as a mediatized sporting intervention. The activist/filmmaker Dan Gilley's enterprise '*Peace One Day*' is a campaign for an annual day of peace and is entirely the creation and enterprise of one man. Gilley's project has consistently lobbied the UN to create a 'Peace Day' and just as the *Kony 2012* example shows, is an example of activism and

intervention through media practice (Peace One Day, 2012). The funding for Gilley's activism, filmmaking and lifestyle is unclear, although the *Kony 2012* funding has been critiqued (Borger, Kagumire and Vidal, 2012). In many ways 'Peace One Day' campaign was a precursor to the *Kony 2012* campaign with the incorporation of high-profile celebrity activists, a film campaign communicated through social networks and the focus on an idea, rather than an event (Invisible Children, 2012c). Therefore 'Peace One Day' is located at the nexus of celebrity, institutional and corporate responsibility. It can thus be situated as a mediatized intervention. The movement's alliance with Puma and the 'Peace One Day, One Goal' campaign pushed this mediatized intervention into the sporting sphere.

One particularly worrying aspect of this mediatized utopia is the replication of discourses and narratives of Africa that display a worrying lack of awareness about racial stereotyping and the place of Samuel Eto in the world of football, as a campaigner against racism (Giardina, 2010). Therefore the 'Peace One Day One Goal' mediatized utopia works in the service of the corporate giant Puma to create and sustain new markets in Africa, while also using the rhetoric of 'Peace' as cache for the sports brand. This connection between interventionist sport and corporate responsibility also carries echoes of Nike's 'Stand Up Speak Up' anti racism campaign and the corporations alliance with the high-profile footballer, Thierry Henry. Both of these provide examples of interventionist campaigns that exist primarily in and through the media (Stand Up Speak Up, 2005). These campaigns also demonstrate little evidence of tangible results, other than raising awareness of an issue and demonstrations of latent utopianism.

These utopian interventions are also replicated across the sports media through advertising strategies designed to bolster the economic, political and social status quo. They are created and sustained by a network of activists, media workers (often one and the same), the marketers of the sports industry and the mandarins of the sports institutions. They serve to replicate narratives and discourses about the power of sport to change the world and evangelize about sport's capacity to impact on justice, peace and hope. They also very often replicate problematic representations of those who they proclaim to serve and save.

5.iv Football 4 Peace as Mediatized Intervention

The developing mediatization of the Football 4 Peace project was initially manifested in the use of images of the participants in the projects juxtaposed with images of terror and atrocities in both formal and informal presentations to funders and new recruits. This mediatization continued into the creation of a website and a number of digital film projects that used a range of media strategies that are assessed in Chapter 8 and 9. In addition the project itself was the subject of a more intensive media interest and scrutiny. The F4P intervention has been the subject of numerous magazine and newspaper stories and local and national TV and radio news items (BBC, 2010), (British Council, 2011), (Wolf, 2011).

The media products that were developed out of the work of the F4P project were also increasingly an important part of the F4P story and experience. Therefore it is also important to situate the mediatization of F4P against the

traditions of documentary, realist film and visual research that combine to communicate the discourses and narratives of the intervention. This therefore aids an examination of how the research of the visual artefacts of the intervention and visual research practices collide, collude and inform each other. The assessment of this intertextuality is developed in Chapter 6.

In particular three digital film projects that focused on F4P offered rich potential to examine how F4P was represented and mediatized. In 2003, the project employed a film crew to document the preparations of that year's project *Worlds Sport Peace Project* (2003). In 2004 the project leaders employed an Israeli film crew to document the project *Football for Peace* (2004) In 2005 a German documentary filmmaker also made a documentary film, *Goal Keepers* (2006) which focused on one of the projects in which a German student volunteer coach worked (*Children of Jordan Valley*, 2005), *Goalkeepers*, 2006). The background to the development of the *F4P trilogy* can be seen in Sugden's work in Northern Ireland. Just as the many of the methodologies of the F4P project have precursors in interventions in Ireland, the media strategies of the intervention share some similar roots. During his research into cross-cultural sport in the region, Sugden acted as a researcher on a documentary project on the documentary *Fighting for the Holy Family*, a film that focused on a cross-community boxing club in Belfast (*Fighting for the Holy Family*, 1993). *Fighting for the Holy Family* also has a number of intertextual links with the feature film *The Boxer* (1997), which dramatizes the same milieu. Thus the mediated vision of the potential of cross-cultural sports interventions was then taken into the wider interventionist sphere of Israel.

The *F4P trilogy* built on a media strategy initially developed in Northern Ireland, can be understood on a number of levels and have a number of complementary and potentially conflicting functions. Firstly, the films act as promotional tools to sell the Football 4 Peace project to an audience of potential coaches, sponsors and partners. Secondly, they also act as visual documents of the project's development from the evangelical utopian phase through to the pragmatic utopian phase, both in terms of its organisation and the shifts in ideology. The films therefore become research tools in themselves. They act as conduits of the rhetoric of the projects leaders, vehicles for the dispersion of images and offer mediated visions of the filmmakers and project leaders. They do this by utilising a set of prescribed codes and conventions in order to represent a complex and evolving project and ideology (White, 1992).

The development of the F4P project and the associated ideological shifts are also mirrored in the development in the films' technical and aesthetic complexities. The move from the broadly passive, though very much evangelical, approach of the World Sport Peace Project, that styled itself in terms of 'making a difference', is echoed in the promotional aesthetic and the basic technical skills utilised on the representation of this project *The World Sport Peace Project* (2003). The aesthetic and technical complexity is developed in the 2004 film, *Football for Peace*, (2004) which heralds the rebranding of the project and mirrors the interventionist shift towards employing a more nuanced understanding of local communities and utilising

coaching techniques (Lambert et al, 2004a). However this interventionism is expressed through a problematic and paternalistic approach to the representation of individuals, communities and the wider sports project. This development of the technical and aesthetic qualities of the *F4P trilogy* culminates in a sophisticated narrative film in *Goal Keepers* (2006). The construction and complexity of this film echoes the contradictions of working within an interventionist paradigm and utilising a 'values-based approach' in a complex and volatile environment (Sugden, 2007). It signifies and represents many of the contradictions and challenges of interventionism and working within a pragmatic paradigm.

All the F4P films display elements of realist film and the documentary style in their planning, conception and execution. In order to focus on how these films can be understood as representations of the F4P project and its development it is important to take a step forwards and begin to locate F4P beyond being a mediatized intervention. An analysis of this *F4P trilogy* was one side of the lens through which F4P project could be magnified: to understand its representation, to examine its discourses and to assess some of its wider ideological meanings. The reverse, microscopic side of this lens would allow an intensive focus on various aspects of the project in order to present, through visual research practice, a range of sociologically informed visual research film texts. When these two perspectives are brought together, the ubiquity of utopia evident in the mediatized sports intervention can be visualised.

5.v F4P as Mediatized Utopia

Another aspect of Bloch's encyclopaedic analysis of utopia is his assessment of how dance, theatre, performance and film can be a repository of utopian content. These aspects are outlined in more detail in Chapters 8 and 9.

However these frames of analysis can also be applied to a Blochian analysis of F4P itself. This is because Bloch views that cinematic products can be critical, reflect utopian content into the future but also crucially influence the reality they attempt to represent. Bloch states that "a good dream factory, a camera of dreams which are critically inspiring, overhauling according to a humanistic plan, would have had, had and undoubtedly has other possibilities – and this within reality itself" (Bloch, 1986b: 410).

Bloch's view of the image and the power of performance develops beyond the use of images to display utopian content. Bloch situates the development of film against other forms of expression such as pantomime and performance, seeing film's great potential as being based on its genesis as a silent medium, the power of the images within film discourse and also with what he calls 'the gesture':

In general through the good fortune that the film began as silent film, not as sound film, an incomparable mimic power was discovered, an until then unknown treasury of the clearest gestures. (Bloch, 1986:406)

This 'mimic power' has significant relevance for the analysis of F4P. This is because the coaches of F4P, working primarily in a foreign language, rely heavily on gesture to get their points across to their audiences. They also

expect the young children in their care, to mimic behaviours and skills through the 'values-based' approach to coaching. Therefore the utopian surplus within gestures, performance and the image are of significant importance for an analysis of F4P (Dolan, 2005).

Bloch expands this point by focusing on the utopian power of movement. This is another key aspect embedded within the aesthetic experience of the work of Football 4 Peace. The experience of witnessing the project unfold is often communicated by key figures in the Football 4 Peace hierarchy as being evidence of the 'success' of the intervention and of communicating Hope to both its constituents and audiences. Similarly, watching the grace, movement and skill of children enjoying sporting practices and the professionalism of the coaches demonstrating a range of drills displays the utopian potential of physical culture and movement. The visual aspects of F4P foreground the 'gesture' and therefore the aesthetic experience of F4P is important when situated against the utopian power of film. Bloch therefore focuses on this juxtaposition and highlights what he calls, "good films" or films with utopian and progressive potential as being able to focus on utopian movement of bodies:

Good films applied this new emphasis or process of making visible to the body and to movement, evidently instructed by the new dance; which might also solve the riddle of how the gesture was to become so rich, precisely in the context of film (Bloch, 1986a:407).

This juxtaposition between bodily movement and captured, then manipulated, media images reflect the developing mediatization of the F4P project during the shift to interventionism. This mediatization occurred for a number of

reasons. The efforts of Football 4 Peace team, like many interventionist sports projects, were focused on using the media to present some their key claims visually, to attract participants into the project and to cement their ideological vision. In addition the F4P team wished to attract investment and to promote the project to various funding agencies. Therefore the projects development was increasingly influenced by 'media logic' and subsequently moved further along the process of mediatization. This mediatization was also manifested by the increasing use of images of the participants in the project and the geographic spaces of Israel in presentations, website images and the *F4P trilogy*. In addition the project itself was the subject of a more intensive media interest and scrutiny from international, national and sports media.

Therefore in response to this increased media scrutiny and the associated desire to utilize the media in order to promote its work, F4P began to succumb to 'media logic' in the field and in terms of how it worked on the ground. One example of this development was how training events in both the UK and Israel, the primary sites where the 'values-based' ideology of F4P was transmitted to coaches, were set up to be media-friendly events. Set-piece tournaments in the UK became media events, scheduled for local TV coverage with sessions set up to be easily filmed, with key figures available for interview and to provide sound bites for the media. While this did not disrupt the working of the training weeks or the activities of F4P in any significant way, it is evidence of how the practices of the 'values-based' approach were also subject to 'media logic'. In addition coaches from the UK and Israel were sent to events organized by the FA and the British Council.

They also participated in associated media events around London, at 'England Fan' group events at Wembley Stadium and with the FA at the Soho Square headquarters. These media opportunities maximized exposure but are also examples of the process of shifting activities to be media-orientated and media friendly.

This shift in emphasis was also replicated in Israel during the projects work in various communities. 'Trust games', practices, celebrations and drills were set up for the media. Events such as the collaboration with the 'England Fan' group, the supporters match against the Bnei Sakhnin fan group and visits to various sites of interest were instigated to invite maximum media exposure (Adar, 2007). These events were timetabled into the project's schedules and this shows how the sports intervention subtly shifted its working practices and schedule to fulfill the requirements the media. Finally, the set-piece finals were the fullest expression of how the practices of Football 4 Peace were reframed as media events that were designed to get maximum exposure for the project, their sponsors and partners. The finals day events were extensively photographed, filmed by numerous reporters and interviewees were lined up to provide sound-bites. With drills and practices and matches set up to display the 'success' of the project and its 'values-based' ideology, it becomes more evident how this intervention is more fully mediatized with each successive media encounter.

The high point of this process of mediatization unfolded in Tel Aviv in March 2007, during the build up to the Euro 2008 qualifier between Israel and

England. The F4P event in the Fan Park in Tel Aviv, organized by the British Council and set up for the International and Israeli media, promoted the 'power' of football and displayed F4P's 'values-based' ideology. This event also ensured the FA's, 'England Fans', the British Council's, the ISA's and the local municipalities' symbols and brands were displayed in an orgy of mediatized images that demonstrated the mediatized utopianism of the project. This event replicated how Auslander (2008) describes the interplay between live and media events:

The subsequent cultural dominance of mediatization has had the ironic result that live events now frequently are modelled on the very mediatized representations that once took the self-same live events as their models. (Auslander, 2008:10)

Football 4 Peace at this point in its development was fully realized as a mediatized utopian sports intervention. The sports intervention had therefore fully submitted, albeit fleetingly, to the logic of the media while displaying its inherent utopianism.

Chapter 6 Documenting Utopianism

“The way in which the world is imagined determines at any particular moment what men will do. It does not determine what they will achieve. It determines their effort, their feelings, their hopes” (Lippman, 1997:16).

This chapter will outline the theoretical influences on the aspects of the thesis that are focused on the analysis of the visual artefacts of a mediatized Football 4 Peace project. It also outlines some of the theoretical influences on the production of the practice-informed project, *Visions of Hope* (2012) presented in Chapter 11. This chapter therefore tracks some of the recent developments within documentary film theory and situates some aspects of documentary theory within a Blochian utopian paradigm. It also reviews how documentary and utopian realist film relate to the study of sport and the wider contexts of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.

6.i Documenting Realism

The development of realist non-fiction film and the conventions and practices of documentary filmmaking are long and convoluted. Documentary theorists have been wrestling with issues of objectivity and subjectivity, realism and representation and the purposes of documentary film ever since non-fiction film was first shown to audiences by the Lumière Brothers. Grierson’s famous phrase about documentary being “the creative treatment of actuality”, rather than putting to bed many of these questions, merely continued the debate through the structuralist, post-structuralist and post-modern epochs (Hardy, 1979). Rather than attempting to review and describe a long theoretical

history, the most recent work on documentary theory will be reviewed to illustrate the latest scholarship and relate these developments to how mediatized sports interventions and the practice of visual research can be understood. In addition these developments will be situated against the utopianism of sports interventions.

Since the 1970's, the work of Nichols (1991) has developed the most influential and perhaps complete theorisation of documentary forms and practices. Nichols has developed an approach throughout his work on documentary that attempts to respond to the contemporary challenges set by social theorists, that focuses on the ideologies contained within images, the post-modernity of aspects of society and the collapse of 'grand narratives':

Historical reality is under siege. Imperfect utopias and diverse affinities propose themselves as alternatives to the ordered lives constructed by the master narratives of Christian salvation, capitalist progress, or Marxist revolution (Nichols, 1991:10).

Nichols' now-classic categorisation of documentary into 'modes' identifies the Expository, the Observational, the Interactive, the Reflexive, the Poetic and the Performative and has been influential in how documentary is understood by many scholars of non-fiction film. This typology also creates a framework whereby documentary can be analysed and critiqued. Nichols argues that these 'modes' are flexible, fluid and evolving. The strength of this approach to many scholars is that it allows the possibility of a number of different 'modes' existing within individual films. It also accounts for new forms of documentary; as the form develops, another mode is added to the framework (Bruzzi, 2000).

These 'modes', in Nichols' view, mirrored the technical and aesthetic sophistication of the documentary form (Nichols, 1991). The 'Expository' mode developed from the earliest types of non-fictional film and utilised a 'voice of God' narration or commentary and the images provide an illustration of the commentary (Nichols, 1991). This type of film often utilises restaging or reconstruction to emphasise dramatic points, though this is not generally acknowledged in the text (Nichols, 1991). It also often incorporates the use of stereotypes and is associated with the refraction of ideology through propaganda (Nichols, 1991). Nichols argues that the potential of Expository documentary filmmaking was also held back by the use of a single camera and the difficulties in recording non-synchronous sound (Nichols, 1991).

This type of filmmaking was then superseded (but not replaced) by the 'observational mode' (Nichols, 1991). This 'mode' grew out of post-war development of television and the codes and conventions of the broadcast medium. The most celebrated form of this style was 'direct cinema' that evolved partly due to technological developments, such as lighter cameras, a wider selection of lenses, film stock and better audio recording. It was characterized by a closer contact with the subject in order to achieve what was perceived as a greater authenticity (Nichols, 1991). This type of film attempted to make the filmmaker 'invisible' and re-enactments to make the film and viewing experiences more 'real' were discouraged (Nichols, 1991).

However these productions are characterized by the pre-planning of action, choice of subject, a high shooting ratio and a correspondingly long, editing

process. They are also characterized by a lack of narration to direct the narrative. The documentarian working in 'direct cinema' went into a situation and waited for action to occur, to collect the 'real' actuality (Nichols, 1991).

The methodologies of the 'direct cinema' filmmakers were replicated by documentarians working in the 'interactive' mode. Filmmakers working in this mode are credited with creating the 'Cinéma Vérité' form in which the documentarian tried to make something happen rather than waiting for 'reality' to unfold (Nichols, 1991). Filmmakers such as Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin in France pioneered this influential approach to filmmaking that recognised the presence of the camera and crew, encouraged those being filmed to talk direct to the camera or acknowledge its presence (Nichols, 1991), (Ruby, 2000). These films are characterized by an interviewer asking questions (in or out of vision), which allows deeper probing than the purely observational (Nichols, 1991).

These technical and aesthetic developments are fully realized in the 'reflexive mode', which emphasizes that the representation is constructed by a filmmaker and crew and draws attention to the filmmaking art (Ruby, 2000). Films in this mode critically reflect on how the technique of filmmaking affects our perception of a narrative. In the 'reflexive' mode the filmmaker becomes part of the story (Nichols, 1991). The filmmakers' role is also foregrounded in the 'performative' mode. This mode highlights the self-consciousness of both the subject and the director and it is clear therefore that both are collaborating in the creation of a film text (Bruzzi, 2000). This collaboration disrupts the

'realist' tradition of documentary and the filmmakers aim to make the audience believe what they are seeing is real life. In the 'performative' documentary the act of filmmaking and the artificial elements are highlighted (Bruzzi, 2000). In 'performative' texts, truth is subjective, reality is contested and the filmmaker and subject are intertextually juxtaposed and collapsed (Bruzzi, 2000).

The most sustained critique of Nichols' 'modal' approach to documentary film has come from Bruzzi (2000). She argues this "Darwinian" approach to documentary suggests these texts are developing through practice, form and theory, "from being primitive in both form and argument to being sophisticated and complex" (Bruzzi, 2000:1). Bruzzi's critique of Nichols' 'family tree' of documentary is concerned with outlining a new, complex, documentary subjectivity (Bruzzi, 2000). Her critique suggests that a 'progression' towards subjectivity and the idea that documentary has 'evolved' highlights the weaknesses in Nichols' documentary theory. Her critique of Nichols' 'end-point' for documentarians is to ultimately develop practices and techniques within the form so that "somewhere in the utopian future documentary will be able to collapse the difference between reality and representation altogether" (Bruzzi, 2000:2). Bruzzi therefore critiques Nichols' view of the utopianism of documentary as being bound up with its ability to successfully merge to boundaries of the real and the representation.

However Bruzzi's project seeks to disentangle the issues of 'reality and representation' in documentary texts by placing 'performance' and 'experience' at the forefront of her theoretical ideas about documentary

(Bruzzi, 2000). Bruzzi conceives of documentary film as being an “interactive negotiation” between the filmmaker and real world. She dispenses with concerns about authenticity, realism and the construction of a text and displays a post-modern sensibility that conceives documentary as being the results of the filmmaker’s intrusion into the social and cultural worlds they expose, as she states:

‘they are performative because they acknowledge the construction and artificiality of even the non-fiction film and propose as the underpinning truth, the truth that emerges through the encounter between filmmakers, subjects and spectators (Bruzzi, 2000:8).

While this post-modern interpretation of the documentary is seductive and can be taken as a starting point as to how to view documentary in the twenty-first century it does little to inform how the codes and conventions of documentary practice can impact on documentary style and forms. This interpretation does even less to illuminate the wider linkages between documentary film and the real world centres of political, social and economic power and ideology, concerns that to most post-modern thinkers appear outdated and moribund (Corner, 2008).

Corner (2008) suggests, however, that these concerns should form the foundation stones of our understanding of contemporary documentary. Corner (2008) argues that understanding documentary thorough the study of ‘modes’ or form, subject matter and purposes, is fraught with difficulties as documentary forms and practices are fluid and struggle to be categorised neatly. He suggests that another way to understand the documentary is through two separate but distinct vantage points. Firstly, he argues for a

critique built on an analysis of “the origination of the image”, in which ‘actuality’ is captured and how methods of filming import “cultural value into its representation in the image. To use rather simplistic terms, how far was the image captured and how far was it constructed?” (Corner, 2008:23).

The second vantage point suggested by Corner is through “the organisation of the image” (Corner, 2008). Here the focus is on the editing and sequencing of different shots, sounds, music, and voice over to provide the overall narrative. Corner notes that the epistemological and “affective identity” of a sequence of organised images and sounds is that of a discourse (an authored account, a descriptive version), rather than a representation as such, even though it is grounded in a sequence of representations (Corner, 2008:23).

These two distinctive vantage points will be the starting points from which an analysis of the *F4P trilogy* is developed in Chapters 8 & 9. This analysis therefore draws attention to the socio-political and ideological forces at work around the Football 4 Peace intervention and the discourses that underpin the representation of the F4P trilogy. The analysis of the F4P trilogy also utilises some aspects of Bruzzi’s (2000) work on ‘performance’ and ‘experience’ to attempt to understand the points of rupture between representation and the real.

6.ii Documenting Realist Utopias

Another important critical tradition to explore within this review of the theoretical influences on the research is to develop Nichols’ (1991) conception

of documentary as utopian. For Nichols the images contained within documentary forms contain both cultural value but also project utopias:

This, however, is to neglect the extent to which image, ideology and utopia are fundamentally joined. Images help constitute the ideologies that determine our own subjectivity; images make incarnate those alternative subjectivities and patterns of social relation that provide our cultural ideals and utopian visions (Nichols, 1991:9-10).

Nichols utopian vision of the documentary form has recently been updated in a way that both reflects the utopianism of the form and also, interestingly, utopia as a subject. *Utopia in Four Movements* (2010) provides an interesting synthesis of the 'live documentary' that celebrates the communal experience of the cinema and the ubiquity of utopian ideologies in various contexts throughout the twentieth century.

This focus on documentary, ideology and utopia inevitably leads us approach realist film and documentary against a Blochian understanding of the ubiquity of utopia. Bloch's analysis of the utopian function of film is based, just as his understanding of sport, on an understanding of the role of realist film in the formation of ideology and the potential of film to project images into a utopian future. His view is that realist film in particular, but not exclusively, can offer:

a mirror of hope, certainly portray the mimes of the days which change the world. The pantomimic aspect of the film is ultimately that of society, both in the ways in which it expresses itself and above all in the deterring or inspiring, promising contents which are set out (Bloch, 1986a:408).

Bloch's view is that the utopian power of film is forward-oriented towards hope and the future. Implicit within his theorisation of this future dreaming is an unflinching belief that the ultimate concrete utopia is global socialism, "the

utopia of utopias” (Bloch, 1986a, 1986b, 1988c). Therefore Bloch’s view of realist film, its critical and utopian potential, is bound up with the cinema of socialism, in particular, a reverence and respect for its realist forms, its stylistic innovations and the ideological potential of Soviet cinema and cinematic propaganda. As he states:

Even the cinema, precisely the cinema, has not developed with impunity, in the age of substitute living, in a society which has to divert its employees or deceived them with ideological; electrical fountains’. Lenin called film the one of the most important forms of art, and in the Soviet Union it has at least developed as the most important method of politically educating the masses (Bloch, 1986a:410).

Bloch advocates Soviet cinema’s potential to make films that produce visions of utopia. He venerates films that stylistically represent societies and cultures, critically interrogate the conditions of reality but most importantly offer the potential to change that reality through the critical and utopian power of film:

A good dream factory, a camera of dreams which are critically inspiring, overhauling according to a humanistic plan, would have had, had and undoubtedly has other possibilities – and this within reality itself (Bloch, 1986a:410).

Bloch’s argument is that so much emerges that is ‘right’ in realist film, and that this is in opposition to the ‘opium’ of much of popular culture (Bloch, 1986:410). This critique still has some resonance in an accelerated contemporary society, one that is consistently enthralled celebrity culture, a leisure culture that is highly mediatized, commercialised and used in the service of capitalism to sustain the status quo (Redhead, 2004).

Bloch also writes convincingly on the stylistic aspects of film that orientates the aesthetic form towards the critically utopian. In his view, film, especially a montage approach to communication, can be both revolutionary, critical and can respond to objectively changing realities. He therefore invokes the work of the first real critical theorists of film from the Soviet era such as Vertov and Eisenstein who created the Soviet montage theory that focused on the critical, dialectical and intellectual properties of montage:

Consequently it is, as in painting, so in film, the time of a not only subjectively, but objectively possible montage. Because this became objectively possible it is in no way necessarily arbitrary and completely unreal (with regard objective events); it is much rather in a position to correspond to changes in the external relation of appearance and essence itself (Bloch, 1986a:411).

The stylistic approaches to realist film and the experiments of Soviet cinema in films such as *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929) build on the “technical possibility” of film, point towards the utopian potential of film to change society and to promote global socialism. Therefore the utopian film, the magic of film, its transparency, allows the objectively possible future to be represented:

The magic is combined with that photographable transparency which Soviet film has often shown historic and modern, and which states that a different society, indeed world is both hindered and circulating in the present one. This is the right thing and the best thing that emerges from the film, made easier not by the completely new form in which the ‘transitory’ can be shown here (Bloch, 1986a:411).

6.iii Documenting Sporting Utopias

This filmmaking tradition is also reflected in realist sports documentary. Elem Klimov creates a convincing critique of a Soviet sports culture in his film *Sport*,

Sport, Sport (1970). McDonald (2007) has expressed how this film both illuminates the Soviet sports culture it portrays but also critiques sport practice, the culture embedded with it and the society it reflects (McDonald, 2007), (Makoveeva, 2002), (University of Brighton, 2008).

This film is also offers a critique of performance. Indeed performance is also part of film's mythical power for Bloch. He sees film's ability to fuse the movement of bodies into something more powerful than the static image. He sees the narrative potential of a poetic montage filled with utopian hope:

Whereas the technique of film actions through quite different bodies to those of painting, namely through moved not stationary bodies; so that the borders between descriptive space-form, narrative time-form disappear. A soi-disant painting – because film by virtue of the fact that it is able to portray all objects, in contrast to the stage set, has at least become as broad as painting and the image is always the primary thing, even in the sound-film – a soi-disant painting has now therefore itself become a succession of actions, a soi-disant poetry itself a juxtaposition of bodies (Bloch, 1986a:412).

This has a direct relation to the analysis of the *F4P trilogy* developed in Chapters 8 and 9, with the emphasis on the moving bodies of the children playing football in the films and the performance of the 'social actors' who are interviewed and impart the ideological content within the film texts. The performances all combine to create the 'wishful images' of the utopian dream at the centre of the project and its representation. These images are therefore utopian, especially in their capacity to project a representation of a possible future. For Bloch, images, film and cultural artefacts have the capacity to 'overshoot' the present social and cultural conditions and be projected in to the future:

Such things show that however privately the dream rises it contains the tendency of its age and the next age expressed in images, though in overshooting ones even here, images almost always overshooting in to the 'original and final state'. So much for the social mandate and coherence in the series of social utopias; it is always stronger than the individual characteristics of the utopians (Bloch, 1986b:480).

Sport's long history as a subject for the documentary also incorporates Bloch's other observation that realist films also make convincing propaganda. This is perhaps best evident in the controversial Riefenstahl film of the 1936 Olympic Games that created propaganda for and represented the totalitarian Fascist utopia, *Olympia* (1938). Although McDonald has also outlined how Olympic film can incorporate a more subtle range of critiques than mere propaganda for Olympic ideologies (McDonald, 2011):

They also raise a range of perspectives: from the zealous propagation of Olympism, to a problematising of Olympism to even at certain points a puncturing of the mythical bubble of Olympism. The official Olympic documentary reveals that it is yet another space for the ongoing debates about the construction of Olympism and the meaning of the modern Olympic Games (McDonald, 2011:120).

However sports documentaries also support the ideologies of the current status quo in numerous ways. One obvious way is through celebrating sporting celebrity and notoriety in such biopics of sporting legends such as *Maradona* (2008), *Tyson* (2008) and *Senna* (2010). What is evident is that the documentary filmmaker, in the last decade in particular, has shown an increasing interest in sport: as a metaphor, as a cultural signifier, as an embodied experience and as socio-political commentary (McDonald, 2007).

This interest is reflected in both the volume and range of non-fiction films that document sport (McDonald, 2007).

The reason for this explosion in sports documentary styles and forms is complex and little researched with some notable exceptions (McDonald, 2007, 2008, 2011), (Poulton, 2008), (Rowe, 1999). The obvious appeal of the drama of sport, the representation of corporal and embodied experiences, mythical themes, a 'win/lose' binary, a linear narrative structure and visceral and poetic images are features which are shared with many forms of cultural activity that can be explored by documentarians (Rowe, 1999). McDonald draws some parallels with 'escapist' fiction films but emphasises how sports events have a "pro-filmic existence" (McDonald, 2007:211). However the availability of a large library of archive footage, an increasing alienation from contemporary 'live' sports forms by many fans, nostalgia for lost sports cultures and a large DVD audience could be seen to be contributory factors in this increase in the volume and range of sports documentary (Hughson, 2009), (McDonald, 2007).

McDonald (2007) has also commented that this increase in volume has not been complimented by an increase in quality and refers to a golden age of the "cinematic sports documentary" before the "Michael Moore moment". This 'moment' refers to a shift in the receptivity of the international audience to the documentary form. McDonald (2007) contends that though many of the most recent sports documentaries take a more conservative approach than the more radical fringes of documentary practice, they also have the power to

provide new insights into the world of sport and can reveal more about a culture or society than the most 'serious' of non-sporting documentary films (McDonald, 2007). McDonald's (2007, 2008, 2011) work on sports documentary addresses the lack of academic attention on sports documentary as a sub-discipline, appropriates Nichols' 'modes' to categorise cinematic sports documentaries and attempts to situate documentary in a socio-political context that directly rises to Corner's (2008) challenge to assess the socio-political and ideological aspects of documentary:

Sports documentaries are key to placing sport in their social context and in the process reveal that sport is more than simply about the performance on the field of play. They illustrate how sport has significance beyond the specificities of the game itself, and it is the exploration and analysis of this significance that represents the domain of the sports documentary. (McDonald, 2007:222).

However while McDonald illuminates the politics of sports documentary by focusing on a categorisation of cinematic sports documentary into 'modes', he merely replicates some of the weaknesses of Nichols' theorising of contemporary documentary and repeats the tendency of scholars within the discipline of sports sociology such as Cashmore (2008) and Rowe (1999) to claim sports film as genre or a collection of sub-genres (Poulton 2008). Poulton has argued that these attempts at categorisation "call into question the category of sports film itself" (Poulton, 2008:108).

The idea that sport documentaries can be divided into a pre and post "Michael Moore moment" also demands interrogation (McDonald, 2007: 222). McDonald's argument that "cinematic documentaries" are somehow more significant than other documentary forms also needs to be critiqued. For as

John Smithson (2008) argues, it is the commercial appeal of a documentary, reached via the aesthetic “visual wow”, the strength of the narrative or whether the film is an intimate personal story that drive the decision of distributors to screen a documentary in the cinema, rather than its wider socio-political importance and significance (De Jong, & Austin, 2008). It also depends on the context of the constituency for the film. However McDonald is correct in stating that the recent success of the documentary style has been supplemented by sport documentaries which work to disrupt the codes and conventions of documentary film, although he is scathing about their politics of individuality (McDonald, 2007). McDonald also does not directly engage with the central points of Bruzzi’s critique that the ‘performance’ of the subject and the filmmaker are central to understanding many contemporary and historical documentary films, although his assessment of the work of Ichikawa begins to draw out some of these issues (McDonald, 2008).

One way to extend this critique of sports documentary is to situate these films against a wider tradition of physical culture. For instance, recent films such as *Touching the Void* (2004), while not wholly sports documentary, can be placed in a wider category of realist non-fiction that explore physical cultures. *Touching the Void* (2004) confirms Bruzzi’s view of documentary whereby ‘performance’, ‘experience’ and ‘truth’ are deconstructed. This conception of documentary allows notions of realism to be represented as problematic. Many of these newer sports documentaries play with aspects of realism to offer a critique of the cultures they document. They employ non-linear narratives, still photography montage and other devices such as animation,

sketch drawings, rotascope and an experimental use of sound design and music that work to distort the traditional documentary project. This new wave of sports documentary also, following Bruzzi's observations, focus discourses and narratives towards various manifestations of 'performance' – either on the field of play, of sporting celebrity, of physical cultures or of the filmmaker.

However the non-fiction football film has generally taken a more traditional and uncritical approach to the documentary style. Films such as *Gods of Brazil* (2002), *Once in a Lifetime* (2006) and *In the Hands of the Gods* (2007) suggest 'performance' is unproblematic, 'truth' is static and wider socio-cultural concerns are marginal. These attempts to represent the most commercial, globalised sporting culture do little to illuminate a wider ideological fluidity or cultural politics at work in the representations. A few notable recent exceptions have included *En un Momento Dado* (2004), *Campo Dourado* (1995), *Zidane: A 21st Century Portrait* (2006) and *Substitute* (2008). These films are generally biopics about individuals who are positioned above or outside the sporting culture they represent rather than being an integral part of the culture. It is through the exploration of the subjects' very difference to the cultural norms of their sporting cultures that enables filmmakers to take a more experimental approach to the documentary form. These approaches are also characterised by the closeness of the filmmaker to the subject and films that develop "ethnographic sensibilities" both in relation to the filmmaking process and to the subject.

The development of “ethnographic sensibilities” and a more experimental approach to physical culture, sport and non-fiction film are highlighted in the approach to film in the surfing sub-culture. The surf film genre has evolved from commercial and promotional films such as *Gidget* (1959) to films that now exist only to promote globalised surf brands and entrepreneurship, such as *Riding Giants* (2004). However the surfing subculture also has a long tradition of distorting the conventions of the documentary style to create film texts that are experimental and almost magic-realist. These surf films are created by filmmakers who are often surfers, who are deeply embedded in the cultures they document and whose approach to filmmaking mirrored many of the approaches of ethnographic, experimental and artist filmmakers.

Films from the early surf film movement of the late 1960’s and early 1970’s directly also engaged with the experimental and avant-garde. Films such as *Morning of the Earth* (1971), *Crystal Voyager* (1973), *The Innermost Joy of Pure Fun* (1969), *Pacific Vibrations* (1970), *The Forgotten Island of Santosha* (1974) and *A Sea for Yourself* (1973) employed non-linearity, animation, an experimental use of sound design and music and a combination of a DIY and artistic aesthetic. This tradition has been continued into the new millennium with a strand of surf films taking these challenges and disruptions further towards the boundaries of the fiction film whereby the distinctions between both then begin to dissolve, *Chasing the Lotus* (2007), *Flow* (2007), *Imagine* (1999), *September Sessions* (1997), *Splinters* (2011), *The Still Point* (2010), *Thicker than Water* (2005), and *Zen and Zero* (2006). These films seek to get beyond the two-dimensional image and representational strategy to attempt to

impart an embodied experience of the surfing culture they document (Stoller, 1997). These films focus on the travelogue, experiential, the body, landscape and the poetic aesthetics of the physical culture. They are also 'performative' in the sense that the filmmaker and the subject's 'performance' are foregrounded in the text. They also seek a 'truth' in the space between the realist film and the reality they represent that brings to mind Bloch's critique of realist film and Herzog's approach to filmmaking as being the creation of "aesthetic ecstasies of truth" (Prager, 2007).

It may be that sports documentaries that explore larger themes such as supra-national conflict are generally less experimental in form and style because filmmakers often follow the conventions that orientate the narrative towards making truth claims. In non-fiction sports films about that explore the conflict in Israel for instance, the issues of realism and representation are both ideologically loaded and politically charged and therefore the codes and conventions of documentary are utilised to deflect an experimental sensibility and critique. The surf film *God Went Surfing with the Devil* (2011) highlights a more traditional documentary representational style, one that focuses on the realism of Israeli/Palestinian conflict and a project called Surfing 4 Peace. *God Went Surfing with the Devil* (2011) is only one of a number of recent documentary film projects that provide a wider visual and socio-political intertextual context to the *Football 4 Peace* trilogy.

The recent trend for sports documentary to explore the Israeli/Palestinian question was kick started by Kevin MacDonald's film *One Day in September*

(1999). This film examined the global impact of the conflict through the context of the sports event. The film describes how in 1972 the Palestinian terrorist group Black September killed two Israeli athletes and took nine others hostage at the Olympic Village during the Munich Olympiad. This documentary reconstructs the build-up to the deaths of the Israeli hostages using archive television news footage and 'talking head' interviews. One of these 'talking head' interviews is with Jamal al-Gashey, the only survivor of the eight-man terrorist cell, who emerged out of hiding to provide some wider context to the event.

Diffrient (2008) provides an interesting and insightful analysis of how the intertextuality of the various film artefacts of a 'singular event' such as *Munich* (1972) work to place the event into a shifting, unstable historical narrative. His analysis of the cinematic, fictional and documentary accounts of this 'mediated' event shows how these different representational strategies blend, merge and combine to allow us to view how film practices, representations and audiences are fluid. This intertextuality, for Diffrient, also extends beyond this singular "mediated spectacle" into more wide ranging narrative of the "Holocaustal":

That this spectacle unfolded only a few miles from Dachau, the site of an earlier, more horrendous singular event (the death of over 25,000 Jewish prisoners in a Second World War concentration camp), lends a deeper meaning to the Munich Massacre, and makes its relationship with other memorialised tragedies and mediated spectacles – both before and (in the case of 9/11) after – all the more explicit (Diffrient, 2008:319).

This merging of intertextual references and real, traumatic, historical events has been less in evidence when addressing what has become known as the

Palestinian 'holocaust'. This lack of attention is bound up with the wider politics of the recent Palestinian experience and the fractured nature of Palestinian diasporas. It is also associated with Western representations of the 'other' and the wider Orientalist discourses and narratives embedded in mediated representations and events (Said, 1995). However a wider perspective on the Palestinian experience is slowly emerging via sports documentary. A number of recent film projects have chronicled Bnei Sakhnin becoming the first team from an Arab town to win the Israeli Cup. Bernstein & Manelzis (2009) compare three films that focus on this predominately Arab football club that play in the Israeli league. They argue that *Hard Ball* (2006) *Sakhnin, My Life* (2006), *We Too Have No Other Land* (2006) all examine the pervasive 'discourse of hope'. This has obvious linkages to the analysis of the *F4P trilogy*. Bernstein, & Manelzis (2009) state:

The filmmakers, each in their own way, deal with the 'realm' or enclave of co-existence' that football affords, while at the same time underscoring, depicting and even emphasizing the hurt, discrimination, deprivation and even despair the Arab minority in a Jewish state experience – including expropriation of their lands, inequality and lack of resources (Bernstein & Manelzis, 2009: 1056).

These films and the analysis by Bernstein and Manelzis (2009) also therefore have significant intertextual links to the practice-informed submission, *Visions of Hope* (2012) and the Blochian analysis of the function of utopianism.

Bernstein & Manelzis (2009) also point to the connections with 'Muscular Judaism', Zionist ideology and narratives that sustained the Jewish state.

Bernstein and Manelzis (2009) begin to tap into the future orientation of hope without really exploring the full implications of the Not-Yet that is inherent in

Bloch's philosophy. They also note that the filmmaker's intent differed from their own interpretation of the films discourse, as they state:

By framing this vision in the future tense, Levi *seems* to be branding Israel not worthy yet of being called a 'democratic country', although in the same breath he held out the hope that someday in might become one, with equality for all its citizens (Bernstein & Manelzis, 2009: 1058).

Bernstein and Manelzis (2009) also link the Sakhnin story and the wider narrative of hope to the wider political, social and cultural issues within Israel during this period (2005-6). They suggest that the Intifada and the general pessimism within the Israeli population about the future during the period of filming the documentaries frames the wider story of Sakhnin:

Objectively, Bnei Sakhnin appears almost like a revelation, a 'miraculous' vision of a better future at the peak of despair. It is no wonder that this vision was embraced as a harbinger not of 'what was or is, but what ought to be' – what could be? (Bernstein & Manelzis, 2009: 1063).

Again, the links to the theoretical and practice-informed aspects of the thesis barely need to be made. *Visions of Hope* (2012), explores these themes in more detail through the prism of the Football 4 Peace intervention.

More recently, *After the Cup* (2010) also address the Sakhnin story and "tells the story of a soccer team that couldn't create a new Middle East, but showed the world what one could look like" (*After the Cup*, 2010).

A number of football based documentary films seek to chronicle the wider Palestinian cause. *Tiro Libre* (2006) highlights the team's attempts to qualify for the World Cup from the Palestinian 'home' in Qatar. The narrative is

developed through interviews with players from the Palestinian diaspora who have joined those from the occupied territories. *Tiro Libre* (2006) tells this story in what the press release calls “a global language millions can understand: the game of soccer” *Tiro Libre* (2006).

Another film project incorporated three films that chronicled the Palestinian National Football Team. *Frontline Football* (2006) was developed into an hour-long television documentary, *World Cup Inshallah* (2010). This film was also developed into a full documentary release at festivals and cinemas as *Goal Dreams* (2006a). This project follows the Palestinian national team to describe how the ‘intifada’ provides the backdrop to their experience of the beautiful game. It also situates the team as being on a political mission to fulfil the promise of full statehood in the wake of official recognition of the Palestinian Football Association by FIFA in 1998 (*Goal Dreams*, 2006a).

These films provide evidence of the increasing interest by filmmakers to use sport as conduit for exploring the conflict in Israel and Palestine via the documentary style. They also provide an interesting and useful aesthetic, visual and socio-political context for *the F4P trilogy*. It is unlikely that any of the *F4P trilogy* filmmakers explicitly and intertextually reference any of these other works. However many of the themes, references and visual motifs are shared across the films, due to the ingrained codes and conventions of documentary film and the shared film language they employ. These issues will be more fully explored in Chapter 8 and 9. However an understanding of the codes and conventions of documentary film language inform the methods utilised in the analysis of the *F4P trilogy*. Although a suspicion of the claims

made for realist film by some theorists are implicit in the critique of *the F4P trilogy*. For as Ruby (2000) states, “Nichols’ notion of “documentary realism” (1991:26,28,165-66) has its foundation in a positivism that finds little support outside the world of film studies and journalism” (Ruby, 2000: 273).

The traditions of documentary, realist, sports and Soviet film all point towards the utopian possibilities within filmed cultural artefacts. These traditions when combined with a Blochian conception of utopia have provided an influence on the development of the methodology of critical visual research that is summarised in Chapter 7. These influences also highlight the potential to use practice-informed visual research to create impressions and reflect forward the utopian spirit within the mediatized elements of sport that are contained with *Visions of Hope* (2012) and the F4P project itself.

Chapter 7 Visualising the Research

“Changing definitions of art or science must provoke new retrospective unities, new ideal types for historical description. In this sense ethnographic surrealism is a utopian construct, a statement at once about past and future possibilities for cultural analysis” (Clifford, 1988:119)

This chapter tracks the historical and theoretical development of the methods that informed this study. In particular it focuses on how the research was ‘visualised’. It outlines the visual research methodologies employed on the study, focuses on visual ethnography as a research method and practice and explores the experiential aspects of field research. It also includes an analysis of how the approach to the research shifted as the football project and the political and social tensions in the region developed. It concludes with a discussion of how these visual methods both complement and contrast with the codes, conventions and processes of documentary film practice.

An analysis of the visual products of F4P, the *F4P trilogy*, complements the visual research. This analysis is based on an analysis of the ideology embedded in the media products, an understanding of the conditions of production and a Blochian analysis of the texts. This analysis is further developed in Chapters 8 and 9. The analysis of the *F4P trilogy* is an important counterpoint to the visual research because ideological analysis of film texts can unpick some of the values, beliefs and ideas that are enacted in the texts. As White (1992) states, “cultural artefacts are seen as expressing and promoting values, beliefs and ideas in relation to the contexts in which they are produced, distributed and received” (White, 1992:163). However, as Fiske (1992), drawing on the work of Althusser, reminds us, social institutions

(ideological state apparatus) have a significant influence on society (Fiske, 1992). Therefore the artefacts produced by these institutions also have significant cultural power, although Fiske recognises that ideology is “a dynamic process constantly reproduced and reconstituted in practice” (Fiske, 1992: 287). The analysis contained in Chapters 8 and 9 explores some aspects of how this process works in relation to the *F4P trilogy*.

The field research for the thesis was undertaken between 2005 and 2008 and yielded a range of data from diverse vantage points. Both the research data and the actual process of research have heightened many of the ambiguities that the project attempts to navigate and potentially pose difficult questions about the project (Doyle, 2007). The research was carried out during the shift from the paternalistic to the pragmatic utopian phase of the F4P project, during the period the external film productions of the *F4P trilogy* were being filmed, edited and shown to audiences. The research has provided insights into the impact of the process of mediatization on the project and also the utopian aspects of this intervention into a complex cultural milieu. This research data supplements the existing film data contained in the *F4P trilogy*.

The research also offers a convincing appropriation of Blochian philosophy to assess F4P as a utopian project and provides an assessment of the *F4P trilogy* as a mediatized utopia. However most importantly, the research outputs of this visual research practice should be situated into the Blochian utopian paradigm. The research outputs presented in Chapter 11, *Visions of*

Hope, therefore illuminate the utopian elements of the project and its representation but also the utopian aspects of critical visual research.

In addition to the diverse critical, philosophical and theoretical influences outlined in Chapters 1 through 6, the methodological influences on this type of visual research are also diverse. This chapter therefore outlines the process of this research and provides some reflections on the different types of field experiences. The chapter focuses, in detail, on a number of events during the fieldwork that provided insights into some of the strengths and weaknesses of using these methodologies and adapting them for research purposes. It also highlights some of the wider issues that the research has raised and contrasts critical visual research practice with documentary film practice.

7.i Visualizing Ethnography

There is a continuing exploration of visual methodologies as a research practice within the social sciences by many social scholars from a number of academic disciplines (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). Some of this exploration is due to the present hyper-mediated world we inhabit, with much of our social interaction taking place through virtual, social networks and the availability of accessible and user-friendly technology in order to facilitate this interaction (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). As Back (2010) has stated:

I am arguing for a re-vitalisation of our methodological imagination and to develop new kinds of device to both explore and produce the social. The 21st century offers unprecedented opportunities to re- think the nature of sociological craft. For 50 years sociologists have been dependent on their tape-recorders. Now we have to embrace the potential for re-thinking the social life of our methods and develop new devices (Back, 2010:24).

Knowles and Sweetman (2004) contend that the production, analysis and interpretation of the 'visual' are potentially era-defining departures from traditional research practices. They argue that this type of exploration was utilised by many anthropologists and sociologists in the past (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004:157). While visual research methods such as photography and film have a long tradition of being utilised as a tool for researching social life they have primarily reflected a realist conception of the social world (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). Ruby (2005) has argued that social research methods and 'realist' film practice both appear from the same ideological roots and are "founded upon the Western need to explore, document, explain, understand, and hence symbolically control the world. It has been what "we" do to "them" (Ruby, 2005:41).

Jean Rouch, the French anthropologist and filmmaker, was pivotal in the development of a more 'reflexive' film style (Ruby, 2005). This type of film is concerned with revealing the "created, structured articulations of the filmmaker and not authentic, truthful objective records" (Ruby, 2005:44). His film, *Chronicle of a Summer* (1960), was, in Ruby's view, the first "consciously reflexive social science film" and Rouch was the antithesis of the traditional positivist filmmaker. Filmmakers who attempt to work reflexively make films that recognise that 'objectivity' is problematic due to a myriad of subjective truths, the range of power inequities in the process of representation and the creative imperative within cinematic practice. Films made in the reflexive tradition offer the subjective constructions of both the filmmakers and the subjects of the film (Ruby, 2000). Reflexive research films can also provide future possibilities for the research data and enable scholars to use the

original research materials in ways not imagined by their original producers

(Ruby, 2000). As Ruby states:

I would argue that being reflexive means that the producer deliberately, intentionally reveals to his or her audience the underlying epistemological assumptions that caused him or her to formulate a set of questions in particular way, to seek answers in a particular way and finally to present his or her findings in a particular way (Ruby, 2000:156).

These researcher filmmakers were also enabled by an earlier technical revolution and the development of film theory to support their work. The digital revolution and contemporary shifts in communication and media theory now offers some of the conditions that may allow new techniques to unearth further insights into the social world (Back, 2010).

The challenge to develop new forms of visual research practice is being taken up by a number of social scientists who synthesise the practice of visual research with an exploration of theory within their own and other disciplines. A number of recent researchers have begun to push the boundaries of visual research (Back, 2010), (Dunneier, & Back, 2006), (Grimshaw & Ravetz, 2005), (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004), (Pink, 2001, 2005, 2007), (Prosser, 1998), (Thomson, 2008). Some of the most recent of these shifts in perspectives has been towards either an 'interventionist' or 'applied' direction. This type of work both unsettles the traditional anthropological or sociological project and brings new types of thinking, collaboration and creativity to the fore. Some of this research practice is heavily influenced by the 'reflexive' practices and theories of Rouch and MacDougall (Pink, 2007). This move towards social intervention is wide-ranging and diverse as Pink states:

To accommodate these diverse contexts involves a broad understanding of social intervention. This might range from using visual practice to empower research participants with new levels of self awareness, promote a specific cause to a target audience, or provide decision-makers in business or policy contexts with 'evidence' that will inform their work (Pink, 2007:11).

Pink suggests that this shift in visual research needs to move beyond the traditional long-term immersions of ethnographic film to shorter, more participatory and collaborative visual artefacts (Pink, 2007). However despite a shift to creative methodologies and paradigms within visual research the visual outputs of this research are still primarily driven by a need to describe rather than interpret. The fluid interpretation of a film's meaning is more frequently associated with art film practices and media theory (Ruby, 2000).

The reluctance of visual researchers to use new methods to interpret social reality in some ways echoes documentary practitioners reluctance to move into the experimental when tackling larger socio-political themes outlined in Chapter 6. Ruby (2005) has outlined how ethnographic films therefore often retain 'traditional' practices, codes and conventions of production, conventional narrative and sequencing and an undeveloped application of theory. Therefore visual research remains linked to the practices of documentary, especially when engaging with socio-cultural interventions and shifting into an applied direction.

However the precedent for a more theoretically informed, experimental, interpretive and creative ethnographic film practice is locked into the roots of the sub-discipline itself. James Clifford (1988) in the *Predicament of Culture* describes how the pioneers of early ethnography and the surrealist movement

shared common root ideologies, practices and interests in France. They also shared work and exhibition spaces and worked in a mirror image of each other, influencing and inspiring each other:

The ethnographic label suggests a characteristic attitude of participant observation among the artefacts of a defamiliarised cultural reality. The surrealists were intensely interested in exotic worlds, among which they included a certain Paris. Their attitude, while comparable to that of a fieldworker who strives to render the unfamiliar comprehensible, tended to work in the reverse sense, making the familiar strange. (Clifford, 1988:121)

Clifford argues for an “ethnographic surrealism” and “surrealist ethnographers” who through the use of collage and juxtaposition can reclaim the essence of their initial practices and role as cultural analysts. He argues that these “utopian constructs; they mock and remix the traditional definitions of art and science” (Clifford, 1988:147). The attempt to fuse art practices and ethnography has been taken up by a group of researchers at Goldsmiths, who, drawing on institutional strengths in Social Science and Contemporary Art, continue to push the boundaries of this hybridised form of knowledge production and dissemination. This type of explicit boundary pushing in social research culminated in Goldsmiths hosting a number of year-long training programme in diverse methodologies called “Live Sociology” in 2006.

In addition, some of these visual research practices have stressed the need to move beyond mere representation as their basis for knowledge production. Indeed, Pink (2006), drawing on MacDougall’s (1997) work and Stoller’s (1997) *Sensuous Scholarship*, has argued for a “sensory-embodied approach” within ethnographic filmmaking (Pink, 2006:49).

One way to utilise a “sensory-embodied approach”, is to focus on the ‘performance’ of social actors as outlined by Goffman (1959). Dolan (2005) has outlined how ‘performance’ in a theatrical context can be situated as utopian through a Blochian framework, These studies also lead us to re assess the interactions between authentic and mediatized performance as outlined by Cottle (2006a, 2006b, 2008).

Ruby (2000) continues to develop an argument about performance in film ethnography by linking his work to that of performance scholars and in particular the work of Elizabeth Fine and Jean Speer’s studies of performance, which provide: “a critical way for grasping how persons present themselves, how they construct their identity; and ultimately how they embody, reflect and construct their culture” (Fine & Speer, 1992:10 in Ruby, 2000:244). Indeed performance does not only become mediatized while being enacted for the camera, it is also evident in the performance of the visual researcher - drawing on Rouch’s observations that the process of filming transforms all involved in the process - Ruby contends that this emerges through “provoked scenes” or Rouch’s “cine trance” (Ruby, 2000:247).

The visual research aspects of this thesis have therefore adopted some of these hybridised forms of field research strategies and interpretive approaches to visual research. This methodology has been focused on reflecting on the experience of ‘field research’, representing the social world within Israel and also to develop an application of theory to practice-informed visual research film. The following section is therefore a narrative overview of the ‘visual ethnographic experiences’ in the field during the research process.

7.ii Experiential Research and Performing 'Social Actors'

The visual research and the development of the methodological approach to the thesis began in April 2005. The methodology initially was focused on combining conventional qualitative methods such as interviewing and participant observations with some visual methodologies. The researcher utilised digital video to document the Football 4 Peace project and to collect film data for use for research purposes for the project team. At this point the brief of the researcher was fluid and the data was collected in a 'grounded theoretical' way, building the data as the project developed (Doyle, 2007). This field research experience was initiated because it coincided with a scheduled training week for Israeli coaches, UK coaches and project leaders in the UK. During this training week the researcher filmed these events for a number of purposes:

1. To visually document the training week for future analysis
2. To create promotional material for the project
3. To capture orchestrated sequences for the creation of a digital video version of the F4P coaching manual
4. To gain experience using the equipment and get familiar with the research subjects

This initial field experience was problematic largely because these diverse goals were too ambitious and also potentially produce different outcomes. The lack of the required technical expertise and skills was also a significant issue.

One of the first issues encountered in the initial research encounter was that documenting the entire project from an overarching 'god-like' perspective is technically and logistically impossible, inherently reactionary and often tells us more about the researchers than the research subjects (Ruby, 2000).

Therefore the focus shifted towards recording a single research encounter during each successive field experience.

The training week provided a number of opportunities that aided the research process. The filming of long sequences of football action allowed a familiarity with the technical aspects of the camera to develop. In addition, the skill of following the coaching action and the movement of bodies was nurtured.

Perhaps, crucially, this type of research experience provided an opportunity for the researcher to become recognisable to the research subjects, as the more access was achieved the more the coaches recognised the researcher as 'John the Camera Man'. The inevitability of the researcher's presence, a shadowy figure in the background, hiding behind a camera, both legitimised the research on the project and secured a relationship with the coaches which would later become useful in the field and with each successive research experience.

The capturing of promotional photographs or orchestrated film sequences for promotional purposes did however impact on the research due to conflicting skill sets and aesthetics. This duality, in turn, also impacted on the researcher's technical expertise and mastery of the equipment due to the constant switching between the technical and aesthetic conventions of

photography and research film which caused the production and processes of both to be disrupted. The wide brief also jeopardised the researcher's 'persona' because opportunities to orchestrate a sequence or a photograph also disrupted the coaching sessions. This also impacted on the research in more explicit ways.

The project was therefore being experienced through the research and via the promotional domain. Thus acting in some respects as a 'media officer', finding the stories and pictures to promote the project, and also as a 'researcher', recording the project and its participants to collect data, was diametrically opposed; practically, ideologically and aesthetically. The lack of focus primarily impacted on the promotional and media materials. The production of a series of professional packages would mean the 'staging' of football sequences, which is impossible when filming in the field for research purposes. This division of labour inevitably highlighted the tensions between commercial and research filmmaking. It also outlined many of the codes and conventions of sports media production and practice that would later become useful in the analysis of the media products of F4P. While not wholly unsuccessful, filming the four days of the training week with these numerous outcomes was too much to expect from one researcher, let alone an inexperienced and novice filmmaker.

Therefore the field trip to Israel in July 2005 allowed a narrowing of focus and the channelling of research efforts onto one of the eight projects Football 4 Peace were running in Northern Israel. The revised brief during this field trip

was refined to capture one project in detail that worked with the Jewish community in Meggido and the Arab community of Um el Fahem. The promotional, media and organisational responsibilities were shifted elsewhere to other members of the F4P team.

These communities were chosen for research filming for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Jewish community in the Meggido area had participated in previous projects and was known to members of the research team. The Jewish communities in this area live mainly on kibbutzim, some situated on disputed land (Wallis, 2007). Meggido is also close to the site of the biblical Armageddon – a decayed ancient hill top fortress that acts as a rather clumsy metaphor for the political standoff in the wider region.

The other community that was chosen as a research site was the Arab Israeli town of Um el Fahem. Um el Fahem borders the West Bank and is cut off from the Palestinian territories by the now-completed wall – the so-called ‘Green Line’ - that divides these two countries. It’s a predominately Moslem town with a reputation within Jewish Israel for being ‘radical’ and pro-Palestinian. With the historical and contemporary divisions very much at the fore, both the past and present of these towns represent the most polarised of the communities the projects engaged with during the summer of 2005. The set-piece finals were also scheduled to take place in Um el Fahem, a town that people from the Jewish community would never usually visit due to the perceived radicalism of the majority of the population. The event’s geographic

spaces therefore allowed the project to promote the symbolic possibilities of the power of sport.

The coaching camps in both Um el Fahem and Meggido were the primary research sites as the coaching sessions and associated social scenes were recorded. The focus was on capturing the experiences of the UK coaches. The actual process of filming this particular project in depth – rather than chasing around the country getting snippets of all of the projects - allowed the researcher to develop a familiarity with the coaches. This in turn allowed an assessment of what the coaches got out of the experience to be uncovered through unstructured interviews, both on and off camera. This interaction, therefore, began the process of understanding the impact the project made on the coaches and their practice. This was then communicated in the research film.

However the biggest development during the research filming was the understanding and subsequent foregrounding of the types of ‘performance’ that are produced by individuals when being filmed and interviewed. The filmed subjects routinely acted a ‘representation’ of how a coach should act while being filmed and answered the questions in as if they were reading from a script, rarely straying from the F4P party line. This replicated the issues raised by Goffman (1959) in social research and Ruby (2000) in visual ethnography about ‘performance’ and being ‘backstage’ in social research. This issue of performance and honesty would reoccur throughout the field research.

Bruzzi (2000) also directly confronts the performative in non-fiction film by pitting 'honesty' against 'performance tactics':

the use of performance tactics could be viewed as a means of suggesting that perhaps documentaries should admit the defeat of their utopian aim and elect instead to present an alternative 'honesty' that does not seek to mask their inherent instability but rather to acknowledge that performance – the enactment of the documentary specifically for the cameras – will always be at the heart of the non fiction film (Bruzzi, 2000:155).

The decision to focus research and data collection on the UK coaches was made for a number of reasons. This reasoning was partly logistical, due to the equipment, resources, limited time and a wide range of perspectives to gather. There were also language and translation problems to be overcome as well as issues of power relations associated with researching children and people of different cultures to be worked out (Thomson, 2008). Therefore the collection of research data featuring coaches, participants and local Israeli children was to be left for the future, when these logistical and epistemological issues were overcome and more background understanding of the research milieu and subjects was developed.

In addition, the researcher's and coaches shared social and cultural background (predominately male, white, British and Irish graduates) allowed the researcher to act as a conduit for the coaches to explain some of their experiences and their perspectives on the project. This shared culture did however make it more difficult to withdraw into the background with my camera than it was during the training week in the UK. In Israel, the heat, tense atmosphere and alien environment made attempts to get close to the

coaches more difficult and the researcher was treated with initial suspicion and hostility by some UK coaches, as evidenced by one coach deliberately aiming a shot at the tripod while the researcher filmed the coaching sessions.

The numerous initial comments from the coaches about the research process and its relationship to the wider F4P project gradually gave way to grudging acceptance, then accommodation and finally to co-operation. This allowed the researcher to fade into the background with the tacit support and acceptance of the coaches - although when interviewed and filmed, almost all displayed the performed 'persona' of 'the coach' and answered in guarded tones that were uncritical of either their own practice, the 'values-based' coaching manual or the F4P project itself. This acceptance of the research by the project team, allied to the coaches 'performance' for the camera, was reciprocated by the Israeli coaches and children, and therefore enabled the process of relationship building to be developed in future research encounters.

The most difficult aspect of using digital video as a data-collection tool during this field trip was gaining the consent and negotiating constant access to the research subjects. One event, when the presence of the camera was rejected by the project leaders and coaches, highlights how these issues can impact on research outcomes. This issue caused difficulty for the collection of data, heightened some of the issues around the performance of 'social actors' but paradoxically opened up other opportunities in the research.

The issue that caused these difficulties was the community of Um el Fahem's refusal to let the girl's project share facilities with the boy's projects on the finals day. This decision, made during the week in Israel, was in direct opposition to the core 'values' that Football for Peace was trying to promote, particularly with regard to 'equity and inclusion'. This issue was caused indirectly by the choice of stadium for the final, the use of untested local partners and the lack of understanding by some on the project of how external events, local customs and traditions can converge to impact and disrupt F4P's 'principles and values' (Caudwell, 2007).

The exclusion of women from the finals day caused a major problem with some of the coaching staff, many of whom objected to the fracturing of the projects 'values'. This dispute came to a head during a social event one evening with heated discussions between the project leaders and coaches as they dealt with how to manage this gendered exclusion within the sports culture of F4P in a fair and transparent way (Caudwell, 2007).

The research relationships built up with the project leaders and coaches and the sensitivity of the issues meant that filming these discussions was potentially both revealing but also problematic. This was confirmed when the researcher was refused permission to film these discussions. Therefore just as the 'social actors' masks had been withdrawn and behaviours and attitudes were being revealed, the researcher was unable to access the some valuable opinions and data that exposed the hidden underbelly of the culture of F4P. The written research notes of this event appear an inadequate tool to capture

a defining moment of the project. This issue raised important questions of the possibilities of remaining 'objective', and also about the value of research film practice for capturing the whole social scene around the project. It also called into question whether the researcher can truly get back-stage when issues become problematic in research (Goffman, 1959).

It also led the researcher towards suspicions that any 'real' authentic opinions and footage are hard to achieve due to the 'performance' of the 'social actors'. Project leaders and coaches were reluctant to offer any negative or unequivocal comments about the Football 4 Peace experience. However the widening of research perspectives suggested that more sensitive, ethical and rigorous ways of getting the same data could also be utilised.

One way to get access to different opinions and perspectives was to view the video diaries recorded by a number of the female coaches involved in the dispute that explicitly explained their viewpoint of this issue and their perspective. Having access to this film allowed access to wider range of data and perspectives that was also more clearly expressed than the garbled arguments of the night in question. They also offered more subtle variations on the issue of performance as the coaches were still performing for the camera in these video diaries. Although the footage from these diaries was ultimately left out of the research film, *Visions of Hope* (2012), the footage did support the reflexive approach towards the research and the development of the utopian narrative of *Visions of Hope* (2012). However the decision to use only video footage filmed, framed and authored by the researcher in the field,

leads toward the formation of how Bloch's utopian visions inform the critique of the sports intervention.

This event also confirmed the researcher's view that to visually research Football 4 Peace, the final research project needed to account for and analyse the range of audio-visual artefacts produced out of the project. These analyses would allow access to different vantage points, reflexively inform the research, offer a kaleidoscope of perspectives, allow access to all areas of the Football 4 Peace 'experience' and provide a critical lens to aid the production of *Visions of Hope* (2012).

The events at Um El Fahem also forced a reconsideration of the relationship between the researcher and the research respondents. As touched on in the introduction to the thesis, one key respondent, Professor John Sugden, was both a key figure in the F4P hierarchy and a supervisor on the thesis.

The issues around filming problematic events at F4P inevitably generated tensions in the relationship between supervisor and researcher. This was overcome, in part, by using a range of approaches outlined above and subsequently in this chapter. Turning tensions into challenges allowed the researcher's gaze to be focused more intently on the discourse of Professor Sugden, his theorisation of 'Critical Pragmatism', and the associated media activities of the respondents.

This issue undeniably had an influence on the research as it focused more attention onto the activities of Football 4 Peace. This had a concomitant impact on the analysis of the representations of the Football 4 Peace trilogy, the utopianism of the intervention, and in turn upon how this utopianism was subsequently visualised in *Visions of Hope* (2012).

The relationship between the researcher and the project shifted considerably during the research process. This developed from being an insider, a part of the F4P team, to slowly withdrawing from the project as the research developed. The researcher therefore shifted from being an insider with insights into the inner workings of F4P, to an outsider looking in on the project. This change of perspective has obvious metaphorical connections to a camera slowly zooming out from the inside of the research site to provide a more panoramic view of the social milieu. This is one perspective to view how the process of research developed. The use of visual methodologies in the research allowed this wider perspective to be developed; staying in the insider role would not have allowed this. It also worked in other subtle ways. For instance, when the researcher was present with the camera during media interviews, respondents would occasionally shift their discourse to address some concerns that have been expressed about the project. Whether this was to explicitly diffuse critique or potential criticism is impossible to corroborate in any definitive way.

However it was evident to the researcher that on occasion the camera could influence the behaviours of research respondents and their discourse. This

highlights how visual research can influence social interactions, and suggests how visual methodologies can enable a more interventionist or applied approach to research. We can also speculate that the intervention of the visual researcher potentially extends to more wide-ranging influences on the project that are captured by recording the evolving discourse of the respondents and project leaders.

The metaphor of the camera also describes some aspects of the relationship between the researcher and the supervisor. The wider perspective provided by the use of the video camera, the changing perspectives of the researcher and the shift from insider to outsider, demonstrates that the researcher potentially influenced the supervisor, in his capacity as the Director of Football 4 Peace. This may have had an impact on the strategies employed by the project leaders to adapt to change as events unfolded in the field.

This wider perspective was ultimately achieved by the researcher's removal from the project when the fieldwork was completed and while the analysis and visual research was worked with and edited and the thesis drafted. This shift undoubtedly created a wider critical distance between the researcher and the supervisor.

The research was supported in the initial phases of the study by Professor Redhead's expertise on the sports media and the fieldwork was framed by Professor Sudgen ethnographic and interpretative experience. In addition, the researcher's theoretical ideas matured in the post-fieldwork phase reflecting

some aspects of Professor Tomlinson's interests in critical theory. The researcher was supported throughout the process by tutorial work with all three supervisors. In sometimes challenging but ultimately positive ways, the supervisory team influenced the research during different stages of the research process and each supervisor underpinned the development of the thesis in complementary but significant ways.

During the fieldwork, interactions with Israeli participants, coaches and children were also developed. An understanding of their diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds confirmed the researcher's intention to focus interactions with these research respondents in a different way than the interactions with the British and Irish respondents had developed. Just as the exclusion of women at Um el Fahem highlighted issues around gendered sport, some issues of ethnicity, 'race' and class were so evident throughout the project, in a number of different ways, that reflections on these experiences, in a way which was both ethically sound but also transcended the politics of identity, became paramount (Ruby, 2000).

These experiences led to the formulation of a research design for data collection in 2006 that both built upon and complemented the filming from 2005. This research design accounted for the above issues and the conclusions that any attempt to understand the project from any of the diverse Israeli perspectives was moribund. However a 'reflexive' approach, whereby Jewish and Arab Israelis would film themselves to offer their perspectives on

the project and its wider meanings to them was also fraught with logistical, ethical and technical difficulties.

In order to reflect and represent a wider range of experiences, five sets of digital equipment were acquired for field research. This equipment was distributed to Israeli coaches and children and allowed them to film aspects of their experiences and engagement with Football 4 Peace (Doyle, 2007). The fieldwork using this approach was initiated when the Israeli coaches arrived for the annual training week in the UK in April 2006. A small number of Israeli coaches were asked to film the four days they were in the UK, speaking in Hebrew and Arabic so they felt able to adequately describe their experiences in the UK in their own language. A pilot of this approach confirmed that the time constraints reviewing and editing the rushes and the potential cost of translation would be significant. The pilot acted as a microcosm of the proposed summer research strategy and examined whether the coaches felt comfortable getting involved in this type of research and using the technology. The pilot study also allowed the images filmed by the coaches to be assessed.

The positive feedback from the Israeli coaches suggested the process could overcome some of the issues of context, language, culture and power. However the images produced by the coaches were identical in many respects to previous footage filmed in the *F4P trilogy* and highlighted the 'performative' aspects of 'subjects' filmed discourse. When some of this footage was translated many of the insights that were gained were merely

clichéd Hebrew and Arabic versions F4P's discourse. Therefore these film products replicated many of the behaviours of the UK coaches and offered inauthentic 'performances' that again mirror the observations of Goffman (1959), Ruby (2000) and Bruzzi (2000).

Despite this film feedback, by allowing some subjects to film themselves the accusations of filming stereotypical images of Israelis and Israel could be overcome. Although *Visions of Hope* (2012) does not utilise these images and omits the footage from the final cut, just as the video diaries reflexively inform the research, this footage critically informs the final film. In addition, throughout 2006 the researcher attended an ESRC funded studentship at Goldsmiths, "Live Sociology". This enabled the researcher to critically and interpretatively focus the methodologies towards a visual ethnographic approach. A detailed literature review of the most recent scholarship in this area also supplemented the acquisition of practical skills and the application of methodologies.

The revised research plan for the two-week field trip to Israel in July 2006 was focused on the following:

1. To film the Israeli preparations for the summer project in Acco
2. To distribute the cameras to children and coaches from all communities in Acco
3. To provide instruction on the technical aspects of the camera equipment and advice on filming
4. To film the projects in Acco.

Acco was chosen as a research site for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was a project that had experienced both organisational and associated political, social and cultural difficulties the previous year (Lambert, 2007). A new local team took responsibility for the project and this allowed a re-assessment of these difficulties and new context to explore in the research. Acco is also one of the most mixed of the communities that was to host Football 4 Peace, with many communities living side by side in this ancient port city. Acco's history is one of conquest and re-conquest by Western and Eastern powers going hand in hand with the co-existence of diverse multicultural communities. Originally placed by the UN partition plan of 1947 within a Palestinian state, Acco was immediately annexed by the State of Israel during the war of 1948. The city appears untypical of Israel with a mixture of communities living side by side. However scratch away at the surface and even in this most laidback of cities the ethnic and religious divisions become clear.

Divisions exist among the established 'black' Arab communities and the more recent 'light-skinned' Arab communities. Conflict between the established European Jewish populations and the recent immigration of Moroccan and Ethiopian 'black' Jews and Russians also add to the local disputes about status and territory. However the ever-present wider conflict between Palestinians and the State of Israel is evident in the sectarian geography of the city. The old town, a ragged maze of ancient streets within the old fortress is predominately Arab and Moslem, with newer high rise developments with mixed communities that act as a buffer to the predominately European,

Jewish suburbia that surrounds the old town. This environment provided a rich research site for a new and more confidently expressed reflexive, practice-informed visual research.

7.iii The Football 4 Peace 'Experience'

The Acco research project began four days in advance of the main Football 4 Peace team's arrival, in order for the researcher to get orientated with the city, to meet the research respondents and for the preparations for the Acco project to be filmed. However soon after arrival in Acco, the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah and the inevitable response by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) completely changed the research experience. This incident would prove to be the initial stages of a war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon that continued for approximately a month, cancelling the Football 4 Peace projects and forcing field research to be suspended.

However before the kidnapping of the IDF soldiers and subsequent cancellation of the F4P project was fully confirmed, one incident on the day the researcher arrived in Acco allowed some of the internal difficulties within Israel to be witnessed at first hand. This event forced some further critical evaluation of the value of the core principles of F4P such as 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' and therefore some of core values and claims of Football 4 Peace. The early arrival in Acco aimed to allow the researcher some freedom from the united face all Israelis generally show to the outside world. It also allowed the researcher to encounter and become familiar with the social, political and

cultural contexts of the city. The early arrival also released the researcher from the restrictions of the Football 4 Peace project team. On arrival in the field, the issues of 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' were immediately brought to the fore. An F4P colleague in Acco, Ibrahim, an Israeli-Palestinian coach, invited the researcher to film an Israeli-Palestinian wedding ritual or a 'Henna Night', which involves the groom bringing Henna to the bride for their wedding tattoos, in order to understand some wider aspects of Arab-Israeli culture.

The event took place on Ibrahim's housing estate, a collection of concrete flats much like any other in any city. On a communal piece of wasteland that connected the three main blocks of flats, loud Arabic music blasted from a mobile disco and forty young Arabic women danced on the dance floor. Surrounding them sat older Arab women in hijabs and younger children. On the periphery, Arab men, some barely taking notice of the event, talked amongst themselves. It soon became apparent that the majority of the men were arguing with two policemen who were attempting to shut down the wedding celebrations. The men became increasingly agitated with the police. At this moment the research experience shifted and the researcher became a social actor and was directed to film the scene by an old woman, in Arabic, as translated by Ibrahim, to record how 'they' – the police - harass 'us', the Arab community.

This 'direction' of the researcher's camera by a 'social actor' provided a number of dilemmas for the researcher. Should a researcher get close enough to film the encounter in the turmoil and risk getting equipment broken

or confiscated by the police? Does filming a situation like this inflame the scene or does it protect Arab-Israeli citizens? Does filming this scene constitute a relinquishing of the researchers 'neutrality' and 'objectivity', given the wider context within which the researcher is engaged on the F4P project? The obvious compromise is to film from afar using a 'night shot', therefore capturing the essence of the dispute rather than being placed at the centre of the scene, therefore performing the role of the 'neutral' researcher and the 'objective' recorder of social life, rather than becoming an interventionist activist. The police subsequently retreated from the scene and the ceremony continued.

However after ten minutes the ceremony was halted again by the police returning to disrupt the celebrations and now the anger of the local community is palpable. The police attempted to arrest one of the male revellers after chasing him through the wedding party and this raised tensions and forced the same ethical dilemmas for the researcher. This was heightened as the researcher was again directed, by more than one woman to continue filming, 'to show what the Jewish are like', and 'how they treat us', as it is translated by Ibrahim. The compromise approach allowed the researcher to make tentative steps towards the now chaotic scenes and to film the aftermath.

This detached compromise of sorts allows some of the wider contexts of this scene to emerge. It provides some social and cultural insights to be formed and some of the political implications of this type of research to become apparent. The camera viewfinder foregrounds a large building in the backdrop

to the scene of the attempted arrest. It is apparent that the building is a police station, making up the fourth side of a wider square block, which oversees the three blocks of flats where the wedding event takes place. It appears to be no coincidence that the locals feel under surveillance and wish someone to record what is happening. The geography of the environment means that they are under constant surveillance and from the evidence of that night, harassment (Foucault, 1991). Therefore the framing of this research is now informed by a critical eye on the wider political reality of Acco that forms the backdrop to the Football 4 Peace projects and also disrupts the discourse of Acco as a 'City of Peace' and multicultural harmony.

One of the strengths of this approach to visual research is aesthetic; no amount of descriptive prose can describe the field experience. The movement, colours, sounds and general vitality of this scene are heightened when captured by the camera. When un-edited, research film data remains an exemplary aide memoir or research record (Ruby, 2000). However when mediated by the filmmaker through editing, then sequenced and placed within a wider context, the final film becomes much more than a document of a social scene and a place in time. It can become an aesthetic, critical and political tool. This scene resonates with what Paul Basu (2008) explains is the 'ethnographicness' of a film text where the 'immediacy' of fieldwork sees the researcher "plunged into an alien context without necessarily having the social and cultural competences to make sense of it" (Basu, 2008:102).

In addition viewing the scene from the camera viewfinder created the conditions whereby the wider surveillance of the community was understood. The deterioration in the security situation and the Football 4 Peace projects' cancellation led to two research objectives, the recording the preparations for the Acco project and filming some of the social life of the participants in Acco, being completed. The cancellation of the Summer 2006 projects was a potential hammer blow to the future of the project and the direction of the thesis. However the cancellation began the process of understanding the utopianism of the F4P project to emerge. It also highlighted how the intertextual links with 'singular events' inform visual research and how both impact on the representations of F4P (Diffrient, 2008)

The concerns about the project and how it was being represented internally and externally were now incorporated into the theoretical direction of the thesis. The desire for the continuation of the Football 4 Peace project from within the UK team, the partner and associate organisations and from all communities in Israel began to impact on the theorisation of sports interventions such as Football 4 Peace. Even though the project was cancelled with the coaches waiting on the plane, the feeling and discourse of hope for the future was tangible by all on the project (Sugden & Wallis 2007). The project's re-imagination began in December 2006 with a short project that had additional features to what had been attempted in the past.

The insights provided by the field research in Acco in June 2006 suggested that this approach should be repeated. However just as previous field research had to negotiate the wider context of terror attacks in London and

the Lebanon war as backdrops to the research, this research experience was framed by the wall to wall media coverage of the Holocaust conference in Iran, whereby the 'truth' of the 'singular event', the Holocaust, was being questioned by a range of religious and academic scholars. This mediated 'vortextual' event was covered by the Israeli news media in great depth during the entire period of field research in December 2006 (Whannel, 2010).

This shortened project in December 2006 took place on a holiday complex just outside Nahariya near the Lebanese border. The choice of venue was both practical in that the site was available, easy to access for all the communities and large enough for the project's purposes. But it was also symbolic in that it was near a border that only months before had been the scene of fighting as the Israeli army crossed into Southern Lebanon.

This project was also symbolic in that it was characterised by a residential element whereby children from different communities would spend time being coached and then sleep together in holiday camp style dormitory accommodation. For many children this would be the first time they had spent time away from their parents, let alone staying with children from another community, many of whom had been demonised and treated with suspicion by the Israeli media. The residential setting provided an opportunity to give cameras to the children and coaches to film themselves beyond the football action and footage in order to represent some of the scenes behind the Football 4 Peace projects.

This footage was filmed by the leaders and children and was technically flawed, had non-existent or flawed sound and contained 'performative' behaviours and actions from both the coaches and the children, just as previous footage filmed by Israeli coaches the footage emerged back in the UK. However as a research practice it allowed access to footage that although 'performative' in certain aspects, and technically unaccomplished, allowed the children to represent themselves and their own perspectives. This footage showed the children and coaches performing 'an authentic performance' uninhibited by the researcher. Again this footage was left out of *Visions of Hope* (2012) for the aforementioned reasons. This decision also has to be situated against Corner's (2008) argument that documentary analysis should be focused on how images were captured and sequenced (Corner, 2008).

The key features of this field research, filmed only metres from the Lebanese border, was the palpable determination of all involved in the Football 4 Peace project to put both the summer's cancellation behind them and also to address some of the internal concerns that had arisen in 2005. It also was characterised by numerous recitals by many associated with the project that indicated its resurrection provided the coaches, children and participants with the discourse of hope.

Hope was therefore the dominant discourse that kept being articulated by those on the project, rather than the discourse of 'peace', or the politically impossible, at least in the context of the period, 'justice'. Indeed, more than

any of the 'values' that appear to be artificially grafted onto the project for promotional or ideological purposes and that are often critiqued as being problematic, hope provides the F4P project with its ideological core. The shifting phases of F4P mask the constancy of the utopia. The discourse of hope captured by the visual research practice therefore reflected the theoretical framework of Bloch, in that the sustenance of utopian content of the project was its future orientation, the possibilities for individuals, cultures and societies to prepare for a future. The discourse of hope also extended into the next phase on the project during which visual research filming continued. This phase was an interesting intersection of the real F4P project, its representation, its performance and promotion and the intertextual.

The Football 4 Peace project returned to Israel in March 2007. Its function was now two-fold. Firstly, it was designed to provide a mediatized showpiece demonstration of its methods and its vision in the Fan Park that was provided for England fans attending the Israel v England Euro 2008 qualifier. This showpiece demonstration was designed to both highlight the work of the project itself and also to foreground and cement the associative links with the British Council represented by the British Ambassador to Israel and the FA represented by high profile anti-racist and social inclusion representatives, such as Brendan Batson. Both organisations had a high profile at the event, with the British Council also providing press officers to orchestrate the demonstration around the British and Israeli media's needs and demands on the day.

Another function of this trip was to work alongside another sports intervention, the FA's 'England Fans' group who had arranged a match against the supporters of Bnei Sakhnin, an Israeli Palestinian club, in the Israeli league (Adar, 2007). Both these events were intended to foreground the individual work of each distinctive project but also to cement the reputation of FA and its work to promote the possibilities of football, through innovative coaching interventions, a rehabilitation of 'England fans' and ultimately the organisation's international reputation.

Therefore this promotional opportunity was designed to be an expression of the F4P's method and 'values-based' approach but with an added additional layer of performance attached. This 'mediatized performance' was aimed towards the watching media. It was designed to appeal to the watching dignitaries and to divert and entertain football fans. This 'mediatized performance' was in many respects the culmination of the mediatized utopianism of the sports intervention. This promotional event provided an opportunity to film footage of the demonstration, the media operations of that day and the associative trips to Sakhnin with the 'England Fan' group and members of the F4P team. Therefore the practice-informed research of this thesis becomes intertextually linked to the logic of the mediatized utopianism on display in Tel Aviv. It also becomes intertextually linked with the documentary projects that focus on Bnei Sakhnin and the football clubs status within Israeli football (*After the Cup*, 2010), (Bernstein & Manelzis, 2009), (*Hard Ball*, 2006), (*Sakhnin, My Life*, 2006), (*We Too Have No Other Land*, 2006).

A number of research experiences during this trip highlight the intertextuality of these events and representations that recall Diffrient's (2008) notes on the 'Holocaustal' events and how they historically collide and dissolve into other mediatized events. The first research experience that reveals a layer of the intertextual is the activities of a 'rival' sports intervention, the football project orchestrated by the New Israel Fund (New Israel Fund, 2006). This UK-based, Jewish led network provides coaching camps in Israel, works to promote an anti-racist agenda and has associations with Arsenal and West Ham football clubs. This group was staying in the same Tel Aviv hotel as the Football 4 Peace team and had flown ex England star John Barnes, a prominent anti-racism campaigner, and the Sunday Telegraph journalist Patrick Barclay to view and report on their project and the associated promotional campaigns. Various members of this group were also filming the scenes. The researcher's film text of this event shows that this intertextuality extends beyond the representation to incorporate the sports interventions events themselves and the promotional and organisation strategies. Sports organisations like Football 4 Peace do not work in a vacuum; they compete for the media's attention with a myriad of UK based and global organisations. It is one of the imperatives towards their succumbing to a media logic and subsequent mediatization.

The second research experience that has intertextual reference points is the visit by England fans to the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem. This film footage, the performance of the 'social actors', the Holocaust museum experience and footage of the fans game in Sakhnin provide a range of filmic

reference points and interpretations that mirror Diffrient analysis of the Munich films. The final research experience was the Euro 2008 qualifier at Wembley Stadium between England and Israel in March 2007. During this experience the resonance of the FA's association with Football 4 Peace and other sports interventions and the associated mediatization of the game at this level create an intertextuality that also impacts on the final research film texts.

7.iv Researching the Visual

The evolving methodologies outlined herein have a number of limitations and concerns. The first issue is with how the image has been captured or constructed (Corner, 2008). The most fundamental issue within social and cultural research traditions is that of the ambiguity of most visual image material when compared with written or verbal communication (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). Knowles & Sweetman's (2004) response to arguments that the analysis of visual material is subjective, selective and potentially manipulative is worth quoting at length:

While such criticisms have some validity, they show a remarkable tendency to overlook similar difficulties with other forms of data and other methods of research: writing is also inherently polysemic, and it is as easy to select a particular quotation that supports the point one is making as it is to manipulate the framing lighting or tone of a photograph to present the desired effect. Indeed, in their ability to convey the emotional tone of an event, photographs are potentially *less* ambiguous - or even misleading - than other forms of qualitative data (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004:13).

However Corner's (2008) call for an analysis of the 'organisation of the image' must also be accounted for. Some critics argue that issues of authorial control are heightened when using these visual methods to create a sequential film text (Ruby, 2000). Does the organisation of a range of images into sequences impact on the authenticity of authorship? This issue is also experienced by social science researchers engaged in any type of research. A range of thoughts, ideas and field notes always become integrated into a larger written narrative. One way to overcome this is to be reflexive within the construction of the research film (Ruby, 2000). Another way is for the researcher to take more responsibility for the authorship of the text. This is reflected in *Visions of Hope* (2012) and the omission of video footage not shot, sequenced and edited by the researcher. As Ruby (2000) states: "if a filmmaker accepts a new sense of responsibility for the authorship of actuality films the question then becomes how to offer the subjects of those films a more active role" (Ruby, 2000:203).

There are similarly potentially problematic issues concerning the editorial processes and the impact on how the image sequences are organised. This is highlighted in the analysis of *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006) in Chapter 9, which explains in detail how editorial decisions can impact on the construction of meaning. This analysis of the circumstances of the production of a documentary foregrounds how subjective editorial decisions serve to show the absurdity of the filmmaker as a 'neutral, objective' recorder of social life. It also offers evidence why complete authorial

and editorial control cannot always be relied upon to create the 'truth'. The best the filmmaker can do is to construct an interpretation.

This constructed interpretation is attained from a range of situated vantage points gained through fieldwork process. This is quite different from the methodology of documentary filmmakers working in a commercial way. Both Moggan (2005) and Robertson (2005) critically assess the differences of working in a research context with film as opposed to a commercial documentary production context. Both critique the ethically problematic methods of commercial documentary practices. This critique outlines how commercial documentarians focus on directing the subjects, utilise a 'shopping list' approach to the gathering of visual images, are concerned with a professional aesthetic and use non-diegetic sound for emotional effect. Both emphasise production process rather than the finished texts and suggest that although anthropological techniques are 'mimicked' in commercial documentary production they differ significantly:

Yet the nature of the encounters between contributors and programme-makers reveals the differing conceptions of truth and authenticity that distinguish between anthropological approaches to documentary than those of television. Television selected its subjects in order to fulfil certain predetermined criteria. Relationships were simulated to ensure maximum returns. We knew how stories would end before they began, and there was little scope for revelation or discovery. What was significant and had meaning was chosen according to a set of criteria that existed outside of what was being filmed. Truth or the authentic was to be found in the reality presented to the viewer, packaged in terms of television's own framework of understanding (Robertson, 2005:52).

Mike Wayne (2008) takes up the task of drawing on the critical and the creative potential of documentary practices. By locating contemporary media

criticism into the mainstream, acknowledging self-reflexivity and allowing for the general appreciation of the intertextual, Wayne suggests that “documentary as research” can be understood as being at the intersection of “praxis”. This integration of theory and practice also allows for a creative treatment of the research film material:

Creativity and imagination are certainly important elements in any kind of cultural production that aims to be rewarding for audiences. Many of the Critical Theorists such as Marcuse, thought that imagination and fantasy were important resources for critical thinking, providing us with the ability to ‘create something new out of given material[s] of cognition’ Marcuse 1989:71 (Wayne, 2008:92).

A few recent commentators have suggested that the film form and structure itself is a major issue that impacts on the effectiveness of visual research, ethnography and film. One proponent of a different way of disseminating experimental and ethnographic film and visual research is Paul Basu (2008) who has speculated that the future of ethnographic film lies “beyond narrative” and “towards exhibition”. His view is that an inherent weakness of visual ethnography is its reliance on the codes and conventions of the documentary narrative form:

The filmic version of the ethnographic thick description is not served well by the 30-minute, 60-minute or even two hour narrative film format. The future of ethnographic film-of the use, that is, of moving image technologies in the service of the anthropological project – lies, therefore, beyond the narrative frame that typifies the established canon (Basu, 2008:107).

Despite the issues of form outlined by Basu, the use of visual research methods allows researchers to engage with the heightened visual literacy of

contemporary culture (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). They also, potentially, allow an exploration of the analytical and conceptual, as Knowles & Sweetman (2004) suggest:

The conceptual and analytical potential of images is not often directly confronted, beyond the selecting and framing which go into their composition, but remains unexamined in the background (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004:6).

The research methodologies employed have developed over a period time adapting to changing circumstances in the project, the development of technical expertise and the realities of researching life in a society such as Israel. This fluctuating methodological framework adapted to the impact of the London Bombings of 2005 and the Lebanon War in 2006. Just as Diffrient (2008) locates Munich as a 'singular event' with intertextual links to a chain of historical 'holocaustal' events, so the wider contexts of the field research have had to account for a range of these 'singular events'. These issues will be explored more fully in my own practice-informed film texts, *Visions of Hope* (2012) and the associated written commentaries of these texts provided in Chapter 10.

Chapter 8 Representing Evangelical and Paternalistic Utopianism

“Thus we live by hope and faith; thus we are for the most part able to realize what we will, and thus we accomplish the end of our being. The contemplation of futurity inspires humility of soul in our judgement of the present” (Coleridge, 1978: 402).

8.i Contextualising the *World Sport Peace Project (2003)* and *Football for Peace (2004)*

The following chapter provides a textual analysis of the visual artefacts of F4P. The *World Sport Peace Project (2003)* film was produced at a time when the World Sports Peace Project (WSPP) was evolving into what is now called Football 4 Peace. The film therefore represents the shift from the evangelical to the paternalistic utopian phase as described in Chapter 4. This shift in the projects ideology is an important context to the film production as the project director, Geoffrey Whitfield, takes up much of the ideological discourse of the film. In addition to Whitfield setting out some of the projects' goals and core beliefs: the discourse is also supplemented by academic staff from the University of Brighton; (John Sugden, Gary Stidder), a representative of the British Council, (Jane Shurrush) and a local journalist (Lydia Aisenberg). These individuals provide a range of supporting perspectives and sound bites within the film.

Whitfield (2007) and Sugden & Wallis (2007) outline how the transition in organisational structure and ideology was implemented within the sports intervention and some aspects of this transition is described in Chapter 4. It is clear from the film narrative and the rhetoric of Whitfield that he is still very much in control of the ideological aspects of the project and some of the

messages the film wishes to project. Other participants support the overall discourse of the film. However it is also evident that many of the key aesthetic decisions made in this film are made by the filmmaker, following established televisual production codes and conventions. These decisions are made when shooting on location and then in the editing suite back in the UK, which combine to create the discourse of the film.

The *World Sports Peace Project* (2003) is a promotional and information digital film. The film is a 6:30 minute semi-professional production and is produced by the Centre for Creative Development at the Southampton Institute. This educational production is primarily aimed to aid the recruitment of undergraduate coaches and the dissemination of information about the project to potential supporters and sponsors. The film text was primarily shot with one camera on location in Israel and outlines some of the main characters involved in the project, documents the preparations for the intervention and represents the logistical elements of the projects. The discourse of Whitfield utilises the rhetoric of the pulpit to preach the ethos of the World Sports Peace Project. The promotional aspect of this educational film reflects the aesthetics of the genre. The film is basic in conception, production and execution and delivers an unsophisticated narrative to the targeted viewers. The film incorporates elements of the documentary style, televisual advertisements and some public relations elements. The film therefore has a distinct lack of critical edge and no reflexive elements.

The other film under analysis in this chapter, *Football for Peace* (2004), is a 12:00 minute documentary style digital film. The film was produced by a professional, Israeli production company and was shot on location in Israel over the duration of the 2004 project by a crew of five. The film combines elements of the 'fly on the wall' approach to documentary filmmaking with a heavily stylised and foregrounded visual and sound design.

The wider context of this production highlights how the F4P project began to utilise key strategic partners to cement its vision and to use a more advanced media strategy to attract investment and attention to its work throughout 2004. While the British Council had been involved in the project for a number of years, at this stage of the project it had become much more involved in the development of the projects ideology and had positioned itself as an integral partner. The British Council is therefore a co-producer of meaning and the paternalistic utopian phase of the project, of which the British Council was very much a part, is highlighted throughout the film. This film is therefore a representation of the Football 4 Peace project during this phase.

The close organisational relationships that support the sports intervention are highlighted by the wording in the credits, whereby the Football 4 Peace project is described as a "strategic partnership" between the University of Brighton and the British Council. This highlights the organisation and bureaucratic linkages between these organisations and how these have influenced the development of the project during this phase. In addition the British Council also holds the copyright to film, financed its production and

was also heavily involved in the design, conceptualisation and ideological content of the film. The film's production was a response to the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003), as the British Council found the previous film's explicit references to war and conflict, via the use of content from the broadcast media, problematic. The organisation was therefore keen to project a different image of Israel. In many ways therefore, this film reflects the British Council's vision of what the F4P project represents, as much as a representation of Football 4 Peace's own ideology. It also marks the first film product produced after the re-branding of the World Sports Peace Project to Football 4 Peace and heralds the shift from evangelical to paternalistic utopianism on film.

The re-branding of the project is also important in a number of ways. Firstly, this is because the re-branding of the project is also complemented by a shift in focus towards a 'values-based' approach to coaching. This approach has been described in more detail in Chapter 4. Sugden & Wallis (2007) outline how this shift represented a radical change in the goals of the project and the film seeks to foreground this innovative coaching style and its application in the field by the UK team. Secondly, this film is an important component in the realisation of this rebranding and the communication of the F4P brand. This is achieved by focusing the narrative point of view on the UK team and child participants. These children therefore become ciphers for the wider ideology of the project, wearing branded F4P kit, being filmed next to the F4P banners and through the narrative focus on the effect of coaching methodology on their development. The children act as ciphers for the physical manifestation of this re-branding exercise. The circumstances of the filmmaking process

however also disrupted the messages the F4P project was keen to promote for the duration of the project.

Therefore the creation of this representation directly impacted on the reality of the project and its operation. A number of UK project leaders highlighted their concerns about the activities of the filmmakers during production in post project evaluations. According to a number of coaches, who gave feedback to the leaders, the filmmakers interfered with coaching sessions, set up sequences and asked the children 'leading questions'. A number of UK coaches also complained that the film crew interfered with the transmission of the projects 'values'. The coaches alleged that the film crew were hostile to the projects 'goals' and concluded that this had an impact on the success of F4P and the communication of projects ideology. Therefore it is clear that the circumstances of production of the images had an impact on the wider F4P project (Corner, 2008). The F4P project at this stage was not yet fully mediatized, in fact it still resisted the professional and cultural norms of media producers and an accommodation with and assimilation into the logic of media production (Hjarvard, 2008).

Finally, the professional film crew also had an impact on the final film in other ways that are connected to the culture, codes and conventions of media production. The decisions to set up scenarios, film in children's homes and the editorial process all impact on the making of meaning. Therefore the professional processes and mores of the professional film crew have to be accounted for in the analysis. Despite the attempts to control the

representation of the project and the meaning of the film, the filmmaker's independence is a powerful factor in the final product. The final film *Football for Peace* (2004) is therefore a combination of the ideological control of the British Council, an exercise in the re-branding of the project and the personal vision and aesthetic of the Israeli filmmakers based on the codes and conventions of media production.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on an in-depth qualitative textual analysis of these two films. In particular, this analysis will focus, thematically, on an examination of the codes and conventions utilised by the filmmakers and also the ideological content of the film and its relationship to the wider Football 4 Peace enterprise. Following Corner (2008) and Bruzzi (2000), the construction of the images, the organisation of the film sequences, the 'performance' of the subjects, the wider thematic elements will be assessed. In addition, the contextual relationships relevant to the project, its representation and the wider socio-cultural milieu will be analysed and critiqued.

This chapter therefore interprets how these films represent the F4P project. It also begins to formalise a theoretical framework with which to interpret the other film texts that constitute the *F4P trilogy* and the visualisation of the research presented in Chapter 11, *Visions of Hope* (2012). The chapter concludes with an examination of the ways in which the wider ideological impact of the projects representation and the project itself can be understood through an understanding of Bloch's utopianism.

8.ii Textual analysis of the *World Sport Peace Project (2003)* and *Football for Peace (2004)*

The analysis of this film can be made in a number of ways, with a number of analytical tools to inform a myriad of theoretical perspectives. For this analysis, Corner's (2008) distinct 'vantage' points of the origin and organisation of the images have been utilised. Corner's rationale is predicated on the need to situate the ideology embedded in non-fiction films. He also foregrounds how new scholarship on media outputs needs to be located, "within researched settings of political, economic and cultural power" (Corner, 2008:26). A range of analytical techniques aid this analysis and critique of the film products. They range from an analysis of the semiotic devices and conditions of image construction to the narrative, rhetorical and performance functions embedded in the sequences. The rationale for this approach is two-fold. Firstly, different types of content require different tools to aid the analysis. Secondly, the multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of these film texts reflexively impact on the practice-informed submission *Visions of Hope* (2012), presented in Chapter 11. An analysis of these film texts identified a number of themes. Within these themes various types of constructed and captured images and various film sequences convey different information and representational strategies. The thematic categories were identified as follows:

1. Televisual News Practices, Codes and Conventions
2. Talking Head Interviews and Ideological Vantage Points

3. Geographic Space in Israel
4. Images of Youth
5. Sound Design and Soundtrack Music
6. Photography and Graphics

8.iii Televisual News Practices, Codes and Conventions

The use of televisual news images of war and conflict in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) are interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, these images are constructed by Western media professionals according to conventional televisual codes, conventions and occupational norms. A range of graphics, lighting and presentation strategies impart authority, clarity, professional journalistic standards and 'news values' into the images. The appropriation of these images by the filmmaker suggests that these cultural values are then transferred into the ideology of this film (Chomsky, 2002). The semiotic power of these 'appropriated', 'borrowed' or 'stolen' images work to inculcate media practices and narratives directly into the representation of the project itself.

The positioning of this news sequence at the beginning of the film also heightens the ideological claims for legitimacy. As it is the starting point of the F4P narrative strategy, there is no subsequent subversion of meaning elsewhere in the film text that may provide opportunities to question the narrative. The sequence is edited together to blend the authority of the western news media representations and the sound bite in order to direct the

discourse of the film. By sequentially juxtaposing these images together with the project's own footage, the project itself immediately becomes part of the wider narratives of Middle East (Said, 1995). The F4P narrative is assimilated into a wider vortex of signs and symbols that potentially divorce the project from any real meaning (Whannel, 2010). The project thus loses control of its own representation and is merely driven by a news agenda, news values and promotional ethos that separate the project from the reality of its work in the field.

Secondly, these images and the edited sequences also attempt to add both historical and contemporary contexts to this representation of the football project and by extension the project itself. The use of televisual news images to add this historical and contemporary context to the football project works by providing a snap-shot of a number of news stories relating to the region. The intended audience for the film must also be accounted for (primarily undergraduate football coaches; many of whom will not have much knowledge of the region and its troubled history). Therefore the partial image of Israel and Palestine shown foregrounds a stereotypical portrayal of rowdy, rebellious Palestinian youth stoning tanks, Israeli power as represented by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) and a strong Israeli leader. There is no real context or any historical insight other than a clichéd sound bite about the wider significance of Jerusalem.

The use of Jerusalem as an image is also potentially problematic. Jerusalem works as a mediatized symbolic shorthand for the religious impulses of the

fanatics in the region. Jerusalem acts a symbolic link to the Crusades and the discourses of Christian salvation that are evident in the rhetoric of F4P's ideological architects during this phase of the project. The *World Sports Peace* project at this stage had not directly worked in either the West Bank or Jerusalem due to the security situation. This constructed image therefore works to actually provide a complete decontextualisation of both the F4P project and the region in which the intervention works. This by extension creates a completely artificial reality and perspective of what the coach or average Israeli citizen will experience when in Israel. This decontextualisation of images to promote the project serves two functions. It plays on the missionary zeal of the projects creators and also the interventionist impulses of some of its foot soldiers.

Thirdly, the use of TV images allows the filmmaker to create a dramatic arc into the film. In essence these images provide a cheap, accessible and convenient way for the filmmaker to add some drama into what would otherwise be a quite dull narrative. As the pictures throughout the rest of the film demonstrate; there are only so many pictures of smiling, football crazy 'exotic' kids a filmmaker can use (Said, 1995). There are also only a certain amount of talking head interviews that can introduce ideas, themes and characters. Starting a film in this way leads the narrative towards a resolution, whereby those who join or support this 'crusade' (ie the potential audience for the film) can be part of one of histories grand-narratives and work resolve this intractable problem by offering an alternative future for these children.

These images also work to cement aspects of the projects ideology within the film text; by foregrounding the contention of the project leader that “their work” in Israel, complements the “roadmap” to peace. Whitfield’s remarks on the potential impact of the project are not just an excitable overstatement. It is an implicit aspect of the projects’ ideology during the evangelical phase. The projects full title: World Sport Peace Project - Conflict Prevention Football Project - captures both its grandiose ambitions and the associated ideological baggage. When we break down the semantics of the project’s name we can begin to unpick the division between the reality of what is actually quite a short and small football camp in the Galilee and the ambition packed into its title. Firstly, it is not a ‘World’ project; it’s based in one country, specifically at this stage at least, in a small Northern region of a small Middle Eastern state. Secondly, it does not deal with ‘sport’, its mission is through the use of one sport, albeit the global powerhouse that is football. Thirdly, in what way does it work to ‘Prevent Conflict’? Are there any conflicts in these communities? The narrative of this representation masks many of the wider realities of communities that the intervention works within.

The ideology of the project during this phase is based on fundamental, evangelical, missionary and Christian values (Sugden & Wallis 2007) and reflects an ideology that appears to support the civilising potential of western cultural forms (Elias & Dunning, 1986). This is reflected in the images and how they potentially work within the wider discourses of the ‘Middle East’ in the Western media, by legitimising the use of military force, western power and the wider political forces at work in the region (Said, 1995). This is due to

the uncritical approach to the use of these televisual images and the lack of complexity in the wider contextualisation of the region in the narrative.

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter there is no use of TV news images and footage of Israel and the Middle East in the *Football for Peace* (2004) film text. The reason for this omission is two-fold. Firstly, the funding, organisational and ideological influence of the British Council in Israel as a key stakeholder in the Football 4 Peace project and its subsequent representations ensured that these images were avoided as part of the representational strategy of the project and of the State of Israel itself.

The representatives of the British Council were concerned about the negative image of Israel that the televisual news had portrayed in the past and part of the reasoning behind the funding and support of this film project was to try and change the perception of Israel as a place of violence, terrorism and conflict. This film is therefore a key visual reference point in the timeframe of the shift from evangelical to paternalistic utopianism.

This potentially has a wider ideological impact however because although images of TV news and war are absent from the film, the issue of political violence and conflict is now absent, in large part, from the meanings embedded in the film. This therefore demonstrates the problematic intervention of the British Council into the representation of F4P; to remove the wider social, political and cultural contexts within which the intervention works. This paternalistic utopianism therefore works to normalise how Israel is represented. In many ways it is difficult to see why there is a need for a

project at all when watching this film. Israel is represented as a nation at ease with itself. The main discussion of the issues that face Israel, as a place that requires or desires the intervention of the West, is through the sound bites of the projects leaders and the brief interviews with two children.

This quote from the Israeli Jewish child, Elan Lazebnik, highlights the discourse of the film from a Jewish Israeli perspective: “the goal in my opinion is to bring Jewish and Arab kids closer together because the grown-ups are already at war, so that the next generation of kids, when they grow up will live in peace and they we will respect each other” (Appendix ii). This quote is then contrasted with a quote from an Arab Israeli child, Rabia Kut, to emphasise another perspective: “according to what I heard, what people told me is that they (the Jews) are not nice. But I realised that they’re nice” (Appendix ii).

An analysis of these two statements provides an insight into the wider politics of representation that are evident in the film. The phrase “at war” is left with no context: Who is at war? When did this war start? Why are they at war? What does the child understand by war? These questions are not asked or answered, they merely circulate throughout the discourse of the representation. In addition, the emphasis on the word, war, reflects the wider Israeli and Western media’s discourse of the Middle East by invoking the discourse of the “war on terror” (Cottle, 2006a).

If we contrast this quote to Rabia Kut’s statement that: “they (the Jews) are not nice”, this softer explanation and discourse is also not followed up

(Appendix ii). Why are they not nice? When was he told this? Who said this to him? Why has he not met Jewish people before? How has the child experienced Jewish culture? These statements serve the same function as the televisual images of news that were evident in the *World Sports Peace Project* (2003). They embed the ideology of the British Council and the F4P project during the paternalistic phase, while appearing to provide the wider contexts into the film. However this partiality and brevity works to problematise the narrative. How the narrative and characters develop will be outlined in more detail later in this chapter.

Wolfsfeld (1997) outlines how the representation of war and conflict is both problematic and ideological in the mainstream media. However the media representation of peace is also highly ideological and Wolfsfeld argues that peace works in binary opposition to how news functions and that conflict is vital to develop a news story. He states:

there is an inherent contradiction between the logic of peace process[es] and the professional demands of journalists]...[Most of a peace process is marked by dull, tedious negotiations; journalists require drama. A successful peace process leads to a reduction in tensions; journalists focus on conflict. Many of the significant developments within a peace process must take place behind closed doors; journalists demand information and action (Wolfsfeld, 1997:67)

Therefore the absence of televisual news means that the narrative devices and the 'performances' of the social actors are problematic in this context.

The second reason for the omission of commercial news is connected to the filmmaking process itself. One of the primary reasons for the use of televisual news was the attempt to provide drama and a wider context to the subject of

the film. The use of an Israeli film crew in some ways provides an ideological component to the film. Their understanding of the wider issues and contexts is directly related to the selection of quotes, images and sounds to represent their nation. This is done through the juxtaposition of the two children's narratives at the beginning of the film. The similarities rather than differences in the day-to-day life of the children are also accentuated in the film by focusing on the brief images of the children's home-life.

The children are shown getting prepared at home and eating with family, the only apparent difference between the children being that the Jewish child is shown swimming in a pool – a hint at the wealth disparity in Israeli communities evident to all visitors to Israel. For a viewer with little experience of Israel, these children live similar lives and have the same hopes and fears. This view, seemingly endorsed by the British Council, masks a myriad of problematic realities. The infrastructure in Arab Israeli towns, the everyday difficulties of Arab Israeli citizens, the segregation of towns, schools and social events are all neglected, in order to portray a representation of a society seemingly at ease with itself. The filmmakers gloss over these issues as if they do not exist.

The audiences for this film, young British coaches and potential sponsors of the project, suggests that the lack of a critical engagement with Israel as a host nation is as damaging as the de-contextualising of TV news in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). This film and its discourse appear to be framed and focused towards a Jewish Israeli audience. It therefore legitimises many

of the assumptions around citizenship and the status of Arab Israelis. This representation of Israel therefore is created through the twin prisms of British Council ideology and an Israeli perspective that is also influenced by the codes, conventions and hegemony of the Western media and filmmaking traditions.

8.iv Talking Head Interviews and Ideological Vantage Points

The interviews in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) are shot on location at the point of origin, in natural light, with synchronous sound and generally utilising mid-shots. This shot selection reveals the interview locations and also showcases the environments in which the project works. This shot selection also imparts a 'realist' aesthetic into the film. All the interviewees are casually dressed, signifying their roles as coaches or administrators or journalists. The mid-shot and direct address to the interviewer also adds a sense of 'reality' to the interview, rather than the televisual style set piece interview with a cut-away to the interviewer. In this style of interview the interviewer remains behind the camera. These interviews are organised into the wider film structure and narrative in a number of ways.

Firstly, the sequences provide a range edited of sound bites for the audience to digest some important points about the project. These edited sound bites such as "hope for the future", "the hopes, values and ideals that people load onto any sport that makes it a kind of positive force or negative force" and "fruit that can be nurtured" allow the meanings of the project to be easily and

uncritically digested by the prospective coaches, funders and supporters who are the main audiences for this film (Appendix i).

Secondly, the interviews provide a narrative strategy whereby the development of the project is chronologically outlined along with some of the potential organisational and administrative hurdles that have to be overcome. Thirdly, the interviews work to introduce central characters into the narrative. The project leader is the most central of these characters, followed by the University coach leaders with a supporting cast of administrators and journalists. Most of these characters are European and only one local Israeli journalist disrupts this European perspective.

The interviews also link the TV commentary to the characters words. The references to the “road map” made in the news bulletins at the beginning the film and Geoffrey Whitfield’s reference to the “context of the roadmap”, work to link his rhetoric to a developing narrative of the projects small part in the wider peace process by juxtaposing the cache of the western media with this small-scale sports intervention. It therefore inflates both the importance and relevance of the project.

Similarly, in *Football for Peace* (2004) the interviews are shot on location at the point of origin, in natural light, with synchronous sound but using a range of shots and camera techniques. This replicates the framing of the interviews in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). The shot selection gives a sense of the interviews locations and also reveals the environments in which the

intervention works. This 'realist' aesthetic is important in this context because the general style of the film contains many artistic and stylistic editing devices and strategies that puncture the realism of the film. However in contrast to the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) the interview set pieces are characterised by professional framing, televisual quality and an artistic cinematography largely absent from the earlier film.

The interviews focus on two aspects of the F4P project, the project staff and the children who experience the 'values-based' coaching. The wider partnerships and perspectives are neglected in order to focus the narrative of the film firmly on the Football 4 Peace project. Again, the interviewee's casual dress signifies their roles as sports coaches or participants in the sports project. The direct mode of address to the camera also adds a sense of 'reality' to the interview, as does the unscripted sound of the words from the young British coaches on the ground, in which various grammatical errors are left unedited or scripted. The interviews with the project leaders are however characterised by a scripted use of language, rhetoric, ideas and wider contextual associations.

Just as in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003), the interviews are organised into the wider film structure and narrative in a number of ways. Firstly, the sequences provide a range edited of sound-bites. These sequences provide an opportunity for the filmmakers to impart aspects of the discourse of the film through these sound-bites. The use of the children's interviews in this film can be semantically critiqued. However, the project leader's words also highlight

other ideological issues. The following sound bites are contained within the scripted discourses of the project leader, Jim Wallace (my emphasis in bold):

The way I see the project unfolding is that we are teaching a series of **human values** through a **physical medium** and that **physical medium** just happens to be football. Football is a **global game** it's a **global language** and we have selected a series of **human values** and we have tried to bring out those values and try and create some **trust relationships** between the different communities (Appendix ii).

The use of repetition as a rhetorical device and the therapeutic vernacular employed by Wallis work to situate these sound bites into the forefront of the discourse of the film. This use of language also foregrounds the audience's sympathy for the projects ideology but masks a full understanding of the projects still undefined goals. There is no definition of what "human values" are, what they mean and whether they are universal. The use of "global" suggests universality and an interconnection between different societies and the use of the therapeutic phrase "trust relationship" suggests the Football 4 Peace project can be trusted to resolve the lack of trust in the communities and areas in which the intervention works.

An analysis of the language of the project leaders discourse also allows us to see how edited sound bites can highlight ideological discourses. Sugden states (my emphasis in bold):

People look at a place **like Israel, like Palestine** and look at the conflict and think this problem is so massive even though I have the heart to you know to feel sympathy and empathy to people on **both sides** its too big a problem we can **do nothing**, well my view is you can actually **do something**, we cant sit at the political table we cant make much of an impact, any impact on the economic development,

although we spent all of our shekels in the Hotel bar over the last nights so there must have been a slight economic multiplier there but we cant sit at the top table, we cant get people to put down there arms but **we can coach football, we can put on these training camps, we can bring the kids together to do something they feel really good about and they enjoy, that's what we can do** and we are very happy to make that contribution (Appendix ii).

One important aspect of this extract is the first recognition of Israel and Palestine as distinct and different entities. Secondly, the admission that there are at least two sides to this conflict and the role of the project, to remain neutral, is an unsaid but a vital part of the projects ideology. However, as has been pointed out earlier, the project during this period had never worked in the political entity that is called Palestine and while it focuses its work on communities of Arab Israelis, they are Israeli citizens rather than residents or citizens of the Palestine Authority.

Another feature of the discourse is the suggestion that citizens have a choice whether they can act as an inspiration to others. We can either “do nothing” or “do something”. Indeed this theme continues throughout the discourse of Football 4 Peace with Sugden often invoking the ideas and rhetoric of Edward Burke to outline the ideology of the project in presentations and conferences *Visions of Hope* (2012).

Sugden also employs the rhetorical device of repetition. He begins by outlining what the project cannot do, damning those with the power to do something and associating the project with the disempowered. He then focuses on what “we can” do. This ancient rhetorical device both alienates

those in power and highlights their failure to work towards social change and progress. The discourse also empowers the project as a forward thinking, progressive example of human agency and justifies the intervention.

However in reality, this use of language is problematic and masks many subtle problems with the project and its representation during the paternalistic utopian phase. Firstly, “we” includes the British Council, an organisation that some on the left have characterised a relic of imperialism and an important disseminator of British power, influence and hegemony. “We” also includes the FA, another institution with a global status, commercial aspirations and influence. “We” includes the Israeli Sports Authority, one of the institutions that have been instrumental in the maintenance of the status quo in Israel as outlined in Chapter 3, and an agency of the Israeli government. “We” also includes a range of educators from British and Israeli institutions and coaches from a range of organisational backgrounds. Finally, “We” includes a range of children from a variety of social, ethnic and class backgrounds. Therefore “We” constitutes a powerful and substantial coalition, but not one that could be characterised not being unable engender progress and to provide the conditions for change. Indeed, the coalition has direct paths to the centres of power and the status quo and has a direct influence on those whom Sugden’s rhetoric damns.

Secondly, the interviews provide a narrative strategy. In this film a number of narrative threads interweave through the use of the split-screen technique.

Whereas the development of the project was developed and the potential

organisational and administrative problems outlined in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) this film text has a number of strands to its strategy and is thus much more complex. The first part of its narrative follows the paths of two children from different communities towards the final game of a tournament. This narrative runs chronologically towards the final game. Another narrative arc introduces the girl's project and female coaches which are absent from the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). This is an important part of the narrative because the British Council and FA have both shown a considerable degree of interest and support of this aspect of the project, and as the developments in Um El Fahem outlined in Chapter 4 demonstrate, provide the conditions for the shift from the paternalistic to pragmatic utopian phase of F4P. Finally, the narrative strategy works to introduce the Football 4 Peace brand and 'values-based' approach to coaching.

The film sequences are broken down into chapters that echo the construction of F4P teaching manual and the approach to coaching outlined in the manual during this stage of the project Lambert et al (2004a). Each coaching session is themed with an associative 'human value' in an echo of how the project worked to introduce these 'values' into this phase of the project. This narrative structure therefore shows how these values work together to create a successful team, interventionist sports project, local community and by implication, how these 'values' can be embraced by the nation. This model suggests that adopting this approach throughout life has implications for the future of Israel. The sequence also provides a range of examples to support the sound bites and ideology of the projects leaders.

Thirdly, the interviews work to introduce central characters into the narrative. This is evident in the way the two children are introduced as characters. However it is most evident when introducing the coaches and project leaders. Jones is portrayed as a professional yet supportive and holistic coach. Glenister is portrayed as an example of an independent female coach, supportive to her students and a strong character. Wallace is portrayed as a calm, authoritative leader who understands basic human drives and needs. While Professor Sugden, the antithesis of the desk bound Professor in his ivory tower, both humanises and evangelises from his stadium pulpit.

8.v Geographic Space in Israel

The images of geographic space in Israel in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) are either constructed from other sources, such as the Western news media or shot on location from a range of Israeli locations. The images of Israel that start the film represent the 'contemporary realities' of the conflict. These images are constructed according to televisual codes and conventions by media professionals. Examples include images of rebellious youth committing violent acts in dry, dusty, desolate spaces. These visual spaces highlight the 'hot headedness' of the youth who inhabit them. Another location image filmed by the professionals is the site of Jerusalem, a symbolic site that resonates with many potential audiences. The locations captured by the filmmaker offer softer, less forbidding images. These locations show more green spaces, such as the football field with evidence of a happy, smiling,

sporting multicultural youth. There are also panoramic views of picturesque towns, trees and flowers. These images of the countryside and a natural outdoors, highlight the benefits of the natural environment and a healthy sporting practice.

The locations also feature Nazareth, a place familiar to Western audiences. Nazareth is foregrounded in the passionate displays of a football crowd in a Stadium and highlights the fervour in the region, for life and for football. These images are supplemented by images of the British Council offices, which highlight the bureaucratic contribution to the project. These 'promotional' sequences when juxtaposed with the images of 'violent spaces' provide a powerful re-imagining of the possibilities that sport and healthy practice can bring. They also work ideologically by associating Palestinian youth with the expression of violence in Israel. The film does not attempt to disrupt this association throughout its discourse. Nazareth as a religious site therefore acts as a symbol of the evangelical phase of the project. However the demographics of the town are left unexplained and as Nazareth is largely a Palestinian Israeli town throughout the film we are left with no idea of who is who and this works to decontextualise the reality of this geographic space.

Geographic spaces in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) are seemingly neutral or partisan, bureaucratic buildings or sporting spaces and celebratory or violent. These images therefore work to fix binary ideas of the nation. The images are also shot and edited in order to supplement the ideological discourse of the film and it is here that the representation of the project most

closely ties with the wider discourses of the project. As we might expect of a film made by a UK-based team promoting a sports intervention, the film works to show a range of images of Israel but does little to provide any true insight into the State of Israel.

The geographic spaces in *Football for Peace* (2004) are shot in various locations across Israel by an Israeli film crew. Therefore they have a different aesthetic dimension than the images recorded in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). However these images still provide evidence of a sporting, multicultural youth, highlight the benefits of the natural environment and feature shots inside the structured space of a stadium.

The film also provides an insight into the home spaces of children involved in the project. These glimpses into home life provide a subtle shift in the representation and the associated discourse. The children and Israeli citizens in general, are placed outside of a football context and are therefore humanised. We see examples of the food communities eat and the communal social spaces. These images can therefore be seen as important aspects of de-mystifying and normalising the representation of Israel. This therefore also fits into the promotional agenda of the British Council and paternalism of the film. These sequences also work promotionally to provide a snapshot of the conditions of everyday life in Israel to British coaches. They normalise Israel and provide a representation far removed from the violence and conflict represented in the news, in the way the British Council hoped to develop the wider narratives of Israel.

Therefore Israel's geographic spaces are no longer just neutral or partisan, bureaucratic buildings or sporting spaces and celebratory or violent. These images work disrupt binary ideas of the nation. However these images while providing a brief insight into the interior of an Israeli home do not provide a wider contextual understanding of the social and economic realities within any of Israel's communities. The imagery therefore serves the British Councils goal of providing an image of normality, equality and homogeneity in Israel's communities and therefore continues to work ideologically to fix these ideas in the meaning of the film, the project, the representation and serve the paternalistic utopianism of the F4P project.

8.vi Images of Youth

In *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) the images of children shot on location are generally shown in their sporting spaces, playing football, smiling, celebrating – the images symbolise hope, renewal, the future. They are constructed in various ways, using pans, zooms and a range of close-ups. However all the shots focus on the children's faces and their movement. The footage edited from the televisual images also consists of different shots and movements but the focus is on the children's unrestrained and almost primal violence. The sequence of children playing football works to remind the audience of the power of sport and also draws attention to the physicality of the children and youthful possibility. The sequence of Geoffrey Whitfield visiting a non-specified village that is possibly Afula while on a tour of facilities shows a number of children in slow motion rushing to meet these visitors. This

sequence is shot from behind the action so the faces cannot be seen but poignantly one child tentatively attempts grab a visitors hand but the visitor fails to notice and the moment is lost but captured by the camera.

The positioning of the children in the narrative also creates issues about the representation of the children. The children could be said to be acultural – in that the audience do not know the specifics of their ethnic and social backgrounds. They therefore become apolitical ciphers, powerless symbols to be promoted and exploited for ideological purposes. Rather than given an identity or voice (only the English speaking adults, the real power centre of the project have a voice) the children remain voiceless, powerless, merely symbolic images of hope.

This silencing of the children while disempowering them also strengthens the ideological ties between the film and the project. Israeli children are presented as mere consumers of an interventionist product, albeit one designed for a higher purpose. Their physicality, smiles and youth are presented as a promotional tool to serve the project and a wider ideological agenda. This use of images of children also reflects how children are mediated in many promotional and advertisement campaigns, as passive consumers of products and ideology. Any reaction or rebellion that might have been captured during filming – ie a conflict, or argument, in fact any act of resistance, is simply left on the cutting room floor. These acultural children therefore work as signifiers of an imaginary present and as avatars of the real world around them.

The images of children in *Football for Peace* (2004) are shot on location and children are generally shown in their sporting spaces, playing football, smiling, celebrating. These images work to inculcate the images of children as signifiers of sporting mythologies. The sequences of action, of children playing football work to remind the audience of the power of sport, they closely replicate the framing, construction and editing of the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). The only place we see the children outside these spaces are in the domestic scenes that offer a significant change from the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). This therefore moves the children beyond the sporting realm to provide a more complete representation of their lives. If the children in the *World Sports Peace Project* (2003) could be said to be acultural, without an identity or voice, the children in *Football for Peace* (2004) are identified, placed into some kind of cultural context and allowed a voice to express an opinion. However the choice of sound bite and the editing regime still serve to represent the children as a promotional tool to serve the sports intervention, an ideological agenda and ultimately, its wider utopianism.

Perhaps even more than the silencing and removal of identity in the *World Sports Peace Project* (2003) this use of images makes the children powerless, just as children are mediated in many promotional and advertising campaigns, as passive consumers of products and ideology. Therefore the children's discourse actually serves the promotional discourse of the F4P project, the wider ideological agenda of the British Council and the filmmakers own aesthetic vision.

8.vii Sound Design and Soundtrack Music

The sound in *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) is recorded synchronously via microphones during filming, the sound quality is consistent and at a level that can be easily understood. The soundtrack also makes use of various commercial techno-style music tracks. These tracks signify youth and are used primarily to resonate with the youthful audience of young British coaches. However one sequence contains the Vangelis soundtrack music for *Chariots of Fire* (1981). This music has obvious associations with the utopian power of sport but also has more subtle connections to the Jewish diaspora and wider cultural experience of sport (Cashmore, 2008), (Tomlinson, 1999a).

Again, in *Football for Peace* (2004), the sound is recorded synchronously on location. The sound quality is consistent and at a level that can be easily understood. Just as in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) the soundtrack is also cut to the film and also makes use of a soundtrack of various commercial Acid Jazz and Funk soundtracks. These signify a youthful, although dated, attitude and are used primarily to resonate with the youthful audience of young British coaches. However the sound bites appear incongruous against the choice of soundtrack music and this provides an almost comedic element to the film's reception and betrays the music tastes of the filmmakers. This suggests that the selection of tracks was based on promotional and aesthetic criteria and appears at odds with the general narrative flow and dramatic arc of the film. The tracks are also not identified in the credits.

8.viii Photography and Graphics

The graphics that are shown in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) can again be divided into graphics and stills from the televisual news and graphics produced to impart information about key characters and locations by the filmmaker in the editing suite.

The graphics are primarily informative tools that provide information but also disrupt the realism of the sequences of action. They also act as a commentary for the action in Nazareth in order to situate the images into a location and provide some contextual 'facts'. They are also used at the end of the film to complete the narrative arc by stating what will happen in the future. The graphics also serve to provide contact details for the coaches who wish to volunteer, for any funders who wish to invest or for any partners who wish to collaborate.

Another aspect of the use of graphics are the Sky News and ITV news graphics. These identify the authenticity of the televisual images and messages. They have also been superimposed with a caption, 'ISRAEL' which identifies both the images and introduces the project. However the rolling news tickertape graphic also contains a breaking story about a terrorist suspects relationship to the 'Shoe bomber', Richard Reid. This intertextual message may be intentional or may just be an accident or coincidence. However given the wider contexts in the region and the events that had an impact in the field during this phase of the project, as outlined in Chapter 4,

this graphic is filled with many ideological messages and has some resonance with Diffrient's critique of 'singular events' (Diffrient, 2008).

The graphics, effects and still images are much more complex in *Football for Peace* (2004) than the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and provide evidence that the film production is a much more professional affair with a budget for editing and a more sophisticated approach to the film project. The split-screen technique provides the tools to follow a number of narrative arcs. It also disrupts the 'realism' of the film by providing a nonlinear approach and allowing the viewer to follow a number of stories. This approach was taken up by filmmakers in the 1960's and was fairly prominent in both fiction and non-fiction film. It is also a technique regularly used in music promotions and promotional video. The graphics in *Football for Peace* (2004) are primarily informative tools and work to break down the narrative into chapters that replicate the F4P 'values-based' coaching manual. Therefore these graphics directly work to drive the audience's understanding of the project and its wider values. The graphics in the closing credits also clearly outline the participants, the coaching team, filmmakers and partners. This therefore acknowledges the joint production of meaning of the project and its representation.

8.ix Critical Approaches to the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004)

The ideological discourse of the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) is centred on the former Baptist minister Geoffrey Whitfield. Whitfield outlines his

contribution to the project which explicitly sets out his Christian value system (Whitfield, 2007). This value system is present throughout the film text. A rhetorical analysis of the choice of dialogue selected for this promotional film highlights how the language used reflects key aspects of this missionary ideology in the evangelical utopian phase: "I'm really switched on about this project this year because it's got all sorts of hope for the future" (Appendix i). This utopian aspect of the F4P project is then juxtaposed immediately with abstract social and political strategies in the region, "particularly in the context of the 'road map'" (Appendix i). This is in conflict with the rhetoric that is used by the university coaches who discuss the power of sport in more sober and balanced terms:

Sport itself is neutral, its people kicking a football end to end and trying to score goals, it's the hopes, values and ideals that people load onto any sport that makes it a kind of positive force or negative force (Appendix i).

The underlying narrative arc of the film could be critiqued as being about a man, who built an interventionist sports peace project from nothing. This man sends a steady supply of missionaries to complete his vision with the support of western ideological and cultural institutions. He achieves progress with only his faith to lead him towards of the promised land of the universal application of his ideology. This analysis leads towards situating the F4P project as a utopian dream and this film as a mediatized representation of this particular utopia. The film neglects to ask key questions about the region, the wider issues the socio-political contexts, let alone attempt to answer them.

The ideological discourse of *Football for Peace* (2004) is much more complex to decipher. The circumstances of production, the re-branding of the F4P project and the closer organisational partnerships ensure that the message of this film is less clear. However much of the ideological discourse of the film is provided by the brief interview with Professor John Sugden. His humanist approach outlined in the earlier rhetorical analysis highlights that the shift from a Christian belief system in the *World Sports Peace Project* (2003) to a 'values-based', humanist approach in *Football for Peace* (2004) is now complete.

This shift in the organisational ideology from the evangelical to the paternalistic is a key feature of this film. This shift is supported by the ideological influence of the British Council. It is much more responsive to the needs of the project and more suited to Israel, given the range of religious and cultural issues that Whitfield's 'Muscular Christianity' would eventually confront if the shift from paternalistic to pragmatic utopianism had not occurred. Sugden's humanist rhetoric is replicated by the football coaches. The coaches discuss the power of sport in more sober and balanced terms and also discuss abstract ideas such as 'values'. These 'human values' drive a shifting utopianism of the F4P narrative, representation and the intervention.

The narrative arc of *Football for Peace* (2004) could now be analysed as being about a man, who oversees an interventionist grassroots project. The man bypasses the avenues of power and using various British, Israeli and international agencies begins a process whereby peace is made possible

through an engagement the grassroots, sporting fraternity and an understanding of how to utilise pragmatism in service of wider goals. The lack of an engagement with the socio-political contexts within Israel and with Israel's neighbours, its lack of reflection on 'human values' and the omission of a critique of its partnerships demonstrate this film as also providing a mediated representation of a utopian dream and the F4P project as a utopia.

A critique of F4P key partner the British Council has already been sketched out. This approach will be extended to critique a number of its more junior (but no less significant) partners and some other wider contextual issues when considering how these representations of Football 4 Peace can be understood. The Football Association (FA), the English governing body was an increasingly significant partner in Football 4 Peace during this phase of the project. The FA provided logistical support in the form of footballs, memorabilia and kit. It also provided a certain cache that aided recruitment to the project both in Israel and to support fundraising in the UK. This support was primarily through allowing the use of its brand for promotional purposes and reporting F4P events on its website and publications (The FA, 2008). The FA also provided staff to act as dignitaries at F4P events. The partnership developed out of a mutual belief in the power of sport, and football in particular, as a driver to facilitate social and cultural change by those that run F4P and staff within the equity and inclusion department of the FA (University of Brighton, 2005)

The international profile of the FA also supports the F4P intervention but it also directly impacts on the policy of the FA itself. For instance the FA has shown interest in the F4P coaching manual and the approach to coaching it espouses. Therefore the relationship is two-way and somewhat looser than the links with the British Council. However this relationship also has some problematic areas for the F4P project and its wider representation. Firstly, the FA is increasingly concerned with its global profile following on from the failure to win the bid for the World Cup in 2006 and its campaign to be the host nation for the World Cup in 2018. As part of this strategy the governing body used its influence in a number of ways. One way this was achieved was to send England players to coach children overseas in strategically significant countries, in developing football nations and poorer countries (The FA, 2005). This has the dual purpose to both highlight the FA's brand and to gain influence and support in these nations during important votes in FIFA (Sugden & Tomlinson, 2003). The relationship with Football 4 Peace has to be situated in this wider nexus of political and financial power. *Football for Peace* (2004) fails to explain, discuss or highlight this important wider context in relation to one the key partners in the intervention.

In addition the Israeli Sports Authority (ISA) is another important partner. This is a publicly-funded government agency that organises local and grassroots sport. It is a vital partner in the intervention as it supports and aids the development of local coaches who work on the project. It also deals with the organisation of many of F4P's activities in Northern Israel. The role of the ISA has increased in importance and significance during the development of the

intervention and this relationship also impacts on the strategies of the ISA. The ISA has started to examine its own role in promoting the interaction and co-existence of Israeli children and how to work in different community contexts throughout Israel. In many ways F4P has been the catalyst for some of these changes of approach (*Visions of Hope*, 2012).

The ISA also provides funding in order to support these projects, staff to organise activities during F4P events and works to sustain the relationships outside the F4P intervention. The ISA is an incredibly important local partner that is completely absent from both films. The ISA facilitates the projects existence and in many ways organises and sustains the projects at the grassroots level. The F4P project could not grow and develop without this key partner, that as described in Chapter 3, is a key member of the cultural, social and political sports hierarchy of Israel.

Therefore these partners and their relationship to the sports intervention also need to be critiqued. The wider support of the ISA is evidence of the influence of the Israeli government. It is government funded and some of these funds are used to support F4P. This has implications both for Israeli citizens of different social, political and religious backgrounds. It also punctures F4P's claims of 'neutrality' in any wider conflicts. The representations of F4P in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004) completely ignore this relationship and thus neglects to interrogate the wider ideological role the State of Israel has on the project. This absence also silences the power of local organisers, coaches and bureaucrats who are taking the

project on and working to promote the ethos of the project away from the media spotlight. This absence therefore has a dual role in ideological terms. Firstly, F4P is represented as a European and liberal organisation, rather than a coalition of various British and Israeli agencies and organisations. Secondly, the State of Israel itself is not subject to any form of critique.

Another absence from these films is any discussion, context or highlighting of the university-based recruitment of coaches. These coaches are largely formed of trainee teachers from UK universities. These student coaches come from various backgrounds and have various levels of expertise. However they are generally drawn from an educated elite in the UK. All have an interest in football, many have an interest in grassroots sport, some have an interest in using sport as a tool to help communities but few have any knowledge of the reality of Israel. This is only problematic in terms of the representation of the F4P experience as the coaches are portrayed as experts in this type of coaching. In reality the 'values' they promote are as alien to them as they are to Israeli children they coach. The use of British universities as recruiting grounds for sporting evangelicals also echoes how sport was used to a tool within imperial contexts (Guttmann, 1995). This recruitment strategy also suggests the project has an elitist focus. The fact that British universities associated themselves with this project is also a wider context to be considered. Do the universities use an association with the F4P project as an internal or external marketing tool? How is Israel represented in recruitment presentations? Why are these largely middle-class coaches working with Israeli children? These questions and contexts are not explored in the films.

These questions lead to us to the final important perspective that is neglected in these films, the intended audience for the final film product. Most films have an intended audience, a constituency they speak to or aim to inform. It is difficult to decipher the audiences for these films due to the conflicting demands of the partners, goals of the project and ideologies. The audiences for these films range from academic seminars, recruitment presentations, funding partners and a range of other contexts. Therefore the films messages are unclear, unfocused and over-laden with ideological meaning. In addition, these audiences are largely a western, elite many of whom will have only experienced Israel via TV broadcast news images. The films seek to play on utopian ideals such as 'human values', universality, sacrifice and hard work that reflect the media narratives that appeal to a wider range of white, middle-class western audiences. The films intention is to promote the project, its 'values' and ideology to these audiences to sell the F4P product and partnerships. Therefore all attempts to contextualise, critique or discuss wider perspectives are ignored in the film productions.

8.x Blochian Analysis of the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004)

If we analyse the films through a Blochian utopian lens we can see that despite the critiques above from a range of perspectives there are also some chinks of utopian light offered within these film texts. If we adopt Bloch's frames of reference towards these films we can first see that the films

themselves are utopian constructions with much potential to display this content. This therefore throws forward the potential of both the F4P project and also of the media products that have emerged from it.

Therefore the media products are mediated utopias displaying the representation of the possible, what Bloch would characterise as “Wishful Images”. They work in the realm of fantasy and daydreams, allowing the viewer to see a glimpse of the multicultural utopia, where citizens are working together to build a future free of prejudice, full of justice, the potential end point of Bloch’s concrete utopia.

If we examine the categories identified in the analysis, we can also offer a Blochian analysis of each of these categories. For instance the ‘televisual news practices, codes and conventions’ can be seen to provide a critique of the conditions of reality. This critical interpretation of reality, the very opposite of the deluded ‘false consciousness’ that is embedded in televisual news, provides the realism so revered by Bloch. The re-interpretation of these codes and conventions allows the juxtaposition of the images of citizenship and comradeship to gain much more psychological and philosophical power. The interviews with the project leaders and supporters allow the project to be contextualised. The interviews with these ‘guiding images’ and ‘canonical types’ allows a their utopian discourse to be celebrated and circulated via a Blochian framework.

The 'Images of Youth' in this film allow a Blochian utopian perspective to emerge. Bloch's analysis focuses on the utopian potential of youth. These mediated images of the potential of youth are filled with Hope for the future and contribute to the development of Israel and the wider Middle East. Bloch's critique allows the beauty of childhood, its innocence, freedom and creativity to shine through in his analysis – especially when free from the influence of educators and parents. The sequences of football action allow the viewer to meditate on these qualities, to forward dream about the utopian future held within the film content and to focus on how "bold youth imagines it has wings", (Bloch, 1986a:117).

Despite the critique of F4P's methods and the lack of focus on the intricacies of F4P's approach to interventionism the focus on children also allows sport to do be reflected as providing utopian potential. Sport, is therefore reclaimed to represent healthy practices and physical culture. The utopianism of sport is therefore represented in all its glory despite the limitations of time and space within the film form. A Blochian perspective means that the sporting practices and physical cultures still retain their mythical power to display utopian content.

For Bloch, music also contains the most utopian potential in any of the cultural forms. It contains the power to reflect on the utopia (Levitas, 2010). The sound design and soundtrack music are designed to associate the project to other images and visions of utopia, therefore within Bloch's framework the soundtrack music in particular works to relate the representation to a range of other tropes and ideas.

Chapter 9 Representing Paternalistic and Pragmatic Utopianism

“Twentieth-century identities no longer presuppose continuous cultures or tradition. Everywhere individuals and groups improvise local performances from (re)collected pasts, drawing on foreign media, symbols and languages” (Clifford, 1988:14).

9.i Contextualising the *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal*

Keepers (2006)

Children of Jordan Valley (2005) is a 2:17 minute promotional trailer for a longer documentary style film advertised with the same name. The trailer was produced and directed by an independent filmmaker, Simon Jöcker, financed by his independent film company and partly funded by Atlas Air in-flight entertainment. *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) was shot on location in Israel by Jöcker for the duration of one of the F4P projects in 2005. The promotional trailer also incorporates some additional news footage from the broadcast media and some original music and sound design. The trailer contains many elements of conventional cinematic trailers, such as a quick-cut editing and a dramatic conflict narrative.

Some of wider perspectives outlined in Chapter 8 continue to have relevance when contextualising this trailer. The Football 4 Peace project at this stage was at a pivotal point in its development. Having developed and doubled in size, year-on-year, it was now at a crucial stage in terms of its development, partnerships and media strategy. In addition some of the research filming that forms the footage contained in *Visions of Hope* (2012), was filmed in the Meggido and Um el Fahem projects. This footage complements Jöcker’s

independent film, which was being filmed at one of the projects. Therefore the F4P project was the subject of two representational strategies and film products in 2005. These research experiences are outlined in Chapter 7. However the wider context of this research and the associated production process does have an intertextual element with Jöcker's *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and the final film production, which was renamed *Goal Keepers* (2006).

In addition, the key partnerships that Football 4 Peace had been cultivating during this period had become even more influential and important in terms of its development. The British Council now funded part of the project in the form of flights to Israel for the coaches and flights to the UK for the training weekend. It also provided an orientation talk to the UK coaches as well as continuing its wider organisational and logistical role. The FA also sent representatives from its equity and inclusion team to observe the finals and to present trophies in Israel. The Israeli Sports Authority (ISA) also had a more hands-on role in terms of the organisation of the diverse projects, which now ranged from the urban contexts in Acco, to the rural spaces of Meggido and therefore ranged across a diverse range of communities across the North of Israel.

However despite the hardening of these relationships and partnerships no group can claim to have ideological control of this film trailer. This is an independent production by an individual from outside the political, sporting, bureaucratic and organisational realms of the sports intervention that

constitute the key coalitions that form Football 4 Peace. One of the key aspects to note here is the lack of editorial control requested by F4P or any of its partners.

The key to understanding the ideological content of this trailer is to understand its role in the production process of the completed film. The style, content and meanings embedded in the trailer serve to ensure the final film is finished. The role of the trailer has a number of functions in the production of commercial films. Firstly, in many cases the trailer serves as a tool to get various funding bodies to commit the resources required for the film to be completed. This money will be used for second-unit filming and various post-production processes; such as editing, sound re-recording, soundtrack composition and recording, translation and subtitling. Trailers are also produced to attract a distributor for the final product in order to get the film broadcast on TV, in the cinema, in various commercial environments or increasingly in an online environment. Finally the film is designed to attract potential viewers and people willing to pay to see the film. Therefore in the context of this film at least, the recruitment of funders and participants for the sports intervention are not considerations for this filmmaker.

These various commercial functions serve to control much of the ideological discourse of this trailer. *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005) conforms to the codes and conventions of the cinematic trailer. The trailer has to 'sell' the final film to potential funders and the audience. This also tells us something about the process of filmmaking and the making of meaning within this process. At

this stage of production the final film can be created a number of ways with different narratives, points of focus and stories compelling the filmmaker to have a number of final options for the film (Chanan, 2004). It also highlights the open-ended nature of the film making process that reflects the unknown aspects of the future for the sports intervention.

In reality Jöcker conceded in a personal interview with the researcher and members of the F4P team that the content of the film was designed to create 'a buzz' about the final film and to attract funds for him to complete the film project in the way he intended. This also highlights the reality of the professional practice of the independent filmmaker who has to travel and shoot enough film while on location to complete the trailer. Then the process of constructing the final film begins, through additional interviews being filmed and return visits to the location being organised before the final film is realised in the editing suite. This was Jöcker's first non-fiction film as he was straight out of film school in LA. He therefore had to learn much of this process through the production of this film. The evidence suggested by this trailer is that the tried and trusted method of getting an independent film financed and funded works if you make the trailer as potentially controversial and dramatic as possible.

The completed film *Goal Keepers* (2006) is different in many ways to the potential film 'sold' in the trailer *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005). The positive messages suggested in the final frames of *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005) are replaced with a downbeat denouement in *Goal Keepers*

(2006). The action and pace of the trailer are substituted for a more considered and sedate pace. The soundtrack is adapted to reflect a more cinematic style. The narrative also shifts from the tagline of “*Sometimes Soccer Is More Than a Game*” (Appendix iii) to a more subtle and sophisticated story that incorporates a number of narrative strands. These strands include the story of a German Football Coach and the development of his mixed Arab and Jewish team. This narrative accounts for some of the various social and political issues in the State of Israel. The film therefore adopts a number of devices to achieve this level of sophistication. In addition it is also evident that the trailer was sufficiently dramatic to attract funding. This funding came from Atlas Air Film which suggests one possible outlet for the final film would be on in-flight entertainment systems and an educated, international, multicultural audience.

The film has a number of interviews filmed after the location filming in the F4P project in Israel. This includes footage filmed in the UK with WSPF founder, Geoffrey Whitfield and in Germany with the former Israeli Ambassador, Avi Primor. The film is translated and professionally edited. The sound design includes an original soundtrack and post-production supplied by a range of individuals (Appendix iv). These additional tasks complement the roles of filmmaker, Jöcker, who is credited as being, Director, Producer, Director of Photography and Writer (Appendix iv).

This range of influence by one individual on the final film means that this film is primarily the vision of one man despite the various tasks completed by

other individuals and the range of perspectives that are examined in the film. The influence of the individual must be accounted for when analysing the final film and the associated messages, ideology and narratives embedded in this film. The film stands as a representation of an individual view of the project. In many ways it is therefore the most 'neutral' of the *F4P trilogy* in that it does not reflect the competing and contrasting influences of a range of partners and organisations. The filmmaker in this instance, once the final money to complete the film has been assured, is only subject to his own vision, ideological position and the demands of the narrative. The filmmaker has to make decisions about choice of shots to select, the perspectives to include, the pace and style of editing and the overall message of the film. This is part of the creative process, or what Grierson called the "creative treatment of actuality" (Hardy, 1979).

This film is therefore an interesting representation of the shift from the paternalistic to pragmatic utopianism of the F4P project. The year-long process from location to screen means that the external pressures of negotiating the power relations of the project, the need to recruit partners, funders and participants, the commitment to sociologically informed research and the drive to represent communities and projects in a positive way are, if not eliminated, drastically condensed in the film product. Indeed, the filmmaker in this instance is judged in commercial terms; by the criteria of entertainment, the reaction of audiences and their own vision. The F4P project itself did not request or seek final approval for the film's content. In many ways it is a testament that the project leaders' confidence in their vision

that they allowed the filmmaker full access to its range of partners, complete creative control of the final film and minimal influence on the ideological messages conveyed within the text.

It is important to therefore recognise that the project at this stage was dependent on securing a funding base and actively seeking the lifeblood of publicity for funding to secure its future. It also reflects, perhaps, the completing ideological forces within the project. The increasing finance needed to drive the project forward and fund its increasingly sophisticated nature was a primary concern for the project leaders. Thus the commercial imperative of funding the project is sometimes at odds with the desire to make a lasting, meaningful and significant intervention into the region. Therefore meaningful sporting interventions can also be seen to clash with the representational strategies of the media. The F4P project therefore needed to be more amenable to the codes and conventions of media production and 'media logic' in order to progress as a sports intervention.

9.ii Textual analysis of the *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006)

The analysis of these films follows on from the range of analytical perspectives and techniques outlined in Chapter 8. The analysis attempts to focus on the ideology embedded in non-fiction films. It also, in this context, attempts to situate how the professional practices of commercial filmmakers are also ideologically driven. The distinctive editing styles, pacing and

dramatic tension that are a peculiar feature of promotional trailers and documentary features are also assessed. In addition the semiotic devices, conditions of image construction and the narrative, rhetorical and performance functions embedded in the sequences are reviewed in order to allow comparisons to be made between the film texts analysed in Chapter 8. This critique of the thematic representational strategies contained within the *F4P trilogy* will continue into the research informed representations of the Football 4 Peace project presented in Chapter 11 in *Visions of Hope* (2012) and also into the reflective aspects of this production outlined in Chapter 10.

9.iii Televisual News Practices, Codes and Conventions

The use of TV news images in the *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) trailer can be assessed in the same way as those images used in the *World Sports Peace Project* (2003). The televisual images of a militarised nation, a praying man, a mass of men praying at a mosque, Ariel Sharon, Yasser Arafat and a various Arab women can all be subject to critique. Firstly, these images are, again, constructed by Western media professionals and attempt to impart authority, clarity, professional codes and conventions and 'news values' into the images in the trailer. However they remain stereotypical images of the region, with religion, radicalised leaders and wider military conflict the main signifiers of the nation. These TV images are a mediated shorthand that serve wider Western media narratives about the region and impart this into the trailer's meanings. In the same way that the cultural values of media producers are transferred into film representations, these appropriated images

also demonstrate some of the cultural practices of the independent filmmaker and the messages he wants to convey in the trailer.

These images also serve as an attempt to provide a range of historical and contemporary perspectives into this snap-shot of the region. In this case this is more problematic in *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005). In 2005 Arafat was dead and Sharon was being sidelined from power. These leaders are merely part of the wider historical narrative of the conflict. The images of militarised conflict that start the film are not specific to Israel and are likely to have been shot in Gaza or the West Bank. The images of Arab women and conflict are also not specific to Israel, again, they could come from a range of conflicts in the region. Finally the images of devout men, praying are also not regionally specific and again form part of the media short-hand by which the audience is expected to place the project into a wider social, political and ideological context.

These images also create the dramatic arc of the film narrative. These images form part of an editing strategy that uses a range of techniques in order to produce a dramatic representation. However in this case the purpose of the trailer is not to recruit funders and recruits to the project itself. Its sole purpose is to create drama for commercial purposes in order to fund the completion of the representation of the project. The televisual images are sequenced in a montage and they change the pace of the film. This editing strategy adds to the drama of the whole film. These montage sequences serve the purpose of

working to break up the flow of meaning, conform to the codes of an editing regime and to the conventions of the trailer.

These televisual images do not cement aspects of the projects ideology as the purpose of this film is not only to promote Football 4 Peace the interventionist sports project but is intended to promote the filmmakers representation of one project. Therefore the televisual images are used in a different but no less promotional way. Rather than serving the ideology of the project they can be said to be serving the ideology of the system that funds commercial films. By using these stereotypical and non-specific televisual images the filmmaker plays on the Western's audiences' mediatized preconceptions of Israel to serve a creative and commercial imperative.

These images also do not legitimise the use of military force, western power and the wider political forces at work in the region, as they work to set up a binary conflict to drive the narrative. This binary is a feature of the whole trailer and filmmaker's attempt to provide some form of balance. However one quote stands out that may set the ideological premise of this film. Both the TV montage and photo montage book-end a quote from an Israeli citizen that states; "If one country will be weak, especially if it is Israel, then there will be no Israel" (Appendix iii). The dramatic impact of this statement, in English, and the powerful photomontage, sound design and editing regime which follows this statement could be said to be legitimising the defence of Israel at all costs and providing a dramatic emphasis on the defence of the State of Israel.

Goal Keepers (2006) does not contain any images appropriated from TV news networks. The footage of Israel and the Middle East in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is shot either on location or with a second film unit after the trip to Israel. This omission replicates the critique outlined in Chapter 8. The concern about the negative image of Israel by the representatives of the British Council that the televisual news had portrayed in *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) was no less strong however much of the ideological control of the film had been handed over to the filmmaker. The lack of control by the F4P project leaders on this film is symptomatic of the shift to a more pragmatic approach.

This pragmatism is also evident in the responses to the film by the representatives of the British Council. The downbeat denouncement of *Goal Keepers* (2006) left some British Council staff troubled by the representation of the internal divisions in Israel in a similar manner to the responses to the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). However other key members of the F4P coalition thought the denouement was both an accurate portrayal of some of the realities of life in Israel, especially considering the sectarian geography and economic disparities between the communities in Israel. Others also saw the film as an opportunity to showcase the coaching methods while others focused on how like 'real-life' the narrative was (*Visions of Hope*, 2012). This film is therefore a visual reference point in the timeframe of the shift from paternalistic to pragmatic utopianism. This is despite *Goal Keepers* (2006) ignoring the key events that facilitated this shift in the narrative, as outlined in Chapter 4.

Goal Keepers (2006) also reflects the increasing mediatization of the sports intervention, as the project engaged directly with the filmmaker both during the production process, viewing the editing rushes and during the distribution of the final film by hosting the premiere of *Goal Keepers* (2006). Many of the codes and conventions employed in the production of *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) are also evident in *Goal Keepers* (2006) because they share much of the same footage. However in *Goal Keepers* (2006) the location footage is used with a significantly greater impact. Only the set-piece interviews seem to offer a real engagement with the codes and conventions of televisual news framing.

Many of the interviews are set up and shot to provide cutaways, and framed in a televisual style that highlights the formality of the interview and imparts authority into the film text. This is also evident in the filmmaker's use of 'official sources', such as the former ambassador to Israel, which impart some authority into the narrative by providing some wider political context into the discourse. Another convention of televisual practice is the voice-over. In *Goal Keepers* (2006) this is provided by the German coach and the children. This device develops the narrative and highlights the contradictions, philosophy and events at the centre of the sports intervention. One of the primary reasons for the use of TV news in the *F4P* trilogy was the attempt to provide drama and a wider context into the discourse of the film. As Wolfsfeld (1997) described this a crucial element of televisual news. The narrative of *Goal Keepers* (2006) provides this function. The downbeat denouncement also provides a wider philosophical and social comment. Finally, this film and its

discourse appear to be framed and focused towards an educated, international audience. *Goal Keepers* (2006) therefore problematises many of the assumptions around the lasting legacy of sports interventions while passing comment on issues of citizenship in Israel and the status of Arab Israelis. This representation of the sports intervention therefore is also influenced by the codes, conventions and hegemony of the Western media and filmmaking traditions.

9.iv Talking Head Interviews and Ideological Vantage Points

The interviews in *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) are shot on location at the point of origin, in natural light, with synchronous sound, and using mainly close up shots. This shot selection does not give a sense of the wider locations where the interviews have taken place. The majority of the interviews are shot indoors and therefore a sense of the actual environments in which the project works is not communicated. The interviews in this trailer are generally divided into two distinct types. Firstly, they are composed of various interviews with a range of unidentified Israeli citizens. The interviews also consist of some brief interviews with children who appear to be the 'Children of Jordan Valley'. These interviews are organised into the wider trailer sequence structure and narrative in a number of ways and serve a number of functions.

Firstly, the sequences provide a range edited of sound bites for the discourse of sports intervention to be communicated. They also provide some important

points about the region to be introduced. However, most importantly, they structure how the final film representation will be presented to the audience. For instance, the sound-bite; “then there will be no Israel”, clearly states the stakes in this crisis and by extension within the film, which is the very existence of Israel (Appendix iii). This is also sign-posted in another interview with an Israeli Jew who clearly outlines Israel’s underdog status by referring to an “attack of seven Arab armies” (Appendix iii). This quote directly contradicts and contrasts with another sound-bite; “Islam means peace” given by an Arab Israeli (Appendix iii). While this viewpoint casts doubt on the previous assertion it also provides a comment on many of the western media representations of Muslims and Islam (Said, 1995). These sound bites also neatly signpost to the audience that this conflict involves Islam. This binary strategy continues as the shopkeeper states that; “This land is for us the Palestinians, not for the Jews” (Appendix iii). This confirms the early contention of the interviewee who contended that the Arabs wished to “reclaim all the Jewish settlements” (Appendix iii).

Secondly, the interviews provide a narrative strategy by sign-posting the development of the children on the project and some of the possible themes of the final film. Around half way through the trailer a question is asked to a child: “Could you imagine to marry a Jewish Girl?” (Appendix iii). The child responds in the negative. However, the final sequence in the trailer concludes with the question repeated, although significantly to a different child who responds in the positive. This suggests that the narrative will follow how these children can move from the negative to the positive. However the analysis of

Goal Keepers (2006) outlines how this is not quite the case. It also highlights how the editing process can deceive the casual viewer. This inclusion of different children's responses to the same question and the blurring of identities are deeply problematic and the more complete analysis of *Goal Keepers* (2006) later in the chapter outlines how this deception plays out in full.

Thirdly, the interviews work to introduce central characters into the narrative. It is clear from the trailer that the 'Children of Jordan Valley' are the central characters of the drama. They also introduce the Israeli characters that form the binary oppositions in the conflict narrative that drives the film. Finally, the UK coach who is the only Western character in what is presented as a Middle Eastern drama is introduced to the audience in the interview.

The interviews in *Goal Keepers* (2006) are shot on a range of locations, some are shot on location in Israel and some in various locations in the UK and Germany. The interviews work initially to introduce both the range of characters and a range of political perspectives that relate to the conflict in Israel. This range of perspectives represents some of the main debates within Israel and some that have resonance to sports interventions in the region, to F4P and its methodology. Initially the interviews are swiftly intercut between each other to introduce central characters into the narrative. These characters also reappear throughout the film. The interviews are therefore divided into three main types. Interviews with a range of unidentified Israeli citizens, interviews with a number of commentators from outside the project and

interviews with some members of the F4P project team and the children involved on the project. The interviews are conducted and set up to provide some sound-bites, and provide the context to the wider narrative of the story. For instance, two seemingly opposing sides are represented within the Israeli public. An Arab convenience store worker states:

This is our land.....
The land of Palestine
I have the right to be here
This is the land of my grandparents
We are in an occupation....
What more do you want?
This is the truth
We are in need of peace but unfortunately Israel is not seeking peace
The main obstacle to peace against making peace is the occupation
(Appendix iv)

This interview and the intercutting with the Palestinian Flag and filmed footage of a militarised Israeli citizen are very different than the perspectives offered the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004). This sequence outlines a critical position on the State of Israel and provides an outlet for the Palestinian cause to be heard from within the State of Israel. Therefore within the first minute of the film the problematic framing of the conflict in *the World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004) is subverted and the filmmaker outlines a pro-Palestinian perspective on the conflict and provides more socio-political context than the previous two films. This tactic is continued in the second minute, with the issue of the removal of Jewish settlers being addressed from a Jewish perspective, one unnamed man states “basically, we are protesting against the desire of the Israeli government to kick Jews out of their house and to make the Gaza Strip an area where there will be no more Jews” (Appendix iv).

This interview is cut with images of red ribbons being placed onto a fence by the interviewee which was a prominent symbol of support for the settlers from 2005. Again this introduces another key political and social issue that was relevant during this period and one that still resonates today in terms of the wider politics of the region. It also offers a Jewish perspective on the conflict. Therefore a number of perspectives and wider contexts are brought out in the first two minutes of *Goal Keepers* (2006). These interviews with Israeli citizens serve to provide the viewer with a number of perspectives and issues that sports interventions have to negotiate when working in Israel.

A number of other interviews also add some wider historical context. For instance an interview with Avi Primor, the former Israeli Ambassador to Germany provides some more socio-political context and in this case again it provides some of the facts about the creation of the State of Israel and the impact on Palestinians:

In 1948 when the State of Israel was declared there was 750,000 Palestinians who were forced to leave their own houses and they are still forced to live outside their homeland. It's a long lasting crisis that never ends, this problem has gone on for 60 years an incredibly long time (Appendix iv).

However Primor also provides a sense of foreboding gloom against the positivity invested in the project from the other interviewees. However he crucially focuses on the discourse of hope, as an abstract concept that is the most important quality to foster in the region;

Ever since the creation of the State of Israel nothing changes with the new generations. The political views, generation after generation, you see it again and again. It is always the same opinions. So I don't think this could make a difference. I rather believe that it's hope that affects the development of the people not the youth (Appendix iv).

The other interview that adds some additional context into the film is with Rev Geoffrey Whitfield; the founder of WSP and F4P. Whitfield's role is to situate the project, its history and also to provide some wider comment on Israel. He provides a critique of the "eye for an eye" approach of the Israeli State and the resulting impact of this approach on its Palestinian minorities:

Nobody wants to be occupied and that occupation does cause oppression. Now we know that the other side of it is that the Israelis are terrified of suicide bombers, quite rightly, who wouldn't be, but therefore they become even more oppressive, so the situation gets worse and worse (Appendix iv).

Whitfield also provides a brief history of the intervention, outlines some of its goals and in doing so betrays the evangelical utopianism that led him to initiate the project and which still resonates throughout it:

The idea is to bring young teenagers together, Arabs and Jews on the same team against a team of Arabs and Jews, knowing that if they are going to win they are going to have to learn to have confidence in each other to trust each other (Appendix iv).

However the more striking aspect of this interview is the future orientation of his evangelism. For Whitfield, the success of the project is not in the present it is, like many utopian projects, both forward orientated and wishful. Whitfield's idealistic motives and evangelical utopianism are all present in the following

passage of his interview, one that is edited throughout the narrative of the film:

And the result is of course is that they then become friends and when that happens it could well be in twenty years time, then instead of Sharon and Arafat sitting across from each other, they can say hey didn't we play football together? Lets just be aware that we may never see the success of any of these projects in our life-time. This is going to take a long time but the important thing is we do it because I am quite certain that when the kids can actually play and trust and 'fall' around with someone of a different race and religion they wouldn't forget that ever (Appendix iv).

Another set-piece interview with members of the F4P project team also provides a wider perspective. Two of the primary influences on F4P are interviewed and provide different perspectives that eventually are much more influential on the actual project. John Sugden, the Director of Football 4 Peace, discusses the wider issues within Israel in less dramatic language and imagery than Whitfield and outlines the commonality of experience in the children on the project and their similarities:

You're going to learn that the kid from the Kibbutz over the road or the Arab town around the corner, he doesn't have two horns, you know, and he is actually just like him, a teenager growing up with all the kind of angst and anxiety and clumsiness and awkwardness that comes with that and you know they want to be good at football, they haven't quite figured out how to talk to girls yet, that's what they have got in common (Appendix iv).

Sugden also tries to place sport and its value as a tool for promoting co-existence into some kind of wider context that highlights a more pragmatic utopianism:

If everybody just plays sport together the world would be a better place, I don't kind of believe that, I think that sport is a very small part of the very rich fabric of human existence, so it can only have a limited impact but nevertheless that's an important impact (Appendix iv).

Sugden's imagery also displays his research credentials, networking approach and background in sports sociology as he outlines the conditions where utopian hope can be fostered, with the people, recognising their communality, through a commitment to play, sport and youth while emphasising his own pragmatic utopianism:

If you speak to the people here, as I do, on the ground, its like they have had enough, its like two heavyweight boxers who have been hammering it out for 15 rounds and neither will give an inch and eventually, you know, there is this dawning realisation that the Arabs in Israel are not going anywhere and certainly the Jews in the State of Israel are not going to give up that particular status, so they have got to come to terms with this. So, no matter what the politicians think they achieve, if the people aren't ready to come together, to move together then the treaties, you may as well just tear them up (Appendix iv).

The interventionist ideology is developed in an interview with the leader of the particular project that is the focus of *Goal Keepers* (2006). Gary Stidder, a key figure in F4P states that F4P project is "a politics-free zone and we don't get into the ins and outs of political decision making" (Appendix iv). While this is somewhat an obvious statement, for a viewer it is important to impart something of the projects position on Israel. As has been outlined above, an emerging critique of the social and cultural politics of Israel and by extension the F4P project is evident in the film. This is aided by the selection of quotes from interviews and the types of images utilised to illustrate the images in the film. However Stidder also develops the discussion to include comments on the power of individual agency and the utopian drive of the individuals who run F4P to attempt to make a difference:

We cant claim to have made a significant impact, but what we've done is we actually have got off our backsides, off our sofas and our arm chairs and we've actually come over here and done something about it (Appendix iv).

Stidder then contradicts himself a little by discussing the impact of the project. He points to the amount of participants and the year-on year doubling of participants as evidence to highlight the 'success' of the project. While this is difficult to dispute, whether this is due the project being part of a social movement that is reaching critical mass, whether it is more attractive than its competitors, whether it is meeting its goals, or merely utilising its funding and networks more efficiently is difficult to tell (Coalter, 2007a). However for Stidder this increase in numbers and influence provides the evidence to support his paternalistic utopian vision of the project and its impact:

We believe this project does have an impact, now we've got a tournament that's running tomorrow that's got over 1000 Jewish and Arabic children, now the fact that this project has doubled in size every year for 5 years in itself is a very, very powerful statement and message so I think that at some point people in this country will learn from the mistakes of others because they cant live long enough to make the same mistakes all by themselves again (Appendix iv).

The final interview with a member of the F4P team in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is with Adrian Haasner, one of the coaches on the project and the primary focus of this film. Haasner's approach to coaching on the project is documented, the interview is cut and used as a voice-over in some parts of the film and also as a direct interview on other parts. He introduces the goals of his coaching project:

My name is Adrian Haasner, and I am one of four coaches at this training camp, ill be preparing these kids for a big tournament, where

800 kids will be participating. It's just a wild mix of children, and they all come from different communities. You don't know who's in front of you, and they don't know who's in front of them (Appendix iv).

Haasner's interview then outlines his experiences and he repeats the same mantras repeated in print, in film and in interviews about the division of the children and the goal of creating a team out of children from different communities that is particular to F4P:

The behaviour of the children is very typical, you see the Arab kids on one side, on the other side stands the Jewish faction. So you see the two camps that we have to bring together. But at this time they still stand there separately (Appendix iv).

Haasner discusses his challenges with both reflexivity and honesty and this provides the film with some uncertainty in its narrative arc and outlines the range of skills and temperaments that F4P coaches deal with:

Each time it's a big challenge, filled with uncertainty and mixed with fear as to whether it is going to work or not. The football skills of the team are very limited, especially in the beginning, you saw clear deficits in all areas. They are neither very motivated nor very active, and you see and feel, that the kids, they are not a team. And I don't know how its going to develop during the next days (Appendix iv).

Haasner also injects some realism and a criticism of his team. This excerpt highlights the preparation and the journey that children experience on the F4P project. The development of his team, their skills, teamwork and approach to bonding is also discussed in another interview, nearer the culmination of the project on the finals day at Um el Fahem. Haasner also imparts how life's lessons can be acquired through an engagement with sport, starts to critique

some of the basic assumptions of sports cultures and outlines the utopianism of the sports intervention. He states:

I think our team is fairly well prepared. At the end of our training week they showed they could grow together, but it's really not important who will win, and I've told them that. Of course every team wants to win. And that's ok. That's how it is in sports. The question is more: how do you deal with defeat? How do you win? So I find this situation absolutely exciting (Appendix iv).

However despite the rhetoric about dealing with defeat the focus on the narrative shifts to document the competitive elements of sport. After one of Haasner's teams wins the final, the interview shows him reflecting on the team's success and how teamwork led them to victory rather than their skills as footballers. Haasner emphasises their motivation and determination; the traditional 'values' of the British and German game:

I think it's incredible. Like I said, some teams were clearly better than we were. In terms of the quality of individual players and their skills we should not be in the finals. But it was not just a matter of luck either. Every time it got tight they motivated each other. They didn't give up, even when it looked bad. They kept it up right until the end, which is what led them into the finals (Appendix iv).

Finally, the interview with Haasner offers much more than the usual F4P sound-bites, discussions of methodologies and justifications of the worth of interventions. Haasner's interview takes up the utopian dimension of F4P to provide a philosophical outlook on the value, legacy and impact of the project:

Football 4 Peace... How much of a difference it can make is hard to tell. When you think about your own childhood and the incidents that shaped you, you realise it was not those experiences that lasted for a period of years. Sometimes it's only a day or a sentence, or one

moment that was so powerful that it changed your personality entirely. You can't plan it in advance. You can only set things up and create a framework and then you wait and you hope that those moments will come (Appendix iv).

Therefore Haasner, in what may be a scripted response, recognises that the value of F4P may be fleeting, but it can be life changing. His outlook is closer to the theorisation of Bloch than many of those whose views are outlined on the project. For Haasner the experience of F4P is philosophically grounded and works around a framework that offers no end-point and is entirely wishful and forward orientated. He finishes by echoing Bloch's view of the utopian content of youth and reflecting on the legacy of parents, adults and the wider socio-political aspects of Israel:

We can't look inside the heads of these children. For me it's a mystery. My goal is just to create a situation where an encounter can take place. Encounters between people who are enemies in a different context. And this hostility is a construct of the adults. It's got little to do with children but its passed onto them. Almost inherited, this conflict. And I find it right to start here and I try to cut through this chain, this chain of harm, at this particular link (Appendix iv).

9.v Geographic Space in Israel

The range of locations of Israel presented in *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) continue to display many of the themes set out in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004). These images still provide evidence of a sporting multicultural youth, highlight the benefits of the natural environment and feature inside the structured space of a stadium. *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) also continues to provide a brief insight into the home and social spaces of people involved in the project.

Geographic spaces in *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) continue to be represented as neutral or partisan, bureaucratic buildings or sporting spaces and celebratory or violent while the editing regime serves to drive the conflict narrative of the film. These sequences are shot and edited in order to supplement the ideological discourse of the trailer and it is here that the representation of the project most closely ties with the wider discourses of the intervention. Just as a promotional film for the project such as *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) did little to provide any wider context; the promotional trailer *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) similarly works to provide little context for the more complete representation of the project in *Goal Keepers* (2006).

The *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) fixes these binary ideas into the meaning of the film, the project and its representation. *Football for Peace* (2004) de-mystifies and normalises the representation of Israel and fits into the promotional agenda and ideological role of the film for the British Council. *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) combines these strategies in order to sell a film. Therefore geographic spaces in the State of Israel remain neutral or partisan, bureaucratic buildings or sporting spaces and celebratory or violent. However instead of selling the ideological content of a interventionist sporting project these binary oppositions serve the promotion of a mediatized representation of a sports intervention.

The use of locations in Israel in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is much more developed than either the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003), *Football for Peace* (2004) or

the Children of Jordan Valley (2005). In this film the binary oppositions are less pronounced and Jöcker focuses on landscapes to emphasise points. This emphasis is evident in both the interviews and in the script and these occasionally juxtapose to provide a more nuanced representation of geographic space. The representation of geographic space is therefore much more nuanced in *Goal Keepers* (2006). We see the locations where people live in much detail. For instance, the Arab town, identified by its mosque, where the young Arab boys live is shown in some detail, with shots lingering on the razor wire, concrete play areas and football playgrounds where children play and practice. A voice-over outlines the children's motivations to participate in F4P. These images suggest a confinement, some social deprivation and some forms of surveillance in the town.

Like-wise, the images of Kibbutz Maagan are much more detailed than previously shown in *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004). One of the characters gives the viewer a tour of the Kibbutz that includes its own zoo and a holiday resort. This provides an insight into the rural, bucolic community-focused life on a Kibbutz. This representation therefore also provides the viewer with some insight into the locations of Israel that are not just sporting and bureaucratic and gives the viewer a sense of the environments in which these children live. This juxtaposition also highlights some of the more problematic aspects of life in Israel for its citizens. The difference in the physical environments of the two communities is evident in their homes and the amount of space available for leisure and living. This highlights some of the power relationships of the status quo in the State of

Israel and the socio-economic disparity at the heart of some of the issues within Israel for its Palestinian minorities. The images also highlight why some participants might have to come on the project in order to take advantage of better facilities, access to better coaching and as an opportunity to break out from their protected, segregated or isolated mono-cultural existences.

Other landscapes within Israel are also utilised for dramatic, symbolic and aesthetic effect. The rolling pastoral landscapes offer a view of the landscape of Israel that is often neglected in film. One sequence features a road warning sign for Camels thus establishing the location and highlighting the landscape. This shot then cuts to an image of a tractor and driver moving through the shot as it pans to reveal a rusted tank in a field. The shot then cuts to an old Arab man walking up a hill in a rural landscape alongside a wall. The sequence ends with a wide-angle shot slowly zooming out from above of a town with some newer buildings and terraced fields. This montage when combined with the voice-over of an Arab man discussing how this is Palestinian land both provides a powerful imagery to support the words but also offer the viewer a glimmer of the landscapes from a Palestinian perspective. It also provides a convincing contextual argument that much of the conflict in Israel is related to the land.

The interior shots of homes and businesses also provide reminders of normality and everyday life that is not often seen and certainly not evident within the previous F4P films. This appears to put some of the participants evidently at ease and they seem to provide some revealing interview material,

which is then weaved into the film in the form of sound-bites. These prepared interviews are in stark contrast to the interviews with John Sugden and Gary Stidder which offer much more stilted shots. These shots convey a sense of the interviewee's unease, which possibly adds to the ambiguity of their words in the final cut of the film.

The shots of the children training and playing in the final are also much more framed, staged and filmed with a cinematic style. This allows the viewer to witness the beauty of the game situation, the utopian potential in the children's actions and complements the philosophical voice-over of Haasner which accompanies the images. Therefore the images of geographic spaces offer a much more developed sense of the country, the interventionist project and the social actors involved in the project. It also offers some subtle insights into the disparity of opportunity in Israel, some might say oppression, of the Arab minority that is reflected in the overall discourse of the film.

9.vi Images of Youth

In *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) the images of children are shot on location are generally shown in their sporting and home spaces. However there are some images that show the children's fear and reflect the real pressures and the potential damage that living in conflict zone can produce on children. The sequences of action of children playing football remind the audience of the power of sport and they closely replicate the framing and construction of the earlier films in the trilogy. One important difference in this respect is the

editing regime, the fast pace and cinematic style of this trailer makes the children some aspects almost 'poetic' in places (Nichols, 1991). However the choice of children's sound bites and the editing regime serve to represent the children as a tool to serve the promotion of the final film project.

The representation of Israeli children in this trailer continues the representational strategies set out in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003). Children are therefore not identified or placed into any kind of cultural context. They are however given a voice and allowed to express opinions, albeit edited opinions that serve the narrative strategy of the film and the commercialism of the wider industry. This is one particularly troubling aspect of the representation of the children in *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005). The questioning of the children and their responses about marriage both drive the narrative and foreground the conflict. However this also demonstrates the 'dark arts' of the editor and filmmaker and how they are able to frame the responses and play with time and space. They also abuse the trust of the children who respond honestly and openly to what they must recognise as a strange line of questioning given the context of when and where the questions were asked. The fact that the filmmaker and the editor manipulate these responses in order to tell a story, in order to sell a film, is particularly troubling.

The use of images of children in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is more developed than in the trailer, children are seen in their home environments, at play in their locale, within a Kibbutz and also in a number of situations around various locations. While the interviews with children are problematic in the

promotional film, this is lessened in *Goal Keepers* (2006) as the interviews are more developed and form part of a wider narrative. Therefore the images and the discourse of the children are in the service of the narrative rather than the promotion of commerce. However there are still some problematic issues with this representation as will be outlined below.

The film follows four children, two Jewish and two Arab throughout their participation in F4P. The two Arab children Farouk and Emran offer their view of the project and the impression of intra-community relationships. Farouk states:

they don't get along because there is conflicts. Not because of us but because of the grown ups. Today the first day of the project I feel all the Jews hate us. I can't mix with them especially as they speak a different language (Appendix iv).

Within this discourse a number of issues are being outlined. Firstly the issues of 'hate' between communities is represented and secondly the issue of language which has hitherto been ignored in the *F4P trilogy*. The interview expresses some of the anxieties for a child working in a language that is not their own, in a society where they do not share the same economic, social and political opportunities. Farouk also outlines some of his views on the 'other community':

As Arabs who live in the state of Israel, which we consider our own, we usually hate the Jewish people who occupy our home. I don't hate them but I don't like them either. When I see any Jew I can only think of the harm, violence, and suffering they have caused Palestinians. I also know the feelings mutual (Appendix iv).

These powerful words display the animosity between communities, highlight the issues of growing up in an Arab community and reflect the divisions at the heart of Israel. That they come from a child only makes the words resonate that much more. This interview also offers a pro-Palestinian perspective on the conflict. Emran offers a more moderate view of Arab life in Israel however because of the sectarian geography of Israel he outlines how little contact children from these communities actually have in reality:

Football 4 Peace is fun. But I can't imagine we can be friends. The coach is giving us different activities in order to get to know each other. I never dreamt that a day would come when I would get to know a Jew because I don't meet many Jewish people. And if I see one then I won't see him again for two months or even a year (Appendix iv).

Emran also outlines some of the educational issues for Arab children in the State of Israel as he states he does not learn about Israel in school, which explains his lack of knowledge of Hebrew but also Arab children's isolation from Jewish culture and the national culture of the State of Israel. Emran also suggests that sport is unlikely to change the conditions of his life in the near future. However his experience of F4P allows him to change his limited world-view of Jews and Jewish culture:

We didn't learn about Israel. We're learning about Egypt. No I think that we are going to play football and this is just a game. I thought before that the Jews were different. But they are good and they're like me. Maybe not all of them but most of them are like me, the same (Appendix iv)

This Israeli Palestinian perspective is contrasted with the perspectives from two Jewish children. Tzuf and Amit offer different perspectives on life in Israel.

The Kibbutzim movement that developed out of the Zionist utopianism described in Chapter 3 is represented in *Goal Keepers* (2006) through the eyes of Tzuf who explains life on a Kibbutz:

Living on a Kibbutz is fun. A Kibbutz is a close-knit community, everyone is equal here. On our Kibbutz we grow mangoes and bananas, we have lots of open fields, a holiday resort, a dining hall, and a children's house. Here we are in the zoo of Kibbutz Maagan where we have lots of animals, like the ostrich, monkeys from abroad. We all live here in a community and when we all together its fun (Appendix iv).

Therefore the life of a Jewish child on a Kibbutz is described and represented in utopian terms. It is a life of freedom, pleasure, plenty and equality. This is in contrast to the lives of the Palestinian children who live a very different life to Tzuf and Amit. Therefore *Goal Keepers* (2006) directly focuses on the disparity in the socio-economics of the children who attend the F4P projects. This is also reflected in the descriptions of the impact of F4P's influence on the children who are also represented as working together to create the F4P utopia, a place where friendship is fostered and ethnicity disappears. As Emran states:

Today is the last day of Football 4 Peace. It doesn't matter who's an Arab or who's a Jew. What matters is who wins the tournament. Now we are playing and communicating. And I realise that it is very easy to mingle with Jewish kids and play together and even to become friends (Appendix iv).

Therefore friendship, communication and trust is developed on the Arab side of this equation however for F4P to be a success this must be reciprocated by 'the other' community. Arik's words confirm the success: "We worked

together, that's why. I learned that we can collaborate with Arabs....we can talk. I learned they are like us and we can be really good friends" (Appendix iv).

The discourse of the representation of the sports intervention displays its utopian potential. F4P breaks down difference and promotes a multicultural utopia. Emran's words confirm this, "I thought before that the Jews were different. But they are good and they're like me. Maybe not all of them but most of them are like me, the same" (Appendix iv).

The idea of a multicultural utopia within F4P is further developed into a more globalised understanding as Tzuf explains that F4P has inspired him to go beyond the local towards the global when he discusses his future parental responsibilities:

I'm not only going to teach them about Arabs but also about other nationalities and religions. I will teach them that the way we think about other people will lead to how other people think about us (Appendix iv).

One aspect of *Goal Keepers* (2006) that differs from *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) is the shift in focus from the narrative about marriage to one that focuses on friendships and the fleeting success of the project. One aspect of the narrative reflects the issues of sustainability of F4P and its work. This narrative strand focuses on what happens after the project as Tzuf states, "I haven't met anyone after the project" (Appendix iv). This is due to the sectarian geography of Israel as outlined by Arik. However even when this geographic distance is overcome by the intervention of the filmmaker in

bringing the children together, these issues are difficult to overcome. One of the Jewish boys refuses to meet the Arab children when they are brought to the Kibbutz a year after their success at the F4P tournament in Um El Fahem. This leads to a downbeat denouement, which questions the legacy of sports interventions in the region and critiques some of the issues within the Football 4 Peace project. It also draws attention to the youthfulness of the participants. As Farouk's voiceover states; "Arik...I guess he doesn't like us anymore as Arabs. I felt hurt. But I think there are some people who seem bad who might actually turn out to be good inside" (Appendix iv). While Emran captures the essence of the discourse of *Goal Keepers* (2006); "there is no reason why we should not be friends" (Appendix iv).

This issue has already been critiqued due to the problems with the framing of the interviews with the children and the sequencing of the interviews into the discourse of the trailer. The editing regime also creates a false impression. As outlined in Doyle (2007) this false picture is misleading because:

The film concludes with a downbeat ending reflecting on one of the boys from the project refusing to meet another boy from the 'other' community, despite playing together and seemingly making friends in the summer. The implication of this denouement is that the project's goal of bringing communities together in a long-term project is ultimately flawed and unsuccessful. However, the construction of this scene through the editing process hides the fact that the dispute on the screen is nothing of the sort. It concerns the boy being upset about a domestic dispute around mealtimes and if you understand Hebrew you can tell as much from the soundtrack. Therefore, the filmmaker's interpretation of the projects 'failure' uses flawed 'evidence' to support the premise (Doyle, 2007:169).

9.vii Sound Design and Soundtrack Music

The sound design in *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) is particularly sophisticated in comparison with the earlier films. The sound is cut expertly to the edits and image sequences. While the interviews are recorded synchronously on location and the sound quality is consistent and at a level that can be easily understood. The trailer has had some post-production work on the text in order for it to seamlessly match the effects and music that form the majority of the sound design in the trailer. The choice of music reflects a youthful attitude and is used primarily to resonate with the youthful audience of young British coaches.

In this trailer the editor selects original music that evokes the drama of the narrative being sold. The music in this film is purely for the dramatic and narrative purposes of the final film. The music reflects the music sequences in film drama, film trailers and the trailers of football montage sequences on the sport media. In addition, the music is creatively incorporated into the narrative. It also does this through a sophisticated sound design. Elements such as the SLR sound effects in the photomontage, while a little clichéd, are expertly executed and the eerie sounds that fill in the spaces evoke the sonic accompaniments to the discourse of 'a troubled land'.

In *Goal Keepers* (2006) the sound design is even more sophisticated than *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) with an original score written and performed

by Jamie Christopherson and the sound re-recording being mixed Kevin Burke. Therefore this is clearly a more sophisticated final product than the earlier trailer. The sound-track music reflects the tone of the film and is a re-occurring sonic motif throughout the film. In contrast to the *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005), the soundtrack in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is much more laid-back, laconic and acoustic. An idiosyncratic and whimsical piano-based melody reflects the character of the final film, especially during the final sequence. Another aspect of the soundtrack is the introduction of a new string dominated track to display a sense of urgency and drama during the climatic training and tournament sections.

The montage sequence of Arab citizens and locations utilises a stereotypical Middle Eastern style music soundtrack. Another music track accompanies soldiers. Therefore the soundtrack audibly signals changes in perspective, from Arab to Jewish, from the military to civilian and from child to child. The soundtrack therefore is an important signifier of change and introduces the changes in cultural perspectives throughout this film.

The soundtrack and sound design therefore serves a wider purpose than other films in the F4P trilogy and is not just for promotional purposes, it serves an ideological and aesthetic purpose. The interviews are recorded and re-mixed to focus on the voice over's and interviews, they are clear and effortlessly match the images the director uses to communicate the films ideology.

9.viii Photography and Graphics

Just as the graphics, effects and still images were more complex in *Football for Peace* (2004) than in the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) the use of post-production techniques and skills are much more complex in *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005). This provides evidence that the film production is a much more professional affair utilising significant editorial expertise and a sophisticated approach to the film project. By presenting the work to this professional standard the filmmaker will get the best chance of attracting further investment to complete the film. This also replicates the growing sophistication of the F4P 'product' and its understanding of the media.

The graphics play an integral part of the narrative in the trailer. The key aspects of the narrative are reduced to a number of sound bites that when presented in graphical form neatly sum up the main themes of the film. The graphics also accentuate the drama and conflict. For instance while the words are broken down into small sound bites they can be combined to tell the story of the film: "A troubled land, with one chance. The next generation, Palestinians and Jews on the same team. Sometimes soccer is more than a game" (Appendix iii). This is in essence the 'pitch' that the filmmaker has to make to potential funders. The distilling of the story into a three sentences aids the sale of the film. This distillation also simplifies the narrative and removes the complexities that may become evident in the final film, *Goal Keepers* (2006). When the words are broken down into smaller chunks, they complement the editing strategy and speeds the pace of the trailer. In

addition, the subtitles of the characters statements also communicate the narrative of the trailer. They reduce the characters words to symbolic statements that remove ambiguity and move the narrative forward with speed and simplicity.

The use of still images is more problematic in *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005). The images selected in the photomontage sequence appear to come from stock library photographic images of Israel and Palestine. The sound of an SLR camera attempts to add some authenticity into the montage. The montage foregrounds the Palestinian Flag, a rubble-strewn wasteland, a militarised environment controlled by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) and armed masked militants. These images appear to come from the Palestinian Authority and provide a wider context to the Football 4 Peace project by linking it to the wider Palestinian struggle. However the use of images in the context of a promotional film and a commercial film product are problematic. These images are part of the wider media discourses and narratives of the Middle East and replicate the use of TV news in their power to potentially manipulate audience responses (Cottle, 2006a), (Said, 1995). The use of images of suffering and oppressed people in the service of a commercial product is highly problematic in this case.

Goal Keepers (2006) in contrast, uses graphics to denote the names of the characters in the film and also some locations. The graphics do not intrude on the narrative and are also used to provide some translation of the various direct languages with Arabic, Hebrew, German and English being mixed

throughout the film. The film also neglects to utilise a range of photographic montages preferring to use a video montage. This is entirely in character with the final film which is much more slow paced and languid than the trailer suggested. Also the film uses no borrowed images, all the video images utilised are either shot on location or in later interviews.

9.ix Critical Approaches to *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006)

The ideological thrust of the *World Sport Peace Project* (2003) and *Football for Peace* (2004) was encapsulated by the rhetoric and shifting ideological terrain inhabited by Geoffrey Whitfield and Professor John Sugden. This shift is supported by the discrete ideological influence of the British Council and the focus on Football 4 Peace and its coalition partners.

These aspects are much more difficult to decipher in *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005). There is no central character to drive the narrative. The films focus is on a number of unnamed children who act as narrative ciphers within the film. The films engagement with the socio-political contexts within Israel and with Israel's neighbours is superficial and serves to highlight the utopian aspirations of the projects goals.

The film does however highlight some of effects of mediatization on the F4P project. The desire of the project leaders to raise its profile both in the UK and in Israel has ultimately led to a more direct engagement with the media. This

sustained interaction with the media also shows how the sports intervention and its partner organisations view the media as a key gateway. This trailer for a feature documentary is therefore a significant marker of the projects increased media profile and submission to 'media logic' (Hjarvard, 2008). This mediatization is evident in a number of ways. The project is broken down into sound bites that are communicated by the media. Thus the wider contexts of the project, the process of change that it engenders and the how its methods are manifested are not communicated in the representation. This simplification of issues and processes highlights how the media report world events (Cottle, 2006a). The F4P project thus relinquishes this aspect of its ideology to the media. The promotional trailer foregrounds a simplistic narrative which focuses on individuals, in particular the children. This has already been analysed as being potentially problematic. However it also provides evidence of an increasing mediatization. This is because the focus on individuals, characters and their narratives neglects the wider institutional, organisation and group narratives that are unfolding on the project. The media focuses on personality rather than organisations (Wolfsfeld, 2004); this therefore is another example of F4P's increasing mediatization that is evident in *Children of the Jordan Valley* (2005).

Goal Keepers (2006) also provides evidence of an increasing mediatization of the F4P project. Firstly this is evident to the increased media scrutiny that allowed the project to promote itself in the media sphere to attract funding partners and to help it grow into different areas. Mediatization also explains how the range of ideologies are communicated by the partner organisations.

The process of media acculturation also acted as a way of legitimizing the intervention into the sports culture of Israel and provided the cultural capital to do so by utilizing the media to support the intervention (Bourdieu, 1986).

Mediatization also helped to inflate the importance of the intervention to the public, coaches and children.

In addition, the parallel research project *Visions of Hope* (2012) which is presented in Chapter 11 highlights an alternative utopian narrative and also a critical response to the mediatization of F4P. The visual research project ensured that many of the geographic spaces in which F4P worked were subject to some form of scrutiny from video cameras. In addition this period also saw the development of a website and a large number of photographs being taken to promote the project. Thus the activities of media professionals, visual researchers and participants using various media ensured the project became subject to 'media logic' and therefore increased its mediatization. Therefore the sports intervention was influenced by the practices, codes and conventions of the media. In addition, the ideology of F4P was also communicated by the media. This impacted on the intervention's activities and the wider institutional decision-making by key partners and organisations. Thus the sports intervention moved further down the path towards mediatization.

Therefore *Goal Keepers* (2006) reflects aspects of the developing mediatization of the project. It also shows how this mediatization impacted on the projects own ideology. One way this was evident was how the film was

used in recruitment presentations for coaches and also as part of a pack of learning materials for trainee coaches and children. The representation of F4P in *Goal Keepers* (2006) therefore moved beyond being a representation of the project and became an integral part of the diffusion of interventionist ideology. This is therefore another example of how the F4P project continued the shift towards mediatization.

The film also reflects the paternalistic utopianism of the F4P team but anticipates some of the social, political and cultural issues that were the precursors to the shift to a pragmatic utopianism. From this perspective the film is both a document of this utopian shift but also a visual anticipation of the mediatized utopia that F4P becomes later in its development and which is captured in *Visions of Hope* (2012).

Another aspect of the mediatization of the F4P project was the proposed digital coaching manual that was outlined by members of the F4P team. This was an attempt to mediatize the 'values-based' coaching manual that was a key aspect of the paternal utopianism. This development was also a response to the growing media interest in the 'values-based' approach to coaching that was being led by the F4P team and the also a way to brand the product and franchise it to various agencies.

One of these agencies was the FA which tentatively showed interest in this aspect of the project and sent a number of coaches down to watch F4P's methods in action to evaluate the 'values-based' approach to coaching. Thus

this highlights how meditization was impacting on other more junior partners. The FA is an interesting partner in this respect. The FA's role as a partner during the paternalistic utopian phase was often in the guise of supporting the development of the women's game and the 'values-based' approach to coaching. The support was first manifested by a dialogue between coaches and project leaders on the role of sport in wider international development in the region. It also was further manifested by a number of high-profile visits by FA staff. The relationship with the FA developed throughout the shift from the paternalistic to the pragmatic utopian phase of the intervention and during this pragmatic phase the support solidified. During this phase the FA hosted the Israeli coaches at the headquarters in Soho Square. The England manager Steve McClaren also presented an award to F4P. The FA worked with the F4P project and England Fans to support the events around the first international at the new Wembley and the Euro Qualifier in Tel Aviv. These activities are highlighted in Chapter 11 (*Visions of Hope*, 2012). However these relationships were being built during the period of the *F4P trilogy* was produced and this provides the wider context to this phase of the project. The later withdrawal of the FA's support for F4P and the wider context in terms of the FA's failed bid for the World Cup 2018 is developed in Chapter 10.

The other absent partner in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is the Israel Sports Authority (ISA) and its role in the paternalistic utopianism that is evident in the film. The ISA, both organisationally and ideologically, has increased in prominence and importance in terms of its influence on the F4P project. Indeed, the role of ISA in the shift from the paternalistic to the pragmatic is hard to overstate. As local

organisers in Israel the ISA is responsible for the out of event contact and networking throughout the State of Israel. As such they brought in the partners in Um el Fahem, the venue for the action in *Goal Keepers* (2006) and also the site of one of the events that forced the shift to a more pragmatic approach from F4P. The refusal of local community leaders to allow girls to train in Um el Fahem was an embarrassment to the ISA who had brought the local partners into the F4P network and funded the project in Um El Fahem. This also shows that it is not only the British based aspects of F4P that took a paternal approach to the politics of Israel and that the State of Israel was also implicated in this paternal approach to its local minority populations.

However the ISA is completely absent in *Goal Keepers* (2006) and viewers are unable to develop an understanding of the vital role they play in the project even during this stage. Therefore as well as neglecting to focus on one of the main issues at this project *Goal Keepers* (2006) also airbrushes the organisation out of the representation of the project. No members of the ISA are interviewed and no members of the F4P team discuss their involvement and the networks that have been built up in Israel in the final cut of the film. This is despite the filmmaker being present when the researcher filmed an interview that expressly dealt with these issues at the Um el Fahem stadium and that is reproduced in Chapter 11 in *Visions of Hope* (2012).

Goal Keepers (2006) therefore represents the F4P project as being a wholly European project that works with Israeli children and neglects to discuss the wider social, cultural processes unfolding via the networks being opened up

by the ISA in Israel's sports cultures. *Goal Keepers* (2006) therefore perpetuates the paternalism of F4P when in reality the project is much more pragmatic in this phase. The film text also develops a mediatized version of the project that focuses the narrative on characters and individuals rather than organisations and institutions on events rather than processes (Wolfsfeld, 2004).

The omission of the ISA in *Goal Keepers* (2006) is also problematic as the ISA provides many of the opportunities for sustained interaction between communities in Israel. This is the very aspect of *Goal Keepers* (2006) narrative that communicates the fleeting utopianism of the sports intervention. *Goal Keepers* (2006) comments on the lack of sustained engagement between communities as being the main weakness in the intervention is therefore problematic and lacks any veracity, especially when combined with the deception played out in the editing suite. Of course an interview with a representative with the ISA could have provided this context. However, whether this would have fit with the downbeat denouement to the narrative and survived being cut out in the editing suite is another question entirely.

9.x Blochian Analysis of *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006)

Again, just as the analysis of the film artefacts in Chapter 8 allowed a Blochian perspective to be realised, *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and

Goal Keepers (2006) can also be analysed through the interpretative framework of hope. The utopianism on display in these films is much more pronounced. For instance, geographic space in Israel provides a sense of the land and what Bloch calls Heimat. This homeland is the destination of hope and one place that Bloch argues that we have never been (Bloch, 1986c):

Once he has grasped himself and established what is his, without expropriation and alienation, in real democracy, there arises something which shines into the childhood of all and in which no one has yet been: homeland (Bloch, 1986c:1376)

Obviously in the context of the narratives of *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006) Heimat is completely problematised. However the focus in the film on landscape and its relationship to the wider narrative of Israel provides some evidence of how geographic spaces can be vessels of utopianism. Of course for the Jewish communities in Israel the Heimat is deeply emotional due to the connections with the Holocaust and the legacy of anti-Semitism. However the land was also an integral part of the Kibbutzim movement that colonised much of the land. The connections between the utopian socialism of the Kibbutzim pioneers and the land barely need to be made. However for Arab Israelis the land is no less utopian, for this land, some of it now under Kibbutzim control holds a powerful utopian legacy from the past, in the present and projects into the future. Therefore geographic space in Israel as communicated in *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006) can be situated as being both critical and progressive, or in Bloch's terms: utopian.

Just as the images of youth allowed a Blochian utopian perspective to emerge in Chapter 8, *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006) provide evidence for the inherent utopianism in images of youth. The focus of the narrative of these films on the physical culture of youth, the images of practice and the images set in local communities highlight much of the freedom that Bloch associates with youthful utopias. Although the narratives of *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006) draw attention to some of the issues of youth in Israel the imagery tells a different utopian story.

Chapter 10 Critical Reflections on *Visions of Hope* (2012)

"All those tears shed in vain. Nothing learnt and nothing gained. Only hope remains. All together now, all together now" (Hooton & Grimes, 1990).

This critical reflection is a textual accompaniment to the practice-informed *Visions of Hope* (2012) presented in DVD form in Chapter 11. *Visions of Hope* (2012) can be analysed on three interlinked conceptual levels. Firstly, *Visions of Hope* (2012) provides an exploration of visual research methods and a visual research document of the F4P experience between 2005 and 2008. Secondly, the film visually explores Bloch's conception of the 'ubiquity of utopia' and thus builds on his interpretive framework. Finally, the film critically reflects on aspects the development of F4P's mediatization. This chapter therefore provides critical linkages to the written aspects of the thesis, a theoretical reflection on the visual research and provides links to the practice-informed submission presented in Chapter 11.

Visions of Hope (2012) provides a critical and visual response to the *F4P trilogy* that is analysed in Chapters 8 & 9. The visual research therefore offers a wider range of perspectives, a contextual appraisal of its methodologies and a deeper engagement with the sports intervention than provided in the *F4P trilogy*. The film also critically and visually interrogates the same terrain outlined in the categories identified in Chapters 8 & 9. These categories are reinterpreted and sometimes subverted in this visual ethnographic account of the utopianism of F4P. The visual research also provides a critical intertextual film that reflects on the strengths of visual research practice while also analysing a sports intervention's interaction with the media.

A number of technical, aesthetic and production decisions were made during the conception, filming, production and editing of *Visions of Hope* (2012). These decisions and the reasoning behind them have been outlined in Chapter 7 and are also considered in more detail in this chapter. Following the categories outlined in Chapter 8 & 9, the critical reflection builds a reflexive critique that works within the following parameters.

Televisual News Practices, Codes and Conventions

Talking Head Interviews and Ideological Vantage Points

Geographic Space in Israel

Images of Youth

Sound Design and Soundtrack Music

Photography and Graphics

Critical Approaches to *Visions of Hope* (2012)

Blochian Analysis of *Visions of Hope* (2012)

10.i Televisual News Practices, Codes and Conventions

Visions of Hope (2012) attempts to go beyond the televisual practices, codes and conventions of documentary film outlined in the critique of the *F4P trilogy*. The research actively seeks to depart from the codes and conventions of documentary and news production practices that foreground the sound-bite, and fail to provide a wider context to either the sports intervention or the local contexts in which the intervention works. This visual research attempts to foreground the critical faculties of film to highlight these wider contexts.

In addition the narrative structures of news production are also subverted by focusing the narrative of the film directly on the utopianism of the sports intervention. This focus also serves to distort these conventions away from the 'news values' that are embedded within news media production (Harcup & O'Neil, 2005). In addition this utopian focus also subverts the promotional aspects of the *F4P trilogy* and the commercialism of some documentary forms. It does this by drawing attention to utopianism of the intervention through the Blochian interpretative framework. The film also highlights aspects of the F4P experience that contribute to or disrupt this utopianism rather than focusing on the sports intervention and its work.

The decision to use black and white film within the visual research is also a response to the codes and conventions of news and documentary production. This reflects on aspects of the written and visual critique of the representation of the realities within Israel contained in the *F4P trilogy*. Black and white film directly disrupts the representation of these realities by almost being anti-realist. This is due to its association with the past and its contemporary use in some film cultures as an artistic device. Black and white footage also intertextually refers back to a realist documentary tradition, the very critical tradition that *Visions of Hope* (2012) reinterprets.

The black and white aesthetic also underscores aspects of the theoretical tradition from which Bloch emerged. Indeed, Bloch's opinions on how black and white footage and silent cinema accentuates gesture and performance have already been outlined in Chapter 6 and are insightful in this regard.

Bloch also outlines how realist film reflects the utopian tradition and again his is outlined in Chapter 6. The recreation of this aesthetic through the use of filters and effects in the digital editing process therefore builds this element of Bloch's critique into the research film text. There is also an aesthetic appeal to the images in the film that reflect the call for visual research methods to embrace the artistic that was outlined in Chapter 7 (Clifford, 1988).

Bloch's belief in the critical faculty of film is developed in the film text by presenting the final chapter in colour, and thereby foregrounding the fleeting, concrete utopia of the Tel Aviv project. This device is used sparingly throughout *Visions of Hope* (2012) to signal significant steps on the road to utopia and to highlight moments that are filled with hope, such as the resistance to gendered sports practices in Um el Fahem. The use of the 'night shot' filter is similarly utilised in the 'Henna Night' sequence in Acco to highlight some of the contradictions in Acco, the 'City of Peace'.

Finally, some technical issues also drove the decision to present the results in black and white. The project was filmed over three years with a number of different cameras, in different light conditions and geographic environments. Using this device allows the final film product to adapt to these changing circumstances of production. This moves *Visions of Hope* (2012) towards an ethnographic approach to film and away from being a slick news package or professional documentary.

10.ii Talking Head Interviews and Ideological Vantage Points

Visions of Hope (2012) contains a range of views, opinions and vantage points. Many of the main figures in the project are interviewed at length. A range of interviews with partners, leaders, coaches and children provide critical vantage points from which to view the utopianism of F4P. This approach therefore accentuates perspectives, viewpoints and emphasises the complexity of the project. In particular the longer sequences of interviews also act as a response to some current documentary and televisual news conventions such as cutaways, pieces to camera, five-shot editing sequences and the emphasis on sound bites that are critiqued in Chapter 8 and 9. These longer sequences work as a piece of research and provide the necessary wider critical, theoretical and historical context that is lacking in the *F4P* *trilogy*. This approach also develops an alternative utopian narrative, one that reflects Bloch critique of how utopias emerge, are sustained and flow into each other. Therefore the individual chapters reflect the utopian aspects of the project and display how these abstract utopias build towards an alternative narrative of the sports intervention.

These interviews have been edited to emphasise these aspects and are juxtaposed with visual material, photographic montage and graphics to ensure meaning is not lost within these sequences. On occasion the editing attempts to make other ephemeral connections such as how the sequence links the research to the *F4P* *trilogy*. The editing regime ensures a visual narrative is

produced that works with the interviews to emphasise Bloch's appreciation of the critical faculties of film.

The interview with John Sugden in the Um el Fahem stadium in the *Hope on the 'Frontline'* sequence of *Visions of Hope* (2012) also has an intertextual element with *Children of Jordan Valley* (2005) and *Goal Keepers* (2006).

While the researcher was conducting the interview, Simon Jöcker also filmed the interview and asked his own questions at the end of the interview.

Sugden's responses are treated differently in the final films. This difference in approach also highlights some of the differences in commercial documentary and visual research, in terms of preplanning the narrative, the focus on drama and the interview strategies.

The interviews therefore work to provide a wider context to the sports intervention and a range of vantage points that include many of the agencies with a stake in the project. The only omission in terms of interviews in *Visions of Hope* (2012) is the Football Association. In many ways the support from the FA during the research phase was largely symbolic and this reflects how the FA are utilised in *Visions of Hope* (2012). The red t-shirts with three lions displayed symbolise the evangelical utopianism of both the sports intervention and the institution of the FA. The trinkets and trophies symbolise the paternalism, while its individual representatives and commercialised logos symbolise the pragmatism inherent within the organisations commitment to spreading the message of the power of football for its own commercial and political ends. This is particularly relevant given the subsequent fall off in

support for the F4P project by the FA. Sugden has linked this fall away in support directly to the failure of the FA's World Cup bid, as the FA reassessed its international strategy and commitments in the region. This retrospective analysis also highlights the paternalism and pragmatism of the FA and also the transitory nature of the utopianism.

These issues are also symbolically emphasised in the images of 'England Fans' who work with the FA to promote the image of English game to overseas institutions, organisations and how this intervention is heavily mediatized. The interview with Mark Perryman provides some evidence of how these discourses are communicated to the media and represented by the media. It also focuses on how sports interventions incorporate the logic of the media. The England Fans 'Raise the Flag' events provide a comparison as to how the media responds to other mediatized interventionist sports projects. 'Raise the Flag' and the interventionism of 'England Fans' demonstrate how a defined media strategy that uses the mainstream media can promote an ideological viewpoint. The 'Raise the Flag' campaign is well situated in terms of understanding the media's logic, commercial news requirements, journalistic practices and reporter's needs. Therefore its alliance with F4P is an important step in the developing mediatization of F4P as the project adapted to incorporate these strategies and alliances into its own approach to the media and developing mediatization. However the critique provided by Adar (2007) demonstrates the ambivalence of many Israeli citizens to this type of intervention.

The interview with the Skysports News reporter, Gary Cotterill, emphasises how the codes of conventions of media production work to create a media message and discourse for the 'England Fans' and by association, the FA. The interview also describes some of the professional norms of media workers, pay-offs for sports organisations, institutions and individuals within this mediatized eco-system. The interview also explains some aspects of how F4P has become mediatized. Likewise the interview with the documentary filmmaker, Andy Benfield, emphasises the choice of shots, messages and narratives that are embedded in documentary practices. It also shows how F4P's leaders attempt to get their utopian message across by incorporating 'media logic' into their wider interventionist strategies.

This mediatization of F4P is not just confined to the UK and international media as *Visions of Hope* (2012) displays how local, national, Israeli and international media get caught up in the creation, maintenance and sustenance of a mediatized sports intervention as a utopia.

10.iii **Geographic Spaces in Israel**

Visions of Hope (2012) utilises a range of geographic spaces within Israel. The spaces that are filmed are intended to critically interrogate the conditions of life within Israel and to focus attention on some of the disparities of wealth and opportunity in Israel's communities. Again, these issues are largely absent from the F4P trilogy.

For example, aspects of life in a range of Arab communities in Israel are foregrounded rather than marginalised in *Visions of Hope* (2012). The sequences celebrate the multicultural aspects of F4P's work, the diversity of Israel's inhabitants and Israeli/Palestinian environments. These aspects are either absent in the F4P trilogy or are suggested to be the preserve of a largely homogenised population. The foregrounding of Arab-Israeli life highlights the segregated nature of large aspects of Israeli society and therefore frames some of the reasons why F4P chooses its practices and discourses.

The sectarian geography of Israel is foregrounded by focusing on the geographic space of a community. Acco, is therefore filmed in all its environments – from ancient streets, castle ramparts, new town spaces, shops, beaches, ancient cemeteries, mosques and urban estates. This provides a holistic view of the city that promotes and sells itself as a 'City of Peace' and in the terms of Israel at least, a multicultural utopia. The geographic spaces also reflect on the Bloch's discussion of geographic and architectural utopias outlined in the introduction. For instance, the history of Acco with its many fragmented and increasingly segregated communities has been a site of conquest and cross-cultural interaction across the centuries.

Likewise the geographic spaces of Tel Aviv built out the utopian energy generated by Zionism are also incorporated in the film. These images of a contemporary, leisure-orientated 'Western' city filled with impressive modernist architecture are contrasted with the older Arab part of the city of Jaffa, which while still a working town is now a tourist centre and is dominated

by Tel Aviv. The introduction of this chapter metaphorically links the fate of Palestinians within Israel to the disappearing indigenous communities in the American utopia. The sequence questions whether sports interventions just provide abstract 'wish-fulfilment' or whether these interventions provide genuine fulfilled utopian moments that are symbolised by the wishing well in Jaffa.

The other geographic spaces in Israel that are foregrounded are the emerging town of Um El-Fahem, a town that is almost exclusively Palestinian and divided from the West Bank by the Green-line (Wallis, 2007). Megiddo, the site of biblical Armageddon is also filmed. This is the site from which Jim Wallace introduces the project's goals and reflects on its practices at the start of the sequence *Little Daydreams, Teachable Moments*. The film also contains footage of Kibbutzim, the original Zionist utopias and footage within various sporting and stadium spaces around the Galilee that are also emphasised in the *F4P trilogy*.

In addition the inclusion of UK spaces demonstrates that the ideological centre of the sports intervention still resides in the UK. Shots of University spaces, Wembley Stadium and the FA's offices in Soho Square all highlight how the institutions of the UK are central to the project and its practices and discourses. The inclusion of these images again is a departure from the *F4P trilogy* and shows how much of the interventionist work occurs back in the UK within the institutions of sporting, cultural and social power.

10.iv Images of Youth

Around 200 hours of video were shot during the research period. Three cuts of the film were made with additional footage and layers being built up through the editing process. This process of editing the chapters down into a manageable film product considered the links to the written aspects of the thesis, the theoretical direction and the overall structure.

A primary concern during the editing down the footage was the centrality of 'Images of Youth' in the research footage. A significant amount of training sessions, tournaments and practices were filmed that involved children, much of the footage was very repetitive. In addition, the focus on children in the *F4P trilogy* was also critiqued in Chapter 8 and 9 as problematic and the issue how to present an alternative representation of youth that did not marginalise youth or stereotype communities was paramount in the final research output.

One way this was achieved was to consciously exclude the youths from the overall utopian narrative of *Visions of Hope* (2012). Rather than using the experiences of children to drive the narrative, the coaches, leaders and architects of F4P drive the utopianism of the sports intervention. The children are used in the way the project uses them, as ciphers to demonstrate the possibilities of hope, as tools to practice with and as a test ground for the methodologies of the sporting intervention.

Another way to overcome the concerns about the representation of youth was to focus some attention on the girl's project, as this was a central event in the shift from a paternalistic to pragmatic utopianism that was outlined in Chapter 4. By focusing on the young women's resistance to the dominant ideologies at work both in the intervention and the wider society this section provides both a critical statement on the F4P project and its relationships and also an example of a fleeting but transitory utopian moment.

The film attempts to focus, as much as is possible, on the training regimes, sporting practices and the inculcation of the 'values' that the project works with. This is done at the expense of a demonstration of the football skills and providing an in-depth narrative of the 'success' of a team in the tournament. Success within the utopian framework of F4P is the transmission of 'human values', 'teachable moments' and the utopian ideology of its architects. This is therefore the narrative focus of *Visions of Hope* (2012) and reflects Bloch's comments on sport, physical cultures and youth.

Finally, children are not identified in *Visions of Hope*, precisely because they work as ciphers for the shifting utopian ideology of the sports intervention. They do not work as identifiable individuals within the context of the project, when they are identified it is to demonstrate a 'teachable moment', a 'human value' or fleeting images of future possibilities.

10.v Sound Design and Soundtrack Music

The experience of filming with poor quality microphones and constantly changing kit makes this aspect of the film project problematic in places. However the patchy sound design does add to the realism and authenticity of the visual research as the wind noise and *off camera* noise reflect the reality of filming in a research scenario. The sound-levels have been mixed and refined but still contain some of these elements that reflect the realism of research experience. Despite many attempts to fix these aspects in postproduction it has become apparent that some of these issues have become insurmountable in the final cut.

Therefore one critical reflection has been whether to include some flawed sound in the final visual research product. Reflecting on the research experience and the knowledge and skill in recording sound was a key aspect of the research process. The acquisition of the skills necessary to produce a visual ethnography has led to the development of the necessary skills by the researcher. This included attendance at a year-long studentship at Goldsmiths that included some training on how to record to sound. This studentship and a subsequent review of the literature led to a realisation about the importance of sound within visual ethnography. Following a critical reflection on the sound quality in the second cut of *Visions of Hope* (2012) a small amount of poor sound was included in the final film as it provides important information or contexts that otherwise would have been absent from

the final film. Where it is suitable, graphics have been used to subtitle the sound.

In addition, a brief excerpt of a music track played and recorded on location at the Um El-Fahem stadium finals day during the closing ceremony has been included. This track, '*Altogether Now*' by the Liverpool band, The Farm, was an un-official anthem and soundtrack to the F4P project during this period, especially in recruitment drives and events. The song's narrative is about the fabled peace armistice during the Great War on Christmas Day when it is alleged that British and German soldiers emerged from the trenches and enjoyed a game of football. This emphasis on the utopian potential of sport and fraternal bonding even in times of war, reflects the ideology of F4P during this phase of the project. The song's lyrics suggest the very utopianism at the heart of the F4P project and the editing of this sequence has been orientated to emphasise the lyrics that chime with the discourse of hope articulated throughout the project:

All together now, all together now
All together now in no man's land (together)
All together now (all together), all together now (all together)
All together now (together, together)
In no man's land (together, together)
The same old story again
All those tears shed in vain
Nothing learnt and nothing gained
Only hope remains
All together now, all together now
(Hooton/Grimes 1990)

10.vi **Photography and Graphics**

In addition to the many hours of video filmed during the research, hundreds of digital photos were also were shot during the research process. The process of sourcing and digitising photographs, graphics and film from other sources to incorporate into subsequent cuts of the film fleshed out the imagery and ensured that the long sequences of interviews had visual material to support, juxtapose and contradict the interviewees discourse. In addition, the photography works to break up aspects of the narrative and allows a focus on an occasional single image that reflects some manifestation of utopian imagery.

The large photographic archive of F4P has been utilised to support this utopian imagery. A small number of photographs taken by colleagues are included in the final cut. A number of these images were taken while the researcher was filming in Tel Aviv and Jaffa. These images were taken on a trip to Jerusalem that included a visit to the wall that divides Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The archive images are utilised to illustrate the interviews and to add imagery to the utopian discourse of the interviewees.

Each chapter title is presented graphically in order to divide the narrative in a simple black and white text. The incorporation of graphics in the *Visions of Hope* (2012) also reflects some of the issues with sound outlined above.

When an important point is being made but the sound is poor then this discourse is subtitled. In addition, apart from the children, as has already been

explained, all the interviewees are named and given their title on the project to provide some wider context to their involvement and their utopian discourse. Finally, all the main research respondents are credited along with a range of institutions who provided support and individuals who provided their time, expertise and support for the thesis from 2005-2012.

10.vii **Critical Approaches to *Visions of Hope* (2012)**

Visions of Hope (2012) works a significant amount of reflexivity into the finished film. This is done primarily through having subjects look directly into the camera and questions off-camera are occasionally left in the cut. Reflexivity is also built into the film through the use of a re-appearing visual motif, the filmmaker and researchers shadow. This complements the black and white film aesthetic but also relates to Doyle (2007) and concerns about being on the outside looking in and the reflections on voyeurism and visual research outlined in Chapter 7 and Doyle (2007).

The conditions of filming research in the field are reflected by the sound quality. Wind noise, children's shouts and domestic noises are all prominent on the soundtrack. This research was undertaken with poor equipment, no control over the 'social actors' performances and no re-shoots possible. This means that many interviews, scenes and scenarios have poor sound filmed at source that is unable to be altered through editing. However when possible the worst interruptions have been replaced with images and subtitles.

Visions of Hope (2012) can be situated as an interpretive artefact and develops an in-depth engagement with visual research methods. It highlights the strengths and weaknesses of this type of research, provides a reflection on practice and offers an interpretation of events in the field that engage with the projects representation, the reality of the project and the utopian phases of the development of the sports intervention.

In addition, the film provides an innovative approach to visual research film that reflects on both practice and theory as critical tools. The film displays a range of practitioner skills and reflects on the deployment of these skills.

Visions of Hope (2012) provides a demonstration of the utopian value of sports interventions and some observations on how these projects are mediatized. It also, importantly, showcases the enduring value of Bloch's work for the social sciences and how visual research can be utilized in a creative and critical sense.

10.viii **Blochian analysis of *Visions of Hope* (2012)**

Bloch's interpretive framework illuminates the core dynamic and ideological momentum of Football 4 Peace. The narratives, practices and discourses of F4P and its partners provide different examples to demonstrate the utopian aspects of sports interventions. Both the interpretive framework and the range of examples are built into the structure of *Visions of Hope* (2012). The repetition that is evident in the film text is deliberate as it relates directly to Bloch's idea that utopia's flow into each other, repeat, evolve and change. For

Bloch utopias grow out of each other and utopian residue is fluid, reformed and re-situated. This critical reflection provides some contextualisation and explanation for these examples. It also offers critical insights on the visual motifs and intertextual links that connect to the visual research.

The intention within the discourse of *Visions of Hope* (2012), its overriding ideological vantage point, is to orientate the viewer towards experiencing how F4P works as a utopia. It also emphasises how its mediatization impacts on its character, meaning and practices while also focusing on the critical aspects of this utopian intervention.

Within the formulation of the ideological vantage point of *Visions of Hope* (2012) lie the spaces between authorial intention and the serendipity of field research that provide the discourses of the research film and the overall demonstration of sports interventions as mediatized utopias (Merton & Barber, 2004), (Ruby, 2000). For instance, some shots are framed and edited to emphasise these connections. An example of an intentional emphasis is the scene in the chapter, '*Hope on the 'Frontline'*', within the Um El Fahem stadium when the girl's project arrives to resist attempts to marginalize them and to celebrate their gender while wearing the logo of the FA. The editing of the shirts, choosing to keep them red and juxtaposing this against the black and white footage emphasises a utopian moment.

An example of how to build theory out of serendipity in field research is outlined by Merton & Barber (2004). In the field research presented herein,

the appearance and reappearance of the Star of David, St George and Union flags and British Council logos beginning in '*Little Daydreams, Teachable Moments*' chapter but continuing throughout the film, are examples of how serendipity can work. Initially these images provided a backdrop to events that were being filmed during the research but they became so ubiquitous at F4P events they were shot more intentionally. Thus these images become an important aspect of the critique, both through their foregrounding and ubiquity within the spaces where the intervention works. They therefore become as much part of the media utopia as the children playing football, the tournaments and the words of the F4P organisers.

The structure of *Visions of Hope* (2012) follows Bloch's structure in 'The Principle of Hope' (1986), which breaks down into five sections, each referring to a distinct category of hope. Geoghegan (1987) has stated that they work as follows:

1. 'Little Daydreams': everyday flights of fancy
2. 'Anticipatory Consciousness': the very basis of hope
3. 'Wishful Images in the Mirror': the cultural expression of hope
4. 'Outlines of a Better World': the geographical, architectural utopias
5. 'Wishful Images of the Fulfilled Moment': conceptions of humanity (Geoghegan, 1987:88)

Visions of Hope (2012) therefore re-appropriates Bloch's categorisation of utopias to consider how F4P in its various practices, levels of engagement, relationships and manifestations can be considered a utopian project and how its mediatization fits into this utopian overall framework. It utilises the following chapter structure to focus on an alternative utopian narrative of F4P.

Little Daydreams, Teachable Moments

This chapter theorises how F4P's 'teachable moments' mirror the way Bloch theorises daydreams working: as fantasy but filled with utopian utility. This film explores how these 'moments' fit into the F4P strategy and how 'values' are integral to the project. In addition the film begins to explore some of the contradictions within the project. The sequence also outlines the evangelical elements of F4P utopianism.

Hope on the 'Frontline'

This chapter develops the theme of hope as a discourse and shows how it flows throughout the project. The film is based around the Megiddo/Um el Fahem (the 'Frontline') project and outlines some of the issues involved in working in this community, especially in an interventionist paradigm. The focus in this film is based on how 'Anticipatory Consciousness' develops. This according to Bloch is the range of human aspirations, which drive hope (Bloch, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c). The film shows how this is reflected through the discourse of coaches and leaders. The film acts as a counter-point to the *Goal Keepers* (2006) film that neglects some aspects of this project to focus on telling a narrative story. The chapter also outlines the currents of evangelical, paternalistic and pragmatic utopian elements of F4P.

Wishful images in the Mediatized Mirror

This chapter situates the project in terms of its media representation. It therefore focuses on an exploration of the media strategies, codes and conventions and the utopian elements of the mediatization of the F4P project. The chapter also reflects on how other utopian sports projects submit to media logic, how they are represented and the media strategies that are employed to gain recognition, coverage and perhaps validation. The chapter updates Bloch's observations on the utopianism embedded within popular culture and the media's links to wish fulfilment. Therefore the mediatization of the project is directly related to this wish fulfilment. The media strategies of sports interventions also reflect this form of utopianism.

Acco - An Outline of a Better World

This chapter is based in Acco and is an exploration of a utopian city. It reflects Bloch's exploration of geographical, urban and Zionist utopias. It explores some of the contradictions within this urban utopia. The chapter highlights the background to the Acco project, some of the preparations and focuses on the F4P organiser's resistance to the Lebanon war. It also represents the sustainability of the F4P project and its desires and hopes, despite the war in Lebanon. These are juxtaposed to critically interrogate Bloch's theorising of utopia as a forward "dreaming stripped of illusion" (Geoghegan, 1987:94).

Wishful Images of the Fulfilled Moment?

The final chapter theorises that these images form the culmination of this particular manifestation of utopia. It therefore suggests that it represents the highpoint of a utopian process. The sequence focuses on the Tel Aviv project, prior to the Israel v England game. This event provided an opportunity for all the processes to converge. This event symbolised all the utopian elements of the project, its values, its interventions, the partnerships, the media profile and submission to media logic, its mediatization and these coalesced into a fulfilled utopian moment. The film suggests the project developed fleetingly as a concrete utopia and contains the many of the elements that form 'The Principle of Hope' (1986).

Finally, in order to conclude this critical reflection it is important to re-emphasise how Bloch conceives utopia. Utopia, as a 'no-place' or 'good place' and a construct in its literary sense, is unattainable. It is a place, condition or tool used to mock or celebrate the hopes and aspirations of dreamers. In classic literature it also works to draw attention to the inequities in contemporary societies and to critique social and cultural relationships.

In an orthodox Marxist sense it is fundamentally an undesirable condition as it where 'false consciousness' resides. In a more fundamental sense utopia is anti-materialist (Tomlinson, 1977). The 'Not-Yet' has not and cannot be materialised, as Tomlinson, (1977) states "Not-Yet and hope can never be matter, they are constants eternally present in Bloch's model from beginning

to end (Tomlinson, 1977:134). In Bloch's terms it is wholly attainable for he fuses the critical faculties of orthodox Marxism with the literary sense of utopia as a place of dreaming, or what Levitas has described as the juncture of "Marxism and Romanticism" (Levitas, 2010). Bloch sees global socialism as the ultimate concrete utopia, the place that the forward dreaming of all the examples he provides are heading towards, the ultimate goal of humanity, based on its most fundamental drive; hope.

For Bloch, the 'ubiquity of utopia' is the most important aspect of hope, the desire to strive, to better ourselves and work towards a future – the very opposite of the nihilism at the core of many modern day cultural products. It is in this context where the value of Bloch's work resides for a critique of mediatized Sport, Development and Peace interventions.

Chapter 11 *Visions of Hope* (2012) [DVD] Directed by J. Doyle

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Conclusions Sports Interventions: Assessing the Utopian?

“Shortly before people wake up, they usually have the most colourful dreams” (Bloch, 1986b: 575).

This thesis has been concerned with three main contributions to knowledge. Firstly, it is concerned with an appropriation of the work of Ernst Bloch as an interpretive framework to assess utopianism as a driving force for sports interventions. It does this through a sustained analysis of one such project, Football 4 Peace and a critical engagement with the work of Ernst Bloch in relation to the utopian praxiology of this intervention.

Secondly, while it does not assess the mediatization of sport, the thesis does assess the reach of mediatization as a process. The thesis provides evidence of this reach via a sustained engagement with a sports intervention that is adapting to ‘media logic’. The mediatization of the sports intervention also supports and circulates the wider utopianism of the F4P project and the ideologies of the various agencies, institutions and organisations that are associated with it.

The final contribution to knowledge is an engagement with the practices of visual research and the construction of a visual research text that accounts for both the Blochian utopianism of the sports intervention and the mediatization of the F4P project. This practice-informed submission synthesises the theoretical aspects of Bloch with the practices of visual ethnography in order to communicate the mediatized utopianism of the sports intervention.

The thesis concludes with an assessment of the anticipatory elements of sports interventions, discusses how the media representations of the F4P project can be situated as utopian and reflects on the continuing relevance of Bloch's utopianism for visual research.

So how can the utopianism of sports interventions be assessed in a paradigm that theorises how the neo-imperialism of international institutions, agencies and organisations are deployed but also account for the enduring desire to co-opt sport as a driver of social change?

Bloch's philosophy relates directly to both of these currents of thinking. His work reflects the utopianism in the origins of organised sport, its dispersal in colonial and neo-colonial contexts and its contemporary global mediatization. Bloch's philosophy also accounts for the diverse Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) 'movement', and an emerging culture of SDP interventionism (Kidd, 2008). It does this by highlighting how the past and present can influence the future and critically, how utopian currents flow into each sports intervention. His work also examines the very motivations of people who are drawn to change the world (Bloch, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c).

Bloch's work not only allows us to critique power but also allows access to a toolkit to assess the anticipatory utopian in all of us. The philosophy allows individuals to dream of possible futures without being crippled by stasis, through always existing in the present. The power of his critique and

philosophy lie in the future orientation, without neglecting the legacies of the past and ignoring the realities of the present.

It is through an understanding of how utopian currents flow into each other, in phases, across time and space, from the past into the future, that a real critique of the plethora of global sports interventionist initiatives that currently work across the globe in the early twenty-first century can be generated.

Sport, as Bloch stated, has never been more used, desired and utilised to create and maintain utopias, and the potency of his critique allows a range of contexts to be examined, from work with marginalised youngsters in the UK, to work in neo-colonial contexts in failed states.

Bloch's philosophy also allows scholars of sport interventionism to reclaim the concept of utopianism, to understand the motivation of individuals, groups and organisations attempts to harness the 'power' of Sport and to assess a new and powerful intellectual paradigm in order to reorient the world, radicalise it, to change and to transform it.

One place to start this process is through a re-examination of Bloch's work for the conditions of contemporary sociology. This re-evaluation should begin with his intellectual and prose style. Bloch's style resembles abstract literature, with a focus on the metaphorical images of emancipation rather than the sober prose of a sociological text. However these metaphors play an important part the style, content and process of Bloch's utopianism. As his biographers state:

These images become sunken metaphors, often just below the text, apparently lost, then surfacing again with new significance, perfectly mirroring in metaphorical terms Bloch's theory of the continuing legacy of utopian content. Forward dawning is also an aspect of Bloch's style. An image will be filtered into an argument before it emerges in its full metaphorical plumage, as a real cipher. But Bloch's philosophy of course acknowledges the residual traces of past consciousness in advancing process, and this is also reflected in the fabric of the text, which reveals a great deal of after ripening of ideas and images and reintroduction of motifs and metaphors charged with renewed significance (Place et alia, 1986:xxxix).

It is these motifs, symbols and images that are renewed, reassessed and rearticulated by many of the mediatized texts of the new SDP movement. In a mediatized sports world we confront the world in a way that Bloch's style pre-empted. We therefore understand the intertextual, visual and sign language of sport because it is both a significant part of a mediatized world and part of our acculturation into the sports media. These motifs, symbols and images are also evident in the process of the creation of hope and the forging of 'anticipatory consciousness' in those involved in projects that use Sport as an intervention and as a progressive force for change in a range of socio-political contexts.

These 'guiding images' circulate from the past and present of the cultural products of the social movements and contribute towards the transformation of the future possibilities. They are an integral force in our historical and contemporary understanding of Sport and project the value of interventionist sport in to the future.

The Real: F4P, Hope and ‘Anticipatory Consciousness’

So how can the utopian elements of F4P be characterised as being representative of Bloch’s philosophy? Firstly, it is evident that the shifts in the F4P project; as it grows, evolves and matures, provide some evidence that the intervention is subject to a range of different responses to the utopian spirit that are evident in ‘The Principle of Hope’ (1986). The shift from the evangelical aspects of the project to a more pragmatic approach is symptomatic of the changing character of the project, the response to the changing needs of the project and the negotiation of a range of varied and competing demands of the project’s sponsors, partners and associated agencies.

For instance, the demands of the globalized and international remit of the Football Association somewhat conflict with the more localized demands of the F4P project. The funding regimes of F4P’s sponsors require the more abstract utopian elements of the F4P projects to be heightened, displayed and circulated in order to secure funding. Also, the conservatism of partners such as the British Council and its moderating influence has to be negotiated, therefore halting and slowing some of the more radical elements within the F4P hierarchy. This secular body is also a moderating influence on the evangelical utopianism of the F4P project

It is also the case that the pragmatic approach adopted by F4P has seen significant changes in the sports culture of the Israeli Sports Authority (ISA) –

a body that controls the organisation of sport in Israel and disperses the ideology of Israel's sport culture. This ideological influence is an important aspect of the project that is often neglected in some critiques. For within the ISA, in an essentially conservative, formerly Zionist organisation, many of the most utopian and progressive shifts appear to be occurring. The ISA is also a moderating force on the more paternalistic utopianism of the project. It does this by taking control of much of the day-to-day running of the project, being a champion of local pragmatism and using its local knowledge and influence as a moderating influence on the paternalism of the F4P core team.

It can be suggested that these moderating forces that work on the project from the outside force those within the project to reassess their involvement and position within the project and also to reposition themselves both ideologically and also in terms of their utopianism. In short, an involvement with the F4P project and its complexity changes people, alters their perspective and shifts their focus. This has a direct relationship with Bloch's description of the links from the cultural to social and how the former has potential to influence and transform the latter:

The separate guiding images show virtues as being active in a socially fully shaped manner but at the same time in a utopian manner that continues to impose obligation. Above all, despite their class basis, which may be a long-lost one, these guiding images have partly retained an appeal as if the virtue desired in them was not yet wholly done or done for. This content, which is not attached to its time, and is thus refunctionable and quite capable of new things, means that there is a possible heritage even of attitudes and of their virtue, not only of cultural works (Bloch, 1986c:932).

Indeed, these 'guiding images' are both a feature of the realities of F4P and representation of F4P. These 'guiding images' are evident in the modelling of behaviours by the projects leaders, local co-ordinators and coaches. They transmit the utopian in the day-to-day relationships of citizens who engage in the sports intervention. This modelling of behaviours imposes the 'obligation' of global citizenship and national fraternity onto the members of F4P.

In addition, these 'guiding images' look from the past, through the present, to move forward and transform the future. This is evident in the interview discourse of members of the F4P team and children involved in the project that are evident in *Visions of Hope* (2012). This is consistent with Bloch's philosophy of historical and societal change as process: "the inheritance of the past however is not a legacy of fixed tradition but of un-discharged hope content and utopian content in the works of the past" (Bloch, 1986a:xxvii).

Therefore within Bloch's philosophy, the opportunity exists for a project such as Football 4 Peace to evolve from an abstract utopian, hope-filled 'daydream', through the process of its mediatization into a mature project that can be fully realised as a concrete, although fleeting, utopia.

The Representation: Mediatized Utopias & 'Wishful Images'

The link between the reality of F4P and representations of the project contained in the *F4P trilogy* begins to break down somewhat due to nature of commercial documentary film, the conditions of production and practices of

media workers. This is a significant issue when researching the links between social life and its mediation. As Ruby (2000) states, this can be due to the conflicts between the conventions of documentary realism and the interpretive and reflexivity of the social sciences, “the former deals with packaging information in coherent units, whereas the latter sees knowledge as fragmentary, always incomplete, and at times, contradictory” (Ruby, 2000:36).

The utopianism of the documentary forms that are evident in the *F4P trilogy* is at odds with the utopianism of the project as a whole. In Bloch’s terms the *F4P trilogy* are examples of ‘wishful images’ and ‘abstract utopias’ that withhold more than they reveal. They struggle to sustain any critical interpretation of the reality they represent. The *F4P trilogy* contains a partial, overly sensationalist range of narratives that offer little room for an understanding of the subtleties of the project and its range of relationships and contexts. The *F4P trilogy* also offers little reflexive interpretation of the mechanics of construction of the mediatized product and the interpretive nature of both image construction and dissemination (Ruby 2000). As Ruby states, these omissions both destroy the narrative and aesthetic experience:

To remind an audience of the constructive and interpretive nature of images is regarded by some as counter-productive, if not destructive, to the nature of the film experience – that is, to the creation of an illusion of reality. Moreover some people regard such revelation as self indulgent, in that it turns the audience’s attention away from the film and toward the filmmaker. For many, effective art requires a suspension of disbelief; being reminded that the images have an author disrupts the fantasy (Ruby, 2000:145).

However an interpretation of the documentary artefacts of F4P also calls into question the very purposes of the documentary form. For a realist film to work it must have some stable relationship to reality (Nichols, 1991).

If that reality is too complex to be communicated, then the question of the value of documentary interventions in these areas of social life is called into question. We can then speculate which of the organisations, institutions and power structures the 'wishful images' serve. It could be argued that they are serving the need for a narrative construction of the social world, rather than providing an interpretative function. The representation of F4P evident in these documentaries produces discourse, as Foucault outlined, and serves the institutions of power that also support the wider F4P project.

However, despite this possible interpretation, Bloch does give a utopian value to stories and narratives, as his veneration of myths, fairy tales and the adventure stories of Thomas Mann demonstrate. For Bloch, these forms contain latent utopianism that disperse and build into another form. It could be argued that the *F4P trilogy* and the narratives employed work in this way, although this neglects to confront the question of power relationships. For as Jameson, in his critique of the utopian impulse suggests:

the deceptive yet tempting swindles of the here and now, where Utopia serves as the mere lure and bait for ideology (hope being after all also the principle of the cruelest confidence games and of hucksterism as a fine art) (Jameson, 2005:3)

As Ruby states, documentary film can also co-opt subjects, social actors and even producers to produce 'false consciousness' and ideology that serves the status quo:

Those media scholars who take their cues from the Frankfurt School and view the media as agents of hegemonic forces argue that the addition of new subject matter or the acceptance of producers from communities that have not been part of the image production empires is simply another example of how those in power co-opt people who are potentially disruptive without seriously altering anything (Ruby, 2000:214).

One way Ruby suggests research film can overcome these issues is to foreground authorship and reposition and redefine the documentary subject, in order to reclaim the emancipatory power of film: “if a filmmaker accepts a new sense of responsibility for the authorship of actuality films, the question then becomes how to offer the subjects of those films a more active role” (Ruby, 2000:203). He suggests that the reliance on the conventions of ‘expert witnesses’ and ‘talking heads’ is one convention that needs to be overcome and simply replaces the old ‘voice of God’ with a new authority:

Although the “voice of God” narration was declared déclassé often it was replaced by the talking head “expert witness”. The off-screen voice of authority simply moved into the frame. Subtitled with their pedigree, authorities continued to tell the “truth”. ‘Talking heads’ became a documentary cliché – the boring mainstay of news and television documentaries thus dulling the impact of this method (Ruby, 2000:204).

This is evident on the reliance of the talking heads to interpret the F4P narratives in the *F4P trilogy*. These ‘talking heads’ act not only as voices of authority but they also act as potential agents of power.

Ruby (2000) also focuses on the emancipation of the subject within the production and post-production conventions of documentary filmmaking. He states that the seeming empowerment of the subject is ‘illusory’ because “editorial control still remains in the hands of the filmmaker. The

empowerment of the subject is more illusory than actual. Although new voices are heard, traditional forms of authorship have not been significantly altered” (Ruby, 2000:204). This remains a problem for both the documentarian and the visual researcher, as is the process of filmmaking itself and the process of research:

The criteria for selection and editing are never made available to the viewer. The veracity and point of view of the archival footage are never questioned or even treated as problematic. Nor are audiences privy to how the interviews were structured, who did the interviewing and what questions were asked (Ruby, 2000:204).

These are also significant issues for visual researchers. These issues are overcome in a number of ways in *Visions of Hope* (2012). The first way these issues are confronted is to redefine narration by focusing and reframing the narrative strategy around the utopianism of the project rather than the intervention, characters or dramatic events. Secondly, although *Visions of Hope* (2012) utilises a range of talking heads, the ‘truth’ of their statements is juxtaposed with the overall utopian narrative of the film. These ‘truths’ have to be seen within the contexts of the wider utopianism of the project. This is also overcome by having the *F4P trilogy* as a counterpoint to their statements and a significant written commentary and thesis to provide the wider context.

This is also evident in the wider context of the production of *Visions of Hope* (2012) in a publically funded university environment as a research project. Another way to begin to separate these forms is to critique the commodified and commercialised aspect of the documentary. For despite their realism,

documentary films are still often produced and distributed within a capitalist system and work to sell this ideology. As Bloch states:

Hollywood has become incomparable falsification, whereas the realistic film in its anti-capitalist, no longer capitalist peak performance can, as critical, as stylising film and as a mirror of hope, certainly portray the mimes of the days which change the world. The pantomimic aspect of the film is ultimately that of society, both in the ways in which it expresses itself and above all in the deterring or inspiring, promising contents which are set out (Bloch, 1986a:408).

Therefore, film's emancipatory power is the ability to mirror the 'mimes' and 'pantomimes' of everyday life or to be a 'mirror of hope' within a performance. These 'mimes' and 'performances' allow a possible future to be presented. This is evident within the coaches of F4P and the performances of good citizenship and fair play. Therefore *Visions of Hope* (2012) explores how future possibilities can also be represented through orientating the camera to focus on performance. It is evident that the reality of the project and its representation both can work together to create a mediatized utopia. Indeed, in Bloch's view, crucially, this the case with film because it offers a historical and futurist 'transparency':

which states that a different society, indeed world is both hindered and circulating in the present one. This is the right thing and the best thing that emerges from the film, made easier not by the completely new form in which the 'transitory' can be shown here (Bloch, 1986a:411).

The Research: Impressions, Interventions and Interpretations

In Chapter 7 a reflective commentary was developed on the process of research. The chapter also examined how the relationship between the

researcher and a key social actor and respondent - who was both a research subject and a research supervisor - was approached. This reflection also provided some comments on the subtle influences the researcher can bring to bear on an interventionist project such as F4P.

It is also useful finally, to consider how future researchers can manage the insider/outsider relationship and perhaps make contributions to change within a project such as F4P. The first point to make about this is to reiterate that any change is difficult to measure and quantify. In this case it was crucial for the researcher to be removed from the wider influence of key social actors in order to provide a panoramic perspective on the sports intervention.

This not only provided a critical distance between the researcher and the socio-cultural milieu that was under scrutiny, it also allowed more subtle reflections on the research to emerge and new insights to be gained. For instance the critical distance from the research site and individual respondents allowed a reflection on the fieldwork to develop and the critical space for a Blochian critique to emerge. This critical space also allowed a reflection on how, in subtle ways, the development of the visual research potentially changes small but significant aspects of social actor's actions, discourse and perspectives. These are all valuable insights for future visual researchers to consider when undertaking work of this kind.

Negotiating the research relationship whilst establishing an independent critical position is a common challenge for qualitative researchers with insider

roles. The challenge was made still more demanding given the role of the supervisor as a foundational figure of the F4P project. But the camera provided protection as well as access and unique data. What could have developed as ethical dilemmas concerning control over knowledge generation and even the direction of the project itself became a positive, reflective dynamic in which critique and theoretical debate were central to the F4P project itself as well as the researcher's thesis.

Another way that the research on this project developed was to map out some of the differences between the codification of the documentary form and how film can be used to produce a visual ethnography. As suggested in Chapter 7 this can be done through a focus on performance, reflexivity and also a philosophical and theoretical approach to practice that marginalises character-driven narrative.

However many of the issues associated with codified documentary do not disappear when attempting to use visual ethnographic methods in order to interpret social life, despite the critiques of scholars such as Bruzzi (2000), Pink (2001), (2005), (2007) and Ruby (2000), (2005). Many of the same issues that are inherent in Ruby's and Bruzzi's critiques of the conventions of documentary exist in visual ethnographic research. Ruby's contention that authorship should be foregrounded in order to reclaim the emancipatory power of film has already been outlined. Another way to disrupt the problematic codes and conventions of documentary is to explore a filmmaking style that foregoes the realism of documentary and one that focuses on the:

construction of the social construction of the actuality of the people portrayed – an interpretation of someone else’s interpretation. Such a view denies the possibility that one film style is more or less close to actuality than any other “reality” can be understood apart from people’s social construction of it. Such a position refutes the claims that observational-style films are more open to interpretation by audiences because the makers passively record events without interpreting them (Young 1975) (Ruby, 2000:275).

Ruby (2000) builds on Young’s (1975) position and argues for a foregrounded reflexivity that emphasises interpretation and invokes Geertz’s (2000) theorisation, description and characterisation of ethnography as “thick description”:

For ethnographic films to succeed, audiences must understand that they are looking at an interpretation – a thick description – by an ethnographer based on his or her experiences in trying to understand the social reality of those portrayed and not a “copy of nature”. Film realism needs to be reframed for audiences as a social convention that occurs when the filmmaker’s socially constructed version of reality overlaps with the viewers’ socially constructed version of reality (Ruby, 2000:276).

Ruby argues that the film text must be open about its ideological and technical construction. Therefore *Visions of Hope* (2012) deliberately approaches the visual ethnography to orientate the text towards these twin poles in order to bridge this tension between the film signs and referents. It does this in order build the film’s structure around the “ideological construction of the film that causes people to infer meaning from the film must be made overt, explicit and unavoidable” (Ruby, 2000:278).

Therefore this ensures that Bloch’s ‘sociology of hope’ is the lens through which the research is presented and the theoretical and ideological core of the visual ethnography. The visual ethnography works with the firm knowledge

that the representation was constructed from a particular philosophical point of view, alongside the knowledge that the illusory appeal of film can still remain. This ensures that within “ethnographic film we never see the film through the eyes of the native but if we are lucky we can see the world through the eyes of the anthropologist” (Ruby, 2000:277).

Ruby (2000) ultimately argues for research film that is in fact a genre of film, that works towards this reflexivity, a multi-vocal style that works from different vantage points and that is theoretically engaged:

It is a well-articulated genre distinct from the conceptual limitations of realist documentary and broadcast journalism. It borrows conventions and techniques from the whole of cinema – fiction, documentary, animation and experimental. A multitude of film styles vie for prominence - equal to the number of theoretical positions found in the field (Ruby, 2000:279).

However, despite Ruby’s manifesto, it may be the time within visual ethnography to focus on a research film that builds on Ruby’s ideas of genre to also include a foregrounded disruption the conventions of documentary, one that understands the subjectivity of ‘truth’ and focuses on an “interpretation of an interpretation” to provide a “thick description” (Ruby 2000).

Visual research should fill the space between the reality of the society or culture under analysis and their representations. It should highlight reflexivity both in terms of the technical aspects of visual research practice but also on the ideology underpinning film texts. It should focus on the performance of ‘social actors’ both inside and outside the film and also on embedding the

theoretical and philosophical into the construction of research films that embrace an experimental visual style.

This focus on performance and reflexivity in research film allows Bloch's philosophy to synthesise and provides the potential to produce a 'visual sociology of hope'. Bloch's understanding of the power of performance and the emancipatory and dream-like qualities of film provide powerful tools for the researcher who wishes to demonstrate how societies, groups and individuals express their utopian aspirations and how the media are utilised and often complicit in this performance. A 'visual sociology of hope' also provides a demonstration of how the utopianism of individuals and groups can influence wider society into the future. It examines, in essence, how the utopian acts of the present provide the conditions of possible futures. This type of research shows how the waves of abstract utopias crash into the shores of the concrete utopia:

Such things show that however privately the dream rises it contains the tendency of its age and the next age expressed in images, though in overshooting ones even here, images almost always overshooting in to the 'original and final state'. So much for the social mandate and coherence in the series of social utopias; it is always stronger than the individual characteristics of the utopians (Bloch, 1986b:480).

Therefore a 'visual sociology of hope' has the potential to focus on the utopian aspects of all cultural artefacts and products and cultures and societies. It also offers a distinctive and affective way of critiquing our increasingly mediatized cultures, societies and social worlds. This critique should be orientated towards a series of worlds in which hopeful images of freedom, emancipation and future possibilities circulate and can overcome nihilistic images of

despair, bondage and historical certainty within the status quo. The visual researcher can invoke the philosophy of Bloch and extend it into their practice in order to become critical or radical utopians, in order to interpret, critique and transform the social worlds they are researching. Therefore a 'visual sociology of hope' provides the opportunity for researchers to work towards the "highest good, in this pole star of all utopia and above all concrete utopia, occurring above the world and world process" (Bloch, 1986c: 1323). These mediatized utopias can become tools in order to both pursue an understanding of a hyper-mediated world but also to decipher meaning in the world processes. As Bloch begins to conclude:

Thus the highest good from this position presents itself not only as the guiding image of all human guiding images but at the same time as the problem of guiding image in the world process, one which is still pursued and pursuable towards meaning (Bloch, 1986c:1323).

A 'visual sociology of hope' should negotiate the spaces between the social world and its mediatization. It should draw attention to the utopianism of social movements, identify the hope embedded in cultural artefacts and products and focus on the forward-orientated vagaries of everyday life. It should also, crucially, synthesize research practices with the creative and critical potential of film, in order to answer Bloch's call for a utopianism that represents "a synthesis of dreaming stripped of illusion" (Geoghegan, 1988:94).

Visions of Hope?

The study of interventionist sport as mediatized utopia provides original contributions to the academy in a number of ways. The literature review

critically situates the development of Sport, Development and Peace (SDP) in an international context and explores its connections to Utopianism. The critical review of SDP interventions also provides a sustained analysis of one such organization; Football 4 Peace. This analysis also extends into a detailed critique of the media products of Football 4 Peace: the *Football 4 Peace trilogy*. This sustained critique culminates in a visual research film *Visions of Hope* (2012) that pulls together all the strands of the critique of interventionist sport as mediatized utopia.

The originality of this approach is primarily through the appropriation Ernst Bloch's long neglected 'sociology of hope' into the specific socio-cultural milieu of Sport, Development and Peace interventions. The originality of this approach is extended by the synthesis of Bloch's interpretative framework with visual research practices to provide a practice-informed exploration of the utopian interventionism of Football 4 Peace.

The range of methods employed in the study extends from visual research methodologies that were supported by a studentship and specialist training to more conventional approaches. The visual methodologies build on the researcher's qualitative research skills. These qualitative research skills are demonstrated in the interviews and the participant observations that underpin the visual ethnography. In addition the research methodology includes a critical textual analysis of the *Football 4 Peace trilogy* and other associated film texts that demonstrate an advanced engagement with critical textual analysis.

The research also explores the broader context of Sport, Development and Peace interventions. It achieves this through a sustained analysis of how one such intervention, Football 4 Peace, interacts with the media and how it evolves over a period of years to submit to 'media logic' (Althedie, & Snow, 1979). This provides evidence of the reach of mediatization into a range of specific socio-cultural contexts in late capitalism. The analysis demonstrates how media workers, institutional bureaucrats and interventionist activists interact to mediatize cultural interventions. The broader context of how mediatized cultural interventions can, in specific contexts, be situated as utopian is also critically explored in the thesis.

The originality of the practice-informed critique of Football 4 Peace: *Visions of Hope* (2012) provides some interpretively valuable insights into the utopianism of interventionist projects such as Football 4 Peace and extends the academic understanding of SDP interventions. Firstly, *Visions of Hope* (2012) demonstrates the utopianism embedded within the discourse of the architects of the sports intervention. When this discourse is juxtaposed with recorded, edited and sequenced images the resulting synthesis of utopian content supports Bloch's contention about the hope embedded within cultural artefacts, sporting practices, performances, childhood and youth and visual imagery. *Visions of Hope*, (2012) visually explores the development of an 'anticipatory consciousness' within a range of individuals involved in the sports intervention that has a value beyond the specific project and can be extended into the wider SDP milieu.

Secondly, *Visions of Hope* (2012) as Darke (2010) argues in a general way, allows the time of the 'Not Yet' to be represented. *Visions of Hope* (2012) provides a representation of future possibilities that are being created in the present. The visual researcher can use the tools of filmmaking practice to explore the potential of film to represent utopianism beyond the contemporary world.

Thirdly, *Visions of Hope* (2012) also provides an exploration of the mediatization of the F4P intervention. It visually represents how the key architects of F4P are complicit in media performance tactics and the deployment of a media strategy. It also tracks the reach of mediatization into the specific cultural sphere of the SDP movement.

Fourthly, *Visions of Hope*, (2012) also demonstrates how a 'visual sociology of hope' can explore the critical elements of utopia. This imaginary world can also critique the social and cultural power of institutions and organisations. *Visions of Hope* (2012) draws attention to the interplay between institutions and organisations and how these interactions influence interventionist sports projects. It also focuses on some of the contradictions within a specific socio-cultural milieu that impact on the interventionist projects and the tensions that SDP workers have to negotiate in order to operate.

Finally, *Visions of Hope* (2012) also explores how mediatization and utopianism intersect and become fleeting, transitory, mediatized utopias. Mediatized utopias demonstrate the influence of the media in the

contemporary world and its reach into hidden, unexpected and unexplored socio-cultural contexts such as the SDP movement. Mediatized utopias also point us towards the 'ubiquity of utopia' that is a central aspect of Bloch's philosophy. Mediatized utopias synthesise the two definitions hinted at in the wordplay of Sir Thomas More; interventionist sport as mediatized utopia is therefore both a 'good place' (eutopia) and 'no place' (outopia).

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Appendices

Appendix i *World Sport Peace Project (2003)* [Transcript]

00:00 - 00:50

The film begins with an analogue clock counting backwards in a pastiche of early cinematic conventions. This image then segues into a pre-recorded ITV television news report from Nablus in the West Bank, which shows Palestinian youths resisting Israeli security forces by throwing stones, which is assumed to have been recorded sometime in 2003. An electronic techno soundtrack fades in. A graphic 'Israel' in large capital letters fades in over the news images and remains like a watermark on the film text. The voice-over from the news report states,

'the roadmap to peace may be at an historic milestone, it was not evident in the West Bank city of Nablus'.

This image then fades into a Sky News report, again probably from 2003, showing children throwing stones at Israeli soldiers, with the voiceover *'Jerusalem has been fought over for centuries but the latest peace proposals ignore it'*. This image continues with shots of tanks being stoned, while the news voice-over states,

'American officials say peace talks attended by the President could take place early next month in Switzerland or Egypt'.

This image then segues into an ITV televisual image of the Israeli Prime Minister

Ariel Sharon, walking purposefully with a matching voiceover outlining the Israeli cabinets backing of the US position. The voice over states;

'The Israeli cabinet has backed the US proposed ;roadmap to peace.'

This report then segues into a televisual image of Jerusalem from Sky news from 2003 and a voiceover describing how Jerusalem has been

'a special place to Jews, Muslims and Christians alike for centuries, Jerusalem is the religious crossroads of the world and as a consequence a city of conflict and tension'.

00:50 – 01:28

The graphic 'Israel' in capital letters fades out of shot.

The music continues to increase in pace and urgency, various wide-angle montage shots of young boys in various football kits playing organised football matches fade in and out. A graphic fades in, *'World Sport Peace Project, Conflict Prevention, Football Project'*.

There then follows various mid-shots of children celebrating in football kits as the techno soundtrack reaches a crescendo.

The techno music abruptly fades out to a mid-shot of Geoffrey Whitfield dressed casually in a polo shirt, being interviewed and a graphic introducing him as the WSPP Project Director fades in. This interview takes place against a typical Near Eastern backdrop, bright sunlight, mountains and whitewashed village. Whitfield begins;

'Well I'm very really switched on about this project this year because it's got all sorts of hope for the future, particularly in the context of the 'road map'.

The shot then fades to an interview with John Sugden and Gary Stidder from the University of Brighton who are also identified with a graphic. They are also dressed casually, Sugden in a UEFA Champions league t-shirt, while Stidder in a casual black polo shirt remains silent in dark glasses, both are framed against a solitary tree.

Sugden begins,

'Sport itself is neutral, its people kicking a football end to end and trying to score goals, it's the hopes, values and ideals that people load onto any sport that makes it a kind of positive force or negative force'.

01:28 - 02:16

This image then fades into more shots of children's football games, celebrations and trophy presentations. This fade is accompanied by more techno music, familiar commercial track. These shots then fade to images of

the UK team meeting members of various Israeli project teams and seemingly checking facilities on the ground in Israel.

These images fade back to the static interview with Geoffrey Whitfield who continues,

'We have to remember we came from nothing, it's an idea that came about from three people sitting near Waterloo station, David Bedford, from the London Marathon, a friend from Brighton and me. We now have the active participation of superb people who I never knew existed called the British Council and they have been proactive in so many ways and my hope that they will carry things forward, out here and in the meantime we will keep backing them up with a supply of volunteer students, football students, to take the thing forward in the country and it can go elsewhere beyond Israel and Palestine'.

The shot of Whitfield then fades into a shot of a meeting with various members of the project and Sugden fore-grounded in the shot. This then segues into establishing shots of the British Council sign and buildings.

02:16 – 02:49

Again there is an abrupt fade on the music and a transition into interior shots of Jane Shurrush's office in the British Council building. She appears relaxed in front of her PC, which is showing a film of a Football 4 Peace project.

A graphic is used to identify Jane Shurrush and the British Council Nazareth Office.

Shurrush begins,

'we got involved in the project the first year which was three years ago, Geoffrey was here at that point they were working with Ibileen and they were looking for a high- profile person to hand out awards at the final tournament, so he contacted us and we were able to make arrangements for the ambassador to attend the final tournament and we also helped with logistics, receiving equipment, things like that and attended some of the things that were going on'.

02:49 – 03:12

The film then cuts to an interview with a close-up of Gary Stidder, who is identified as being a representative of the University of Brighton, he states;

'2 years ago we had 100 children involved this year we now have 300 involved. We now have six different communities on board and of course that does present a few logistical problems and organisational issues that need to be overcome'.

This interview then fades into a shot of an organisational meeting, the techno music remains part of the soundtrack. This shot is accompanied by a graphic, *'conflict prevention training Kibbutv Lavi'*

Another brief shot of the Kibbutz follows an interview with a local female Jewish journalist from Givat Haviva, who framed with a flowered shrub as a backdrop.

She is identified by a graphic as a Journalist, Lydia Aisenberg. She begins,

03:12 – 03:40

'I actually feel very involved in your programme even though I am not because we are involved in likewise projects within Givat Haviva and therefore I am very well aware of and have seen the fruit that can be nurtured from such meetings, when the kids come together the same as you in Israel and in other countries, bringing kids together were they have got a common goal.'

Towards the end of this interview the music soundtrack fades into the first few bars of Vangelis', 'Chariots of Fire', this track continues as the images of the interview fade to shots of football trophies and football pendants.

03:40 – 04:40

The shots then fade to shots of a night-time Nazareth, with youngsters waving flags in celebration, the accompanying graphic contextualises the images, *'Nazareth celebrates promotion to Football Premier League'*

These night time celebratory images are then juxtaposed against close-ups a hand turning document pages over. These documents are headed WSPP, this image then fade to shots of another meeting with Geoffrey talking and

appearing to lead the discussions. During these shots the Vangelis music still continues.

Transition shots appear of a Stalinesque stadium and Gary Stidder and project members striding through the bowels of this stadium follow. Then another shot of Gary Stidder, still wearing dark glasses, talking to an unnamed local who appears to laugh while Geoffrey looks on in the background

Another wide angle shot of stadium gives way to a slow motion montage of local children smiling, playing and greeting the project team. These shots continue with the team walking through village surrounded by excitable local children. A child hand slowly grabs the hand of an old European man

04:40 – 05:18

This shot than segues into an interview with Geoffrey - a talking head on the move. He states;

'I'm now really encouraged now to finish up here, this is the sixth of the communities we have been too and their resources are very good here in Afula and his attitude to the idea of the Jews and Arabs being together, which is the chief coach, is so positive and constructive and I think we would be very glad to have his inclusion so we can get on with the football and get on with the conflict prevention programme and I feel very positive about it. We have had a very, very fine four or five days. I look forward to being here in July'.

05:18 – 06:35

This then segues into images of children playing football in slow motion while the Vangelis soundtrack continues.

The screen then halves to fade into a picture of Gary Stidder in profile and to incorporate a graphic which states,

'The training and subsequent tournament will take place between the 5th and 13th July. A team of 20 individuals including the project director, sports lecturers and film crew will travel to Israel this year

Anglo Arab Jewish

Conflict Prevention Football Project 2003'

The image cuts to more pictures of football and children laughing and again cuts to John Sugden and Gary Stidder, now both with sunglasses, pointing and discussing from what appears to be a dugout.

The graphic fades to be replaced by another which reads,

'As previously, this years football camps will offer young people from each community, the richness of cultural diversity, shared in a spirit of co-operation and focusing on conflict prevention .

Universities involved this year

Brighton, Brunel,

*St Mary's College University of Surrey,
Centre for Creative Development at the Southampton Institute.'*

The screen then fades to more shots of boys playing football and a member of staff handing over trophy to young footballer who raises it aloft like the world cup. The graphic fades to be replaced by a graphic of WSPP logo and Geoffrey Whitfield's contact details.

The image then fills the full screen and cuts to a still of three young children smiling together with a graphic 'WSPP Israel 2003'.

The whole screen fades to be replaced by the a WSPP logo still which transforms into a ball and disappears off screen, then fades to logo for Centre for Creative Development's contact details as Vangelis soundtrack fades out.

Appendix ii *Football for Peace* (2004) [Transcript]

00.00 – 00.20

Graphic fades in;

'In the summer of 2004, 35 student coaches and team leaders from UK Universities came to Israel to run seven specially designed football camps in 16 Jewish and Arab communities in the North of Israel. 700 children participated in the project'.

Music fades in;

00.20 – 00.58

Fade to a split screen;

In a box screen on the upper left side of the screen, an image sequence begins with an establishing shot of a rural landscape of rolling fields that segues in to a young Israeli boy in football kit, bringing food to a table seemingly at home

The accompanying graphic starts with Shfar'am, an Arab town in the Galilee, Northern Israel. This then fades into another graphic putting the boy into a context, Amjad Numeri age 10.

These image sequences and graphics then fade out to be replaced by another box screen image and graphics on the lower right hand side on the screen. The establishing shots of modern buildings segue into a shots of a boy swimming in a pool with a football.

These shots are accompanied by graphics which contextualise the pictures – Ramyat Yishay – a Jewish community nearby the graphics fade into another graphic identifying the boy as Itay Levite age 10

This graphic and image then segues back to the upper left hand corner to continue the story of Numeri, now with sitting at a table eating with his sister and mother.

This again switches back to Levite in a domestic scene being served food

Again the image switches back to Numeri now at home in his bedroom putting on his football boots – this image sequence is then joined by the split screen image of Levite also putting on his football boots

00.58 – 01.05

The screen then fades to black and the graphic;

Football for Peace quickly fades in followed by the Football 4 Peace logo (a dove formed out of a football with the Israeli blue and white and Palestinian green prominent-encircled with the words Football 4 Peace, UK University Sport)

01.05 - 01.25

This graphic then fades out and is replaced by three blocks of video each showing different sequences of images. Each block consists of various sequences of football action containing children performing various football drills and trust games, supported by Israeli and UK coaches. These sequences frequently change and shift moving in way that shifts perspective and makes it difficult for the viewer to follow a fixed narrative of any one child or coach

01.25 – 01-55

Music fades out;

New music track fades in ;

The screen then fades to be replaced with a full screen with an image sequence that starts with a British coach in a F4P t shirt setting up a training pitch.

The accompanying graphic identifies him as Kevin Jones UK Coach age 22.

The shots of Jones striding around the pitch are then replaced by a shot of a banner being put up on some railings around the pitch. This banner promotes the F4P project and its partnership with the British Council.

The sequence then returns to Jones and his group of young football trainees – the shot focuses on a group huddle and Jones states;

Music track fades out;

'I am here to teach you football basically, but that's not just it, especially today I want everyone to focus upon respect, ok, I want to see loads of handshakes, high fives, cheering, everythin, ok before we get started then I want all hands in the middle, really loud, really loud, 1,2,3, ole..... 1-2-3 ole'

Music track fades in;

While he is talking the Israeli coach or translator looks on – nodding in agreement with his words of encouragement.

01.55 – 01-59

The screen then fades out to be replaced by the graphic

DAY ONE – RESPECT

01.59 – 02-39

The sequence then fades to Jones and his group raising their hands in celebration, while the camera cuts to another shot of the same scene from a wider angle. The sequence then cuts to shots of the youngsters running through some warm up drills and cuts to close ups of the children running with balls at their feet. This then cuts to a long shot of the warm up game that involves a larger group of children, the shots then pan to follow the children running around a circle of children. The sequence then cuts to Jones and his Israeli assistant clapping to encourage the boys and again another quick cut to a mid shot of an Israeli sitting down cross legged smiling on the pitch.

02-39 – 2.55

Music fades;

This shot then fades into a sequence that begins with a set piece interview with one of the project leaders, Jim Wallace, while football practice continues in the background. He is identified by a graphic, Wallace is seated, relaxed dressed in shorts and F4P t-shirt he states;

'The way I see the project unfolding is that we are teaching a series of human values through a physical medium and that physical medium just happens to be football. Football is a global game it's a global language and we have selected a series of human values and we have tried to bring out those values and try and create some trust relationships between the different communities'.

02-55 – 3.34

This then cuts to more shots of Jones and his coaching team, orchestrating coaching sessions. The sequence then cuts to a shot of the coaching team and children sitting down while Jones provides feedback on the coaching session. He states;

'Ok stop. Ok Hassim, ok excellent, everybody watch Hassim, well done round of applause.....'

'Ok I hope you have had lots of fun to day and have left a lot of new people, ok lots of new people and lots of new friends, we are going to get to know each other for the next three or four days and then we are going to finish in the tournament together'.

3.34 – 3.51

The camera then cuts to Jones again and pans out while the states;

'Does any of you take responsibility to come out and help me coach the drill'

The shot then fades to black;

3.51 – 3.58

A graphic fades in;

DAY TWO - RESPONSIBILITY

3.58 – 4.05

This then fades into some medium close ups of various children – one child is taking responsibility for the coaching drill - shots well framed and professionally constructed

4.05 – 4.45

This then cuts to interviews with the children in Hebrew and Arabic that are translated as follows; Graphic identifies speaker as Elan Lazebnik, Age 11 Jewish town of Migdal Ha'emek;

'The goal in my opinion is bring Jewish and Arab kids closer together because the grown-ups are already at war, so that the next generation of kids, when they grow up will live in peace and they we will respect each other'.

Cuts to another interview with Israeli child, identified as Rabia Kut, Age 11 Arab town of Shfar'am;

'According to what I heard, what people told me is that they (the Jews) are not nice. But I realised that they're nice'.

4.45- 4.57

Cuts to shots of children's football drills;

4.57.- 5.07

Music fades in;

Cuts to shots of young Israeli girls playing football and coaching drills

5.07- 5.12

Cuts to graphic;

DAY THREE - EQUITY & INCLUSION

GIRLS CAMP, TIBERIUS / SAHKNIN

5.12 – 5.15

Cuts to shots of girls camp coaching drills;

5.15 – 5.49

Music fades out;

Cuts to shots of girls sitting in a circle surrounding a British female coach. She states;

‘Two communities have come together to play football together, Tiberius and Sahknin, ok when we play sport together and live in general, it is important that everybody is equal’.

Zoom into close up and pans around circle;

‘So as we go through the week and we practice out drills together and we practice as a team ready for the tournament on Thursday, its important that we play as one team, we are one team we work together as a whole’.

5.49 – 6.08

Cut to shots of training and goal celebration;

Voice over fades in;

6.08- 6.44

Cut to mid shot interview with female British coach, graphic identifies her as Keely Glenister UK Coach, she states;

'At the start of the week there was a divide between the two communities. When they went for drinks breaks one community would drink on this side while the other would drink on this side but as the week has gone on and they have played in teams together and they have worked together, you can no longer distinguish between the two and there is some really, really good footballers here and they have really enjoyed playing football and so it is easy for us to just help them along with the other things and I think they are really enjoying the camp and taking a lot out of it'.

6.44 – 6.48

Screen fades to black;

6.48 – 7.27

Fades to sequence of the Boys camp and Jones the coach states the following to be translated to the boys;

'Ok lads, Day four of five, the first three days have been fantastic. We have learnt values about Respect, Responsibility and Equity and Inclusion so far'.

Screen cuts to black and graphic;

DAY FOUR - TRUST

Cuts back to sequence;

'Today is about Trust. You trust yourself and you trust your teammates'.

Cut to shots of Jones demonstrating a trust game

'There guys everyone understand?'

7.27 – 7.47

Music fades in;

Cut to sequence of a mixed group of Israeli children performing trust games:
an Israeli coach encourages this;

'Very good, Trust Him. Trust Him. If you miss he will fall'.

7.47 – 7.55

Cuts to another trust game; an Israeli coach states

'With your head only. Good Amjad'.

7.55 - 8.13

Cuts to more shots of football training

8.13 – 8.32

Music fades out;

Cut to shots of children seated Coach Jones states;

'I wont talk to you for long I would just like to say thank you to all of you ok.

That is the end of the coaching. You guys have been fantastic'.

Cut to shots of coach Jones and children all arm in arm walking of the pitch

Fades to black

8.32 – 8.40

Music fades in: Establishing shots of stadium

Cut to graphic;

DAY FIVE - TOURNAMENT DAY

ILUT STADIUM, NAZARETH

8.40 – 9.24

Cuts to shots of UK coach casually dressed in shorts and F4P t-shirt being interviewed against stadium backdrop. He is identified as Professor John Sugden, UK Project Leader, He states;

'People look at a place like Israel, like Palestine and look at the conflict and think this problem is so massive even though I have the heart to you know to feel sympathy and empathy to people on both sides its too big a problem we can do nothing, well my view is you can actually do something, we cant sit at the political table we cant make much of an impact, any impact on the economic development, although we spent all of our shekels in the Hotel bar over the last nights so there must have been a slight economic multiplier there but we cant sit at the top table, we cant get people to put down there arms but we can coach football we can put on these training camps we can bring the kids together to do something they feel really good about and they enjoy, that's what we can do and we are very happy to make that contribution'.

9.24 – 9.39

Shots of stadium and stadium announcer on soundtrack;

Nahal, Tiberius, Tula

9.39 – 10.27

Music fades in;

Cut to shots of teams of children shaking hands, cuts to shots of tournament games. Cut to shots of goals and celebrations. Slide transitions to shots of good sporting behaviour;

10.27- 10.36

Slide transition to sequence of Bedouin dancers and music.

Music fades out

10.36 – 10.45

Cut to shot of teams lining up to shake hands

Graphic

The Finals

10.45 – 11.37

Music fades in:

Cut to whistle blowing shots of match - highlights and goal celebrations – cameras in background and celebrations of children, united, celebrating.

Shots of children receiving trophies

11.37 – 11.39

Graphic over shots

The last team that won:

The 'Mexico' team!

11.39 – 11.42

Graphic fades out and shots continue

11.42 – 11.50

Music fades out

Cut shot of Coach Jones and his team sitting down in stadium. He states;
'We got to the Semi-finals today apparently but we lost on penalties but as long as you had fun that's all that matters isn't it guys'.

Cut to shot of child - unsure smile

11.50 – 12.00

Music fades in:

Cut to coach Jones celebrating with team, jumping up and down as in victory;

'Ole ole ole ole.....louder louder..'

Panning shot of celebration.

12.00

Fade to black

Graphics of credits

Graphic categories

Participants

Children (in order of appearance)

UK Training team (in order of appearance)

Israeli Training team (in order of appearance)

Film Crew

Special Thanks to

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Appendix iii *Children of Jordan Valley (2005) [Transcript]*

00.00 – 00.04

Panning shots of various children's feet in football kits on a bench. Nervy quick edit to shots of children playing football. Then shots in black and white using seemingly shot on location of military vehicles and someone getting pulled into one, another quick edit to a colour shots of soldiers in close up with guns to their shoulders. An ominous and eerie sound design is introduced.

00.04 – 00.12

Another quick edit to a serene shot of calm water and hills and on a hazy Israeli day. This cuts to a shot of three children's bikes leaning against a tree in the same environment. This cuts to shots of a tractor, harvesting hay from golden fields. This cuts to a shot taken on the move along a rural road through dusk, two Arab women are walking alongside the road.

00.12 – 00.35

A shot in an Arab convenience store. The store owner states in Arabic and is subtitled;

'We're Islamic. Islam means peace'.

This cuts to a scene in with three unidentified men seated in a room. This cuts to a shot of street scene with an Israeli soldier and an orthodox Jew in mid shot. Shot of orthodox Jew walking past the wailing Wall in Jerusalem. A shot of an Israeli English speaking interviewee in a street near a cross roads. A shot of a small Israeli home with framed with Shrubs and a lone Israel flag

flying. A shot of an Arab family outside their house. A shot of two Arab women with children wearing a football 4 peace t shirts. Cut back to interviewee. Cut to accelerated pan of an Israeli rural vista. A zoom into this vista. The voiceover states;

'In 1948 there was an attack of seven arab armies. The leaders promised that all the Arabs that leave the country that they will be able to come back after the war and reclaim all the Jewish settlements'

Shot returns to the Arab shop owner who states in Arabic, translated into subtitles;

'This land is for us the Palestinians, not for the Jews'

00.35 – 00.42

A graphic zooms out of a black background to state; The sound track fades in to a lone fast paced drumbeat;

'A troubled land'

The graphic fades to a televisual shot of a bearded man knelling and praying, this cuts to a shot of mass of men praying at a mosque. This then cuts to a fast-paced edits of medium close-up televisual images of Ariel Sharon, Yasser Arafat and an Arab woman next to a digger, then two Arab women being seemingly asked for identification by soldiers. Then cuts a sepia image of a child, who hides behind a door. The drums stop;

00.42 – 00.48

The image montage then cuts to a set piece interview with one of the three men introduced earlier. He is now seated and surrounded by football trophies.

He states;

'If one country will be weak, especially if it is Israel, then there will be no Israel'.

00.48 – 00.54

The drums return to the soundtrack and a photographic montage of what appear to be stock library photographic images of Israel and Palestine, accompanied by the sound of an SLR camera. The first shot has an image of a group of ten children facing a broken metal chain mail fence holding a foregrounded Palestinian Flag. The next photographic image has a soldier checking an Arab woman's identification, against a scrub like wasteland.

The next image shows an Arab family leaving their home while an alert soldier armed with a machine gun looks on. The next image is of a crying child emerging out of rubble.

The next image is a long shot of armed militants in black scarves and clothes marching through a crowd. The next shot is of an injured Palestinian authority police officer with the police insignia on another Policeman's arm foregrounded in the shot.

The next shot is of two armed IDF soldiers pointed machine guns at a man in an Arab town. The next shot is of two Arab militants their faces concealed by

scarves with one handing a rocket to another. The next shot foregrounds an upset Arab woman with the Palestinian flag in the background.

This shot then quickly fades to black and a white graphic over black background zooms in and states, to a drum roll;

'With one chance'.

00.54 – 01.05

The soundtrack goes silent and the images cut to a set piece interview with a young child. The child is slightly shadowed and presented a medium close up.

The interviewer out of shot asks a question in German accented English:

'Could you imagine to marry a Jewish Girl?'

The boy replies in English but this is also subtitled;

'No'.

The shot then cuts to a shot of another child, again this is an interview set up, the boy relaxed, presented in mid shot. Shakes his head the graphic;

'No'.

Remains visible. The shot then switches to a third child in an interview set up, again relaxed in close-up. He states;

'No'.

Again the graphic remains on screen. The shot returns to a shot of the second child looking a little troubled or confused.

The soundtrack has the sound of radio interference and the screen cuts to black as a white graphic over the black background zooms in stating;

'The next generation'.

01.05 – 1.15

This sequence begins with a drum soundtrack accompanied by a montage of shots of children football training filmed on location. These shots then cut to two shots of children in F4P t-shirts and these zoom in. The montage returns to the football action. These montage sequences are interrupted by a white on black graphic, which zooms in and states:

'Palestinians and Jews'.

The montage returns to the football coaching action. The graphic then reappears in the same style but states;

'On the same team'.

01.15 – 01.24

The drums stop and the eerie soundtrack returns and a new sequence begins with a medium close-up shot of British Football coach surrounded by a three Israeli coaches and framed by trees in the background, as he talks the shots return to the training montage of children playing football. The coach states *'This project is about three things, fun, football and friendship'.*

01.24 – 01.41

A new sequence begins the ominous soundtrack with an interview set up with two children in mid-close up. One child states in Hebrew;

'I never met any Arabs'.

The shots return to the football training shots. One shot of a boy in a training kit is held as the boy asks the camera;

'What are you doing'?

The shots returns the montage and again to the British coach now shot at dusk, again surrounded by coaches, as he talks the shots return to the training montage while the ominous sound track music fades out as he speaks. He states;

' And I want to remind you, that the result of your games tomorrow does not matter. What matters is that you show trust and respect for everybody that you play with and who you play against'.

01.41 – 02.04.

A new sequence begins with an abrupt edit and change of pace. This sequence starts with the sound of a referee's whistle. The referee is a UK coach and he is starting a match between two groups of young footballers with a dropped ball. A dramatic string dominated soundtrack music starts up with the whistle.

The sequence has fast paced editing of the football match intercut with crowd scenes in the Stand. Shots of an Arab woman and children seated watching the football. This montage is interrupted by a white on black graphic, which states;

'Sometimes'.

The montage returns to the football action, while the music increases in the drama, before returning to the graphic, which states;

'Soccer'.

The shots return to the football finals action montage and shots of the crowd.

The following graphic appears.

'Is more'

The montage returns this time with the sound track music rising to a crescendo, more dramatic images of the football finals, shots going into the goal and frustrated reactions of the players, nervous members of the crowd.

The following graphic appears;

'Than a game'.

The music then calms.

02.04 – 02.17

The final sequence begins with an interview set-up outdoors. A young child, not included in the footage of the original interviewees is asked by an interviewer in Arabic;

'Could you imagine to marry a Jewish Girl'?

The boy replies and smiles;

'Yes'.

The final shot is of an empty stadium at night, with a lone floodlight lighting the pitch. The graphic appears and fades to black as the chime like sound track fades out;

'Children of Jordan Valley'.

Appendix iv Goal Keepers (2006) [Transcript]

00.00 - 00.09

Black screen with White Graphics – Goal Keepers

00.09 – 00.42

The sequence begins with Middle Eastern style music quickly fading in with a wide angle establishing shot of an Israeli village. This image cuts to image of a rural road with an road sign for Camels foregrounded in the shot. This then cuts to an image of a tractor and driver moving through the shot as it pans to reveal a rusted tank in a field. This shot then cuts to a shot of an old Arab man walking up a rural hill alongside a dry stone wall. The sequence ends with a wide angle shot slowly zooms out from above of a town with some newer buildings and terraced fields. As the music fades a man talking in Arabic fades in on the soundtrack along with the English translated graphics. The man states;

'This is our land, The land of Palestine.

I have the right to be here, This is the land of my grandparents

The shot cuts to wide shot of house with a Palestinian flag flying from of flag pole

00.42 – 00.56

The shot cuts to an interview with the speaker, an Arab convenience store worker who is interviewed behind his counter. He continues;

'We are in an occupation, What more do you want? This is the truth'.

The shot cuts to a wide angle shot from above of a road with a café and cars outside, this cuts to a panning shot of a military vehicle driving along a road, a voice over in English fades in;

'We are in need of peace but unfortunately Israel is not seeking peace'

00.56 – 01.01

The shots fade to an interview set up – with an Arab man in a room in mid shot continuing his response;

'The main obstacle to peace against making peace is the occupation'.

01.01 – 01.33

This shot cuts an exterior shot of a man putting red ribbons onto a fence. On the fence is a sign in Hebrew, which is translated by a graphic over the image as stating;

'A Jew doesn't evacuate another Jew'

This cuts to another shot with a man putting ribbons on a fence as cars in traffic wait to move. Another English voiceover fades in; another shot of the man with ribbons fades to an interview on location with a man dressed in red cap and red t-shirt doing the voice over. He states;

'Basically, we are protesting against the desire of the Israeli government to kick Jews out of their house and to make the Gaza strip an area where there will be no more Jews'.

The shots continue of the man now handing out red ribbons to passing cars.

The voiceover continues but now with subtitles;

'You cant just take someone after 35 years - come with a bulldozer and smash down his house. Its not moral and there is no example of it in history that I know of that a government could do such a thing'.

01.33 – 01.57

This cuts a shot of another interview setup with a different man who is in an office and states;

'In 1948 when the state of Israel was declared there was 750,000 Palestinians who were forced to leave their own houses and they are still forced to live outside their homeland'.

The shot shifts to a range of exterior shots of houses on and around a hill.

01.57 – 03.00

An English voice over continues over these shots and the sequence reveals the source a British man dressed in green polo shirt;

'Israel is probably the most divided country in the world and essentially will this situation ever come to a natural end, I don't know'.

The shot then shifts to a shot of a damaged building and another voiceover starts, in German before the shot cuts to an interview with a German man in his office:

'It's a long lasting crisis that never ends, this problem has gone on for 60 years an incredibly long time'.

This interview cuts to shots of the wall dividing Israel from the West Bank being built. These shots also have another voice over an English man. This cuts to an interview with an elderly Englishman in his home;

*'Nobody wants to be occupied and that occupation does cause oppression
Now we know that the other side of it is that the Israelis are terrified of suicide
bombers, quite rightly, who wouldn't be but therefore they become even more
oppressive, so the situation gets worse and worse.'*

The shots then cut to shots of soldiers walking through a village square. This cuts to shots of two police walking down stairs. A new voiceover starts a German accent English man asks two young Israeli boys;

'Why do you think Jews and Arab Israelis don't get along with each other so well?'

One boy replies in Hebrew and it is translated and subtitled as;

'They don't get along because there is conflicts. Not because of us but because of the grown ups'

03.00 – 03.30

A new music track, an acoustic track starts accompanying shots of soldier waiting by a roadside checkpoint, the man giving out red ribbons and shots of a coach. These cut to shots inside the coach of children, this then cuts to shots of the outside of landmarks on the way to the destination, a waterpark, they culminate in a shot of a banner on a fence advertising Football 4 Peace and the British Council.

03.30 – 04.27

The coach arrives and more shots of preparation of training as the children disembark from the coach and we see a Football coach walk into shot, more

shots of the preparations and an Arabic child's voice fades in on the soundtrack, he states;

'Today is the first day of Football 4 Peace. I don't know the Jewish kids.'

The preparations continue and the sequence cuts a set piece interview with a child, off camera the interviewer in German accented English asks;

'How many Jewish friends do you have?'

The boy smiles and replies in Arabic and subtitled;

'I don't have any.'

The shots continue of training preparation and the Arabic boy's voiceover continues;

'I feel that it is going to be very hard to mix with the Jewish kids. And even harder to play with them'

The interviewer in voice over asks;

'Would you imagine to marry an Arab girl?'

The sequence cuts to the respondent, a Jewish child who states in Hebrew and subtitled;

'No. They are different from us. They're not like us. I don't meet with Arabs I never see them.'

04.30 – 05.07

Cuts to a shot of coaching addressing the children, dressed in an F4P t-shirt, flanked by five other coaches. As he speaks shots of children listening are inter-cut. He states;

'Hi guys, Welcome to the Football 4 Peace project. My name is Gary and I am from the University of Brighton. This project is about three things; fun, football and friendship. And I bring to you four of our finest coaches who are going to be working with you and developing you for a big tournament on Thursday. So we all want you to work together as a team and make friends and develop trust and respect in your group. I am now going to ask each of your coaches to take you to you to your playing area'.

05.07 – 08.50

The music track starts up and the shot then focuses in on one particular coach. He shot pans and follows the coach as he takes his team to the playing area. The soundtrack introduces a voice over in German which is accompanied by subtitles, shots of training continue over the voiceover;

'My name is Adrian Haasner, and I am one of four coaches at this training camp, ill be preparing these kids for a big tournament, where 800 kids will be participating'.

The shots cut to shots of Haasner greeting the children in English, moving along shaking hands as they sit and introducing himself, the voiceover continues in German;

'It's just a wild mix of children, and they all come from different communities'

The shot then cuts to an interview with Haasner outside in a shaded spot;

'You don't know who's in front of you, and they don't know who's in front of them'.

It cuts back to shots of the coaching preparations, as children put on the F4P T-shirts, surrounded by Palm trees, Hassner calls the children towards him and states in English;

'I will be your coach for the next five days, our main goal is to grow as a team together, to be a team, team spirit'.

The voiceover turns back to Haasner speaking in German with subtitles in an interview setting;

'The behaviour of the children is very typical, you see the Arab kids on one side, on the other side stands the Jewish faction. So you see the two camps that we have to bring together. But at this time they still stand there separately'.

This cuts back to the coaching action and Haasner states;

'Now go and get the balls'.

The soundtrack cuts back to the German voiceover;

'Each time it's a big challenge, filled with uncertainty and mixed with fear as to whether it is going to work or not'.

Cuts to English commentary;

'Now just a very quick demonstration'.

Shots from below of children's legs ready for the training drill, shots of Haasner demonstrating drills;

'First what your gonna do, get the feeling of the ball'.

Shots of the children juggling footballs cuts to shot of Haasner nodding in approval, Haasner shrugs his shoulders, a child falls over the ball as the music track increases in drama, Haasner holds his head, the German voiceover states as the training shots continue;

'The football skills of the team are very limited, especially in the beginning'.

Cuts to an interview in an interior;

'You saw clear deficits in all areas'.

Cuts back to shots on location in Israel, Haasner is demonstrating a warm up drill that introduces children to each other, shots of children replicating the demonstration. Haasner states;

'Introduce yourself, I want to hear your name'.

Haasner demonstrates to a boy who is not following the drill;

'You didn't do this, you need to find someone and introduce yourself'.

This cuts to the German voiceover over the training shots;

'They are neither very motivated nor very active, and you see and feel, that the kids, they are not a team'.

Cut back to exterior interview with Haasner;

'And I don't know how its going to develop during the next days'.

08.50 – 09.32

Cut back to the training, Haasner is swatting down with the children framed by the goal, intercut with reaction shots of children;

'I think we are a good team but we will improve over the next few days and our team name will be Fulham, you know Fulham? Fulham is a Premier Team, so this is our team name, Fulham'.

Cut to shot of Haasner and children putting hands together in a circle in huddle, Haasner states;

'Tomorrow we will work harder, ok, what is the name of our team, Fulham, 1.2.3... Fulham. See you tomorrow, bye'.

09.32 – 09.53

Cuts to exterior interview, framed by a house, with Gary Stidder, Head coach, Football 4 Peace, identified with a graphic

'One thing about this project, it's a politics free zone, erm and we don't get into the ins and outs of political decision making'

Cuts to shots of children taking drinks breaks, Stidders voiceover continues;
Football 4 Peace started in 2000 as a project that is using to promote coexistence within divided societies.

09.53 – 10.05

The voiceover cuts to another English voice and the shot transition to an interior midshot interview with Rev Geoffrey Whitfield; Founder Football 4 Peace, identified with a graphic;

'The idea is to bring young teenagers together, Arabs and Jews on the same team against a team of Arabs and Jews, knowing that if they are going to win they are going to have to learn to have confidence in each other to trust each other'.

10.05 – 10.27

Cut to exterior interview, midshot from below of John Sugden, Director, Football 4 Peace, identified by a graphic;

'You being to learn that the kid from the kibbutz over the road or the Arab town around the corner, he doesn't have two horns, you know and he is actually just like him, a teenager growing up with all the kind of angst and anxiety and clumsiness and awkwardness that comes with that and you know they want to be good at football, they haven't quite figured out how to talk to girls yet, that's what they have got in common'.

10.27 – 10.40

This cuts back to a shot of the interior Whitfield interview who continues;

'And the result is of course is that they then become friends and when that happens it could well be in twenty years time, then instead of Sharon and

Arafat sitting across from each other, they can say hey didn't we play football together?'

Whitfield sits back and laughs;

10.40 – 11.37

Shot cuts to wide angle establishing shot of an Israeli town. Soundtrack music starts up. Cut to shots of houses being constructed, graphic identifies town as Tuba, cuts to a shot of a mosque, cuts to shot a child walking alongside a wall topped with razor wire, he is identified as Farouk, age 14, Tuba, by a graphic in bottom left corner, a commentary by Farouk in Arabic begins and is subtitled, he states,

'Today the first day of the project I feel all the Jews hate us. I cant mix with them especially as they speak a different language'.

Farouk opens the door in the wall to a compound. The shot cuts an exterior interview with Farouk, sitting on an ornamental bench against a shrub. The off camera interviewer asks;

'How many Jewish friends do you have?'

Farouk answers in Arabic;

'I don't have any. None'.

Cuts to shots of Farouk playing keep-up with the ball, Farouk states;

'As Arabs who live in the state of Israel, which we consider our own, we usually hate the Jewish people who occupy our home. I don't hate them but I don't like them either'.

11.37 – 12.00

Cuts to shots from a moving car of Israel urban landscape, cut to shots of the wall, shots focuses on a shots of graffiti on the wall stating in English 'Stop the racist wall', 'No wall will stop us'. Farouk's commentary continues;

'When I see any Jew I can only think of the harm, violence, and suffering they have caused Palestinians. I also know the feelings mutual'.

12.00 – 13.43

Cut to a wide angle establishing shot of an Israeli hill top village. The graphic identifies this village as Rumani. Cuts to shot of child walking down a hill, he is identified as Emran, age 11, Rumani, the music track has a middle eastern call to prayer in background, Emran's, Arabic commentary begins;

'Football 4 Peace is fun. But I can't imagine we can be friends. The coach is giving us different activities in order to get to know each other. I never dreamt that a day would come when I would get to know a Jew'.

Cuts to an exterior interview setup with Emran; of camera the interviewer asks;

'Why not?'

Emran replies;

'Because I don't meet many Jewish people. And if I see one then I wont see him again for two months or even a year'.

Cuts to a shot in Emran's house with his family as they learn English, the interview voice over asks;

'What did you learn about Jews and their history in School'?

Shot cuts to Emran interview and he replies;

'We didn't learn about Israel. We're learning about Egypt'.

Cuts to shot of Emran playing football on an outdoor hard pitch with other children, dressed normally not in football kit; the interviewer asks in commentary:

'Do you think Football 4 Peace could make a difference'?

Cuts to shot of Emran interview who replies;

'No I think that we are going to play football and this is just a game'.

Cuts back to the Football game, the sun is now setting the soundtrack music fades in. Cuts to a long shot of a minaret and town as the sun sets.

13.43 – 15. 26

Cuts to a serene shot of calm water and hills and on a hazy Israeli day. This cuts to a shot of a rural scene with a house and a sprinkler watering gardens. A graphic identifies it as Kibbutz Maagan. Cuts to shot of front of house with an Israeli flag flying, a boy walks through a rural road, he is identified by a graphic as Arik age 12, Kibbutz Maagan; his Hebrew commentary beings; *'Living on a Kibbutz is fun'.*

The shot then cuts to an interview with Arik at home in his bedroom, it is shot in medium close-up, he continues;

'A Kibbutz is a close-knit community, everyone is equal here'.

Cuts to a shot of a group of men and boys walking through the Kibbutz, cuts to shots of children walking, bouncing basketballs; the commentary continues;

'On our Kibbutz we grow mangoes and bananas, we have lots of open fields, a holiday resort, a dining hall, and a children's house'.

Cuts to shots of children feeding an ostrich, the commentary continues,

'Here we are in the zoo of Kibbutz Maagan'.

Cuts to shot of the speaker, a boy, identified by a graphic called Tzuf, age 12 Kibbutz Maagan, the commentary continues;

'Where we have lots of animals, like the ostrich, monkeys from abroad'.

Cuts to shot of men and teenagers carrying a goal;

'We all live here in a community and when we all together its fun'.

Cuts to a shot of them playing football at dusk, the interviewer asks on the commentary;

'Imagine you were an Israeli Arab, how would your life be different'.

Cuts to close up shot of Tzuf in an interior interview set up, he states:

'It would be a hard life, because the Arabs want land from Israel and the Jews don't want to give it to them'.

Cut to shot of a mother pushing a child on a swing, shots of laundry, shots of a Father with his children. The commentary continues;

'So they are fighting each other'.

The interviewer continues;

Do you think that Football 4 Peace can change something?

Cut back to Tzuf who pauses a few seconds and answers;

'I don't think so because its only football'.

15.26 – 17.21

Cuts to shot of Haasner, Sound track cuts to whistle, then the soundtrack music starts, Haasner calls;

'Farouk come on'.

Cuts to shot of Farouk running onto the pitch, a graphic states, Team Fulham training day 2, in bottom left of screen.

Cuts to shot of Haasner kneeling surrounded by the children, Haasner states as shots intercut with shots of the children listening;

'Good night? Did you have a good sleep? Tired yesterday after the session or was it ok? Who is missing'?

Cuts to exterior interview with Haasner, who states in German;

'On the second day, Anas did not show up'.

Cut back to shots of training, commentary continues;

'Out of twelve boys one is missing, before we started the training I asked the translator, 'Where is Anas?' He said he has gone swimming with another group'.

Cut to exterior interview;

'So you see how difficult it is to bring through a group cohesively'.

Cuts to shots of training Haasner states in English;

'Ok guys, one ball each, some of you will get a bib now, put it like this, like a tail'.

Shots of children following Haasner's instructions, he continues;

'Dribble around in this area and try and get the tail, go'.

Shots of children following the instructions, one child states;

'Hey, Hey, Abbas, he already has one'.

Haasner mediates the dispute;

'Don't hide your tail inside your shorts ok, try not to cheat'.

Soundtrack cuts to Haasner interview in German, the shots of training continues as he states;

'To be honest with you the first two days were not very satisfying. Either it is going to get better, and they'll see its going somewhere. And they will see that it is actually fun or it gets worse'.

Cuts to the interior interview with Haasner, who continues;

'And the third and the fourth day will expose that. They are the proof'.

17.21 – 18.05

Cuts to a shot of Haasner laying out cones, the soundtrack fades in abruptly, a graphic in bottom left corner states, Team Fulham, Training Day 3, shots of children arriving cut to Haasner who states;

'Ok guys come in'.

Haasner shouts and claps to get the boys attention;

'Abbas, yela, yela, ok listen you play each other, you play against them'.

Shots of a competitive football match begin, with the music soundtrack increasing in prominence.

18.05 – 20.56

Haasner's German voice over fades in, he states;

'Their technical skills during the week, they improved a little bit'.

Cuts to the interior interview;

'But in general, this was not football on a high level'.

Cuts back to the football match, Haasner states;

'Abbas, don't cheat, try to be skillful'.

Cuts back to German exterior interview and then a brief montage of the children training highlighting each child that Haasner discusses;

'But I have to say, Tzuf is a solid strong player and he stands out because he can shoot well from a distance. Then we have these scrappy little players like Ahmed and Majd. They have a hard time standing up to the big players. They hit their natural limits but still they don't get frustrated. Then there is Arik, a great football player who sometimes outplays the whole opposing team'.

Cuts to an interior interview with Arik, the interviewer asks off camera;

'Who do you think are the best players on your team?'

Arik responds;

'Everybody'.

And the worst, the not so good players;

'Abbas'.

Cuts to an exterior interview with Tzuf;

'Abbas'

Cuts to an exterior interview with;

'Abbas'.

Cuts to a shot of the match and Abbas scores, Tzuf gets angry and Haasner states;

'Tzuf come on you know everybody'.

Cuts to the Abbas and Tzuf in a 1-1 training drill and Tzuf aggressively shields the goal, cuts to shot of game again and Haasner shouts,

'Abbas'.

Cuts to a shot of Abbas, fouling another player, close up on Tzuf looking angry, cut to shot of Haasner, translator and Abbas, Haasner states the translator as camera zooms in and subtitles appear;

'Can you tell Abbas he is a very good football player, but I want him to be less competitive'

This is translated to Abbas and the viewer via subtitles as;

'You should play nicely with them, without pushing. Think like a team!'

Cuts to shots of boys then cut back to Haasner who tells them;

'I have seen some good examples and some bad examples'.

Cut to shot of children in F4P t-shirts and German commentary states;

'It's so important that they grow together as a team'.

Cuts back to interior Haasner interview;

'Otherwise there is a risk for them to get frustrated'.

Cut back to training, Haasner states;

'Thank you get some water, see you tomorrow, thank you'.

Cuts to interior interview over shots of children leaving the pitch

'At this point I have to find the pulse, think about how to improve the situation.

It won't be easy'.

Sequence finishes with Haasner, alone on the pitch clearing the cones and

fades to black;

20.56 – 21.50

German accented interviewer begins question as a set piece exterior

interview with a man identified as a graphic as Mahmoud Abu-Hussein, Arab

Father, fades in, the interviewer asks;

'Do you think that Football 4 Peace, where your son is participating for the kids to make a difference?'

The father replies in Arabic which is translated by subtitles;

'It is possible that he will change but on a very small level. When a person does not have rights his brain is not open to peace or any changes in society. For example, if a man is hungry you cannot just send him to play football in Germany'.

Cuts to another interior interview with a man who is identified as Ianiv Osem, Jewish Father, who states;

'I said to my son, Itay, this is probably the best that I can offer him to learn about the other side. If it is a matter of how the children think or which family he came from but I think its not enough, I think children can learn a lot but they cannot change the world'.

21.50 – 22.19

Cut to shot of Orthodox Jewish child praying at the Wailing Wall, cut to shot of two soldiers and a man praying at the wall. A voiceover in German continues with shots of the Wailing wall, swimming pool over subtitles;

'Ever since the creation of the State of Israel nothing changes with the new generations. The political views, generation after generation, you see it again and again .It is always the same opinions'.

Cuts to an interview with the interviewee, in a midshot interior interview, dressed in a suit he is identified as Avi Primor, Former Israeli Ambassador, he continues;

'So I don't think this could make a difference. I rather believe that its hope that affects the development of the people not the youth'.

22.19 – 22.30

Cuts to interview with Gary Stidder, against a village backdrop, he states;

'We cant claim to have made a significant impact, but what we've done is we actually have got off our backsides, off our sofas and our arm chairs and we've actually come over here and done something about it'.

22.30 – 22.44

Cuts to interview with John Sugden outside a stadium, he states;

'If everybody just play sport together the world would be a better place, I don't kind of believe that I think that sport is a very small part of the very rich fabric of human existence, so it can only have a limited impact but nevertheless that's an important impact'.

22.44 – 28.06

Cut to shots of kids arriving, graphic states, 'Team Fulham final training day'.

Cut to shots of Haasner meeting the children and he states;

'Hello everybody, can we say hello to each other?'

Shots of children shaking hands with each other, cuts to Abbas who refuses to shake hands, Haasner says;

'Abbas say hello to everybody'.

Abbas refuses, close-up shot of Abbas, a child says Abbas had a fight,

Haasner asks him;

'Abbas did you have a fight?'

Soundtrack cuts to German interview on the sidelines over shots of Abbas before returning to interview;

'It's the last day before the tournament and there were more problems with Abbas. I don't know if they yelled at him or what they did to him but he was pretty mad and there was nothing more I could do'.

Cut to shot of Abbas and Haasner who states;

'Good boy, you can kick as many goals as you want. Can you say hello to Abbas, Can you say hello to Abbas, come on, yeah we are team'.

Abbas shakes hands with the team, Haasner kneels with the team, camera pans around the boys, he states;

'Today I want us and you to improve our team spirit, ok we need to develop more team spirit, so really good attitude today, in pairs please, please watch us'.

Haasner demonstrates a training drill with Abbas, the German commentary begins the camera then cuts to the interior interview;

'This is my third time on the project and the other teams were much better. So, honestly, I don't believe we will make it to the semi-finals or finals, Not to mention winning the tournament. I think that's impossible'.

Cuts to Haasner demonstrating a trust game, he falls back into the arms of another coach and repeats the exercise. Cut to team clapping, cut to team doing the trust game, Haasner continues in German with subtitles overdubbed;

'It's a fine line. On the one hand you do not want to emphasise the soccer part too much. On the other hand you try to guide them into the tournament and you can only really achieve something through team spirit. So I decided to concentrate more on trust games'.

The shots of the trust games continue, Haasner voiceover continues, alongside a lone violin soundtrack;

'They had to catch each other in the 'Falling Down' game, where you have to communicate, where you have to touch and rescue each other. This is the only way these games work and indeed, it did break the ice. Suddenly it works'.

Cuts back to trust games and Haasner and the children have their arms intertangled; Haasner states;

'Now hold your hands and try to untie, try to untie, human knot, well done'.

Cuts to the interview in German and subtitles;

'Of the 'Human Knot' where they had to huddle together hold onto one and other with all kinds of body parts after sweating in this heat. But with the right emphasis they started to enjoy it. And this became one of those moments where I could tell who's Arab and who's Jewish anymore'.

The trust game shots continue with a boy falling back onto a human chain, another boy tries it, then another boy, then Abas falls through the chain, the music rises in intensity, then Haasner tries the trust game and the boys catch him, then they all get together and shout;

'1,2,3 Fulham'.

The German commentary continues;

'At last, there was a group of children who collaborated and who didn't care about culture or religion'.

28.06 – 29.34

Cuts to boys training football again, with a new soundtrack, a hard electronic beat, Haasner states;

'Fairplay, our final game now'.

The German commentary continues;

'And that had an effect on their football skills too'.

Cut to shots of the team, who shout '*Fulham*'.

The piano track comes over the electronic track and the shots of a more intense training session start.

Haasner's interview in subtitles over the football practice before cutting back to the interview, He states;

'The kids played well together, they collaborated. They were happy when they won and they were good sports when they lost. We don't have the best football players but as a united team maybe at the tournament we can walk with our heads held high. Now we will just see how far we can get.'

Cut back to shots of post practice handshakes, Haasner states to the kids;

'Well done, all together, good game, I hope you will enjoy yourselves tomorrow and remember fair play tomorrow you're a great team, 1,2,3, Fulham'.

Fades to black

29.34 - 30.24

Fade into a shot of a red moon at dusk, Stidder is talking to a group of children, shot cuts to Stidder, intercut with shots of coaches and children listening, he states;

'I want to remind you all what this project is about, the result of your games tomorrow does not matter, what matters is that you show trust and respect for everybody you play with and who you play against, good luck'.

Cuts to voiceover of Stidder interview, then cuts to shot of interview; Stidder states;

'We believe this project does have an impact, now we've got a tournament that's running tomorrow that's got over 1000 Jewish and Arabic children, now the fact that this project has doubled in size every year for 5 years in itself is a very, very powerful statement and message so I think that at some point people in this country will learn from the mistakes of others because they can't live long enough to make the same mistakes all by themselves again'.

30.24 – 31.03

Cuts to shot of Israeli town in moving car, John Sugden voiceover, then cuts to Sugden interview outside stadium, then cuts to shots of an Arab town, cuts to shot of a painting of a war plane on the side of a house. Sugden states:

'If you speak to the people here as I do on the ground it's like they have had enough, it's like two heavyweight boxers who have been hammering it out for 15 rounds and neither will give an inch and eventually, you know, there is this dawning realisation that the Arabs in Israel are not going anywhere and certainly the Jews in the State of Israel are not going to give up that particular status so they have got to come to terms with this. So, no matter what the politicians think they achieve, if the people aren't ready to come together, to move together then the treaties you may as well just tear them up'.

31.04 – 31.29

Voiceover cuts to Whitfield and shots of Israel town and other F4P projects, cuts to Whitfield interview, Whitfield states;

'Lets just be aware that we may never see the success of any of these projects in our life time. This is going to take a long time but the important thing is we do it because I am quite certain that when the kids can actually play and trust and fall around with someone of a different race and religion they wouldn't forget that ever'.

31.29 - 34.30

Soundtrack music starts up, cuts to panning shot of a lake shot from a car, graphic states Tournament Day, cuts to shot of a road, cut to interior shots of children on a coach, cuts to shots from the coach window, cuts back to shots of kids in coach. An Arab child's voiceover fades in with shots of the coach, he states;

'Today is the last day of Football 4 Peace. It doesn't matter who's an Arab or who's a Jew. What matters is who wins the tournament. Now we are playing and communicating. And I realise that it is very easy to mingle with Jewish kids and play together and even to become friends'.

Cuts to exterior shots of the coach, shot of advertising hoarding with Arabic writing, shots in the coach, shots of the stadium from inside the coach, shots of children exiting coach and shots outside the stadium. Shots of other teams

arriving at the stadium, shots from around the stadium, cuts to a shot of a letter which states;

'Adrian, thank you for a wonderful week. We had a lot of fun with you. We love you and will miss you. We learnt a lot from you. Repeated in Hebrew and Arabic, We think you are a great coach'.

Cuts to Adrian's reaction who states, *'I'm proud of that'.*

Haasner climbs the stairs of the stadium;

'Ok Fulham just to let you know, Fulham is playing 1,2,3 games, 1 game is 8 minutes, 2 minutes break, and then again, unfortunately I wont be able to be with you, I will be at the stadium, at the pitch, I have to overview the entire project and I will watch you and I will know the scores, so I will see everything'.

Haasner high-fives the team.

Cut to shots of stadium and tannoy announcer states;

'Can you move now as quickly as possible? We are on a tight schedule, so get to your pitch as quick as you can'.

Shots of team as they walk onto the pitch hand in hand, preparation for game, cut with Haasner interview;

'I think our team is fairly well prepared. At the end of our training week they showed they could grow together, but it's really not important who will win, and I've told them that. Of course every team wants to win. And that's ok. That's how it is in sports. The question is more: how do you deal with defeat? How do you win? So I find this situation absolutely exciting'.

34.30 – 35.44

Cut to a wide shot of a match, graphic identifies game as GAME 1, Fulham vs Liverpool. Cut to various shots from around the stadium, cut to coach dropping ball and whistling to start the match, music starts after whistle and a graphic appears, Fulham 0:Liverpool 0, shots of match continue, shots of team reaction, shot of Fulham (in orange bibs) scoring, graphic changes on screen to Fulham 1:Liverpool 0, another graphic fades in above to state Final Fulham 1:Liverpool 0, shots of team celebrating, Tzuf shouts; *'Fulham Number One'*.

35.44 – 36.47

Cut to a new match, graphic identifies game as GAME 2, Fulham vs Everton, shots of match and new graphic Fulham 0: Everton 0, various shots of the game, shots of crowd reaction, match has a penalty, graphic states PENALTY Fulham 0: Everton 0. Tzuf scores penalty, final score Fulham 1: Everton 0

Haasner on the soundtrack in German states, image cuts to interview;

'We've won our division! So now we are playing in the semi-finals. Lets see what happens!'

Shots of Haasner and the team celebrating

36.47 – 37.07

Cuts to shot of a coach reading out the next matches;

'In the second phase in the winners tournament on pitch one, this game is Fulham/Chelsea'.

Shot cuts to board with games on. Haasners interview commentary continues;

'This next game will show if we're really a good team because there's a good chance we'll lose. They're a very good team who won their first match by a wide margin'.

37.07 – 38.57

Cuts to shots of a new game, identified by a graphic as SEMI-FINALS, Fulham vs Chelsea. Match starts, graphic appears Fulham 0: Chelsea 0, more shots of the match, shot of Chelsea (in orange bibs) goal graphic changes, Fulham 0: Chelsea 1. cut to shot of Tzuf, shot of Haasner, Abbas scores for Fulham, graphic changes Fulham 1: Chelsea 1, another goal for Fulham, graphic Fulham 2: Chelsea 1, cut to graphic Final Fulham 2: Chelsea 1, shots of celebrations cut to voiceover by Haasner over the shots, intercut to shots of Haasner interview and shots of celebrations and close ups of the team;

'I think it's incredible. Like I said, some teams were clearly better than we were. In terms of the quality of individual players and their skills we should not be in the finals. But it was not just a matter of luck either. Every time it got tight they motivated each other. They didn't give up, even when it looked bad. They kept it up right until the end which is what led them into the finals.'

38.57 – 39.41

Cut to shots around the stadium, shots of mothers, shots of police, shots of spectators clapping, shots of coaches photographing players, cut to shots of Fulham team bonding, Haasner voiceover, over shots of the crowd states;
'Football 4 Peace... How much of a difference it can make is hard to tell. When you think about your own childhood and the incidents that shaped you, you realise it was not those experiences that lasted for a period of years'

39.41 – 40.16

Cut to close up of Tzuf, cut to shot of Haasner, cut to team huddle, Hassner states;

'No aggression, great team spirit, Fulham, 1,2,3 Fulham'

Cuts to slow motion shots of team, then shots on Hassner interview;

'Sometimes it's only a day or a sentence, or one moment that was so powerful that it changed your personality entirely. You can't plan it in advance. You can only set things up and create a framework and then you wait and you hope that those moments will come'

40.16 – 42.08

Soundtrack music. Cut to shots of crowd again, two teams are lead out by the referee and the graphic identifies them as CHAMPIONSHIP Arsenal vs Fulham, cut to shots of the crowd, match kicks off in dusk, graphic fades in Arsenal 0:0 Fulham, shots of the game, shots of the crowd, cuts to shots of girls in FA shirts in the crowd, cuts back to shots of game, Fulham (in yellow bibs) score a goal, graphic changes Arsenal 0:1 Fulham, celebration shots, FINAL Arsenal 0:0 Fulham. Cut to shots of team and coaches celebrating.

42.08 - 42.45

Cut to voiceover of German interviewer;

'Why do you think that you team win the tournament?'

Cut to an interior interview with Arab child (Farouk) who responds;

'We were really playing together as a team not as individuals.'

Cut to post-match celebrations and handshakes Cut to another interview with Jewish boy (Arik);

'We worked together, that's why. I learned that we can collaborate with Arabs....we can talk. I learned they are like us and we can be really good friends.'

Cut to close up shots of huddle, the Fulham team look intense and excited,
Haasner states;

'That was really stunning, great performance, great team spirit, I'm very proud of you, well done. 1,2,3 Fulham'.

42.45 – 43.43

Cut to mid shot interior interview with Emran who states;

'I thought before that the Jews were different. But they are good and they're like me. Maybe not all of them but most of them are like me, the same'.

Cuts to shots of Tzuf in exterior interview, off camera the German interviewer asks;

'Did you make any Arab friends at Football 4 Peace?'

'Yes'

'Who'

'Farouk'

Cuts to shot of Farouk and Tzuf, the interviewer asks;

'What will you teach your own children about Arabs?'

Cuts to shots of Tzuf with the other players;

'I'm not only going to teach them about Arabs but also about other nationalities and religions. I will teach them that the way we think about other people will lead to how other people think about us'.

43.43 – 44.50

Cuts to a shot of huddle with the team and Haasner who states;

'You decide who is going to take the trophy'.

One child responds;

'You, You'.

'Not me, You decide'.

The child responds.

'No you, you'.

Haasner;

'No you are one team'.

The children then decide who will get the trophy, the children decide on Tzuf and Farouk. Haasner brings them to him and his German voiceover states;

'We can't look inside the heads of these children. For me it's a mystery. My goal is just to create a situation where an encounter can take place.

Encounters between people who are enemies in a different context. And this hostility is a construct of the adults. It's got little to do with children but its passed onto them. Almost inherited, this conflict. And I find it right to start here and I try to cut through this chain, this chain of harm, at this particular link'.

Shots are intercut between Hassner interview and shots of children, the crowd and celebrations;

44.50 – 46.05

Cut to close up of Tzuf, Arik, Farouk, Abbas, shot of Farouk and Tzuf walking up to collect the trophy, the soundtrack increases in drama, cut to shots of

fireworks, cut to shot of Farouk and Tzuf returning to team with trophy, cuts to commentary in Arab from Emran, then shot of interview;

'It was the most beautiful five days of my life. We had a wonderful tournament and I now have lots of Jewish friends. They are very friendly, and they co-operate and they're fun. We have an honest friendship. It's the first time'

Cuts to shots of Haasner shaking players hands;

'It's true we spent only five days together, which is a short period of time, but I will never forget them'

46.05 – 46.26

Cuts to shots of empty stadium, music slows down in intensity, cuts to ribbons in the empty stadium, music fades out, screen fades to black.

46.26 – 50.11

Graphic fades in white over black background;

One year later.

Graphic fades out and cross-fades to a shot of a green field, cuts to a shot of Farouk, looking a little older in an exterior interview.

'How many Jewish friends did you make at Football 4 Peace within your team?'

Farouk responds;

'Two friends, Two'

Cuts to an interview with Emran, who also looks older; Emran states;

'I became friends with everyone. But there were three who were very close to me: Farouk, Tzuf and Arik'.

Cuts to exterior interview with Tzuf, who again looks more mature; the German interviewer asks;

'How often have you seen them after the project?'

Tzuf answers;

'I haven't met anyone after the project'.

Cuts to an interview with Arik;

'No one'.

Cuts to interview with Farouk;

'Never'.

Cuts to Emran;

'Not one time'.

Cuts to interview with Arik, the interviewer asks;

'Why do you think that is?'

Arik responds;

'Because they live far away'.

Shot cuts to Tzuf. The interviewer responds;

'Would you like to have a way of meeting them outside Football 4 Peace?'

Tzuf responds;

'Yes'.

Cuts to shot of Emran walking, cut to Farouk walking, through an environment that is identified by a graphic as Kibbutz Maagan, together they approach a

house with an unidentified woman who opens the door. Tzuf and his father come to the door, Tzuf shakes hands with Farouk and Emran, a man says; *'Come in, Get inside, I'm Shimy. Tzuf's father'*.

Cuts to shots in the house and a voiceover from Tzuf states; *'Today after a year, we're meeting. We got connected. We became good friends at the Project. It's fun'*.

Cuts to shots of the boys walking through the Kibbutz, the voiceover continues; *'Farouk, Emran and I we're going to meet Arik'*.

The shots of the Kibbutz continue as the boys walk to a Ariks house, a new voiceover from Emran states; *'I think it's a good thing. And what I want is to continue to meet together and never part again'*.

Cuts to shots of the boys entering Ariks house, Ariks mother talking and loudly and boys looking sheepish and quickly exiting the house, they then walk back down the path.

Tzuf states to Farouk; *'He doesn't want to come. I don't know why'*.

Reaction shots of the children and a voiceover from Emran fades in; *'His mother told him should go, that he would lose a lot by not going. But he told her he didn't want to go. He said he didn't have the time'*.

This cuts to the interview with Emran, the interviewer asks; *'If Arik was standing here right now what would you tell him?'*

Emran responds;

'Why would you do something like that? What's your reason for not meeting us? If you don't want us to be your friends, just tell us'.

Cuts to shot of Tzuf shaking Farouk's hand as the boys leave the Kibbutz,
Farouk's voiceover states;

'Arik...I guess he doesn't like us anymore as Arabs. I felt hurt. But I think there are some people who seem bad who might actually turn out to be good inside'.

50.11 – 51.10

Cuts to the interview with Emran, who states;

'There is no reason why we should not be friends'.

Cuts to shot of Emran and Farouk leaving the rural Kibbutz, slowly kicking a football, walking out of shot. Soundtrack piano music fades in. cuts to black.

51.10 – 52.22

Credits fade in as follows;

Directed and Produced by Simon Jöcker

Edited by Brian Funck

Director of Photography Simon Jöcker

Music composed by Jamie Christopherson

Story by Simon Jöcker Brian Funck

Team Fulham

Emran, Tzuf, Farouk, Arik, Ahmed, Majd, Moran, Noam, Abas, Netai, Omri,
Anas And Adrlan Haasner

Appearances by

Gary Stidder, John Sugden, Geoffrey Whitfield, Mahmud Abu-Hussein, Ianiv
Ossem, Avi Primor, Walid Mustapha, Fuad Rizq, Shimy Shitrit, Bella Shitrit

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Music fades out, fades to black.