
SPORTS FOR INTRA AND INTER COMMUNITY PEACE IN KENYA: AN ANALYSIS OF TEGLA LOROUPE PEACE FOUNDATION

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ABSTRACT

A growing number of sports persons and sports organizations have sought to intervene in situations of political and military conflict in recent years, to contribute to the cessation of hostilities, to encourage reconciliation between the conflicting sides, and to bring support and the benefits of sport and physical activity to victims of conflict. These interventions have ranged from the declarations of truce at the time of the Olympic Games by the International Olympic Committee and United Nations, and the educational exchange programmes conducted for Jewish and Arab children in Israel by groups such as Football 4 Peace, to the coaching development programmes conducted by Right To Play in refugee camps in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. There is considerable evidence that these programmes are highly valued by those who enjoy them. Very few of these programmes have been critically monitored and evaluated, and the literature that does exist has largely been written without reference to the large body of literature on peacekeeping and peace-building. Nevertheless, many of the sport-for-peace programmes do work in ways that the peace-building literature suggests can be effective – especially those that focus on relationship (re)building after conflict.

This review will examine current interventions of TeglaLoroupe Peace Foundation in Kenya in light of the available literature, identifying what is known, what is not known, and 'best practices'; it will also make recommendations for policy, research and practice.

Keywords: Peace, sports, reconciliation

INTRODUCTION

The idea that participation in sport has some utility, other than being enjoyed for its own sake, can be traced to the mid-nineteenth-century United Kingdom. Middle-class reformers in the areas of education and urban welfare began to develop the idea that sport participation, appropriately directed, could be involved in the development of character, work discipline, teamwork, fair play, and other socially approved characteristics. Thus, sport began to be justified in education (physical education, organized games), in youth detention centre's, and by urban agencies, such as the YMCA, in an attempt to affect the character and behavior of participants. These ideas quickly spread to other high-income countries; they also became part of the system of colonization, where the British games tradition was often transferred to colonized populations.

Organized sport is still justified in these same terms, as evident in the mission statement of any youth sport organization – what the organization claims will be taught to the participants involves a great deal more than sport. Similarly, there has been a recent proliferation of development through sport agencies, all of which claim that the intended and unintended consequences of involving young people in low- and middle-income countries in sport will involve a great deal more than improvements in sport skills. These claims need to be treated cautiously, because direct evidence of the impact of sport on character and behavior is often missing or quite equivocal.

SPORTS DEFINED

According to the European Sports Charter (2001), sport means all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organized participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming relationships or obtaining results in competitions at all levels. This definition incorporates all forms of sport, physical activity and exercise. However, it should be noted that such definitions invariably focuses on organized sport and physical activity. This, of course, neglects the great amount of informal, child-/youth-organized, play games and sports in which so many participate.

It is also necessary to point out the widespread essential use of the term 'sport'. Rather than seeing sport as a social construction that is given meaning by the participants and by more powerful defining agents (e.g., the media, sport organizations, etc.), sport is far too often presented as an essential positive. For example, Nelson Mandela said that sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can create hope where there was once only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand. Also, in a recent reference to the Olympic Truce, International Olympic Committee President Jacques Rogge said that sport fosters understanding between

individuals, facilitates dialogue between divergent communities and breeds tolerance between nations.

Both of these statements are absolutely correct; but, so is the opposite. Sport is full of discrimination; it can be racist, divisive, and can breed intolerance and misunderstanding. But such situations are contextualized.

UNDERSTANDING PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

History of sport and war

Athletic activities have provided the occasion and vocabulary for peaceful communication – and even understanding – across the divides of difference and hostility. Commendably, the modern Olympic Movement is committed to fostering sport as a dialogue of intercultural communication. But, games and sports have contributed to and are deeply associated with the very difference, inequality and conflict they are sometimes recruited to address. The classic Olympic Truce, upon which the modern Olympic Truce is modeled, is an example. The ancient Olympic Truce required warring armies to give safe passage to anyone travelling to the Olympic Games, and forbade any state from invading the sacred precinct at Olympia at the time of the Games. For most of the ancient Games' 1,100-year history, this Truce was respected. But, in protecting the Olympic Games, the Truce protected the rehearsal and celebration of the skills and predatory spirit of early warfare, which enabled the creation of class societies as well as the subjugation of the majority of the eastern Mediterranean population, and virtually all girls and women, into slavery. In the words of Homer, athletics was preparation for war, war for athletics. Even after athletics lost their direct connection to the military arts, the Olympic Games (and other sacred games) celebrated the political power of the ruling classes that controlled the means of organized warfare in the ancient world (Kidd 1984). While modern sport is much less rooted in violence than its earlier counterparts (Elias, 1972), it is replete with similar contradictions. Some scholars argue that sports were extended to many parts of the world as an explicit strategy of imperialism and conquest (Mangan, 1986). Whereas sport has been evoked in deeply moving ways to reduce conflict and restore communication between antagonists, such as during the 1971 US-Chinese 'ping pong diplomacy' and the visits of Mohamed Ali and Pele to war-torn west Africa, it has also been employed or associated with acts of violence and aggression. Although British and German troops played soccer together amid the trenches in the magical Christmas truce of 1914, World War I provides far more examples of sport being used as a means of recruitment, training and motivation for going over the trenches with fixed bayonets. The 'Soccer War' between El Salvador and Honduras broke out during a hotly contested football game. One group of sport fans became the vanguard of genocide during the Yugoslavian civil war (Foer, 2005).

Peace-keeping and conflict resolution

Peace studies, which are inclusive of ‘conflict resolution’ and ‘peace-building’, is a new and emerging field. As in the development of any scientific field, investigation and explanation have prompted active debates over definitions. The first efforts at definition stem from the early 1990s, when Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN Secretary General, released ‘An Agenda for Peace’ that set out four main terms: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace-building. For Boutros Boutros-Ghali, ‘peace-building’ was an exclusively post-conflict activity, focusing on the support of peace accords and the rebuilding of war-torn societies (Fisher et al., 2000). More recently, scholars such as Lederach (1997, 2005) have argued in favor of a broader time frame and a more ambitious definition of ‘peace-building.’ Lederach believes that relationship building can also contribute significantly to ‘peace-building’ activities and that ‘peace-building’ can and should occur during as well as after conflict. He states that ‘peace-building’ is

a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships...activities that both preceded and follow peace accords (Lederach, 1997:20).

As the term ‘peace-building’ is forging new roots with an emphasis on relationships, a new term, ‘conflict transformation’ has emerged. Whereas ‘conflict resolution’ refers to ‘strategies that address open conflict in hopes of finding an agreement to end violence, as well as resolution of some of the incompatible goals underlying it,’ Fisher et al. (2000:217-218) have proposed the term ‘conflict transformation’ to refer to efforts that ‘address the wider social and political source of a conflict and seek to transform the negative energy of war into positive social and political change’.

Dynamic nature of war

It is important to note the dynamic nature of conflict. As the nature of conflict varies, peace-building responses must also adapt. The Cold War between the superpowers was framed as much by the ideological battle between capitalism and socialism as the struggle for security, territory and resources. The ever-present threat of mutual nuclear annihilation created considerable deterrent.

Today, the majority of conflicts may be described as ‘intra-state’ or ‘intra-national’ conflicts with little apparent connection to the United States and the other powerful states of Europe and Asia. In many conflicts, rival groups seek autonomy or some form of self-government or control

over resources for a group or region within a nation state. Conflicts may become international when, for example, opposition movements invade/inhabit neighboring countries, weapons and money fuelling the conflict flow in from both the surrounding region and more distant locations, and displaced refugee populations cross both immediate and distant borders (Lederach, 1997). Still, the root of most conflicts is the rivalry between groups within countries. At least half of present-day wars have to do with the redefinition of territory, state formation or control of the state.

With the emergence of intra-state conflicts, scholars are re-examining and revising peace-building techniques developed during the Cold War. Earlier, Lederach (1997:16) argues that:

We persist in relying on traditional statist diplomacy, despite its inadequacies in responding to the nature of conflicts today... The history and culture of international diplomacy are tooled in, and emerged out of, the formation of the state system. Yet, at issue in many of today conflicts is the very nature of the existing state, as contested by disputing internal groups.

Scholars examining the new relational nature of conflicts have urged the peace-building community to reduce tension and violence with a 'relational' response; that is, cultivating relationships that lead to reconciliation.

Paradoxically, they (conflicting groups) live as neighbours, and yet are locked into long standing cycles of hostile interactions. Deep-rooted, intense animosity, fear, and severe stereotyping characterize the conflicts. These dynamics and patterns, driven by real-life experiences, subjective perceptions, and emotions, render rational and mechanical processes and solutions aimed at conflict transformation not only ineffective but also in many settings irrelevant or offensive. For now peace-building must be responsive to the experiential and subjective realities shaping people's perspectives and needs. So then, this paradigm is articulated in the movement away from a concern with the resolution of issues and toward a frame of reference that focuses on the restoration of issues and toward a frame of reference that focuses on the restoration and rebuilding of relationships. These sentiments by Lederach (1997) must address and engage the relational aspects of reconciliation as the central component of peace-building.

From the forgoing, this paper examines intra-state rivalry among pastoralist communities in the north rift part of Kenya and a main focus is given to the TeglaLoroupe peace initiatives based on Galtung's (1998) works that have encouraged scholars in peace studies to recognize the inter-relationship between visible and less visible violence, as well as the necessity to address less visible violence in order to begin conflict transformation and achieve sustainable peace. Fig. 1 is

a diagram developed from Galtung's work that shows the relationships between direct physical violence, structural or institutional violence, and sources of violence.

From Fig. 1, interventions that seek to reduce visible violence are extremely important. Yet, in order to promote positive peace, it is essential to stress that action on all three dimensions must be taken as argued by Fisher et al. (2000). In all, sport can play a role in addressing the sources and structures of violence. This is the premise articulated by the TeglaLoroupe Peace Foundation in Kenya.

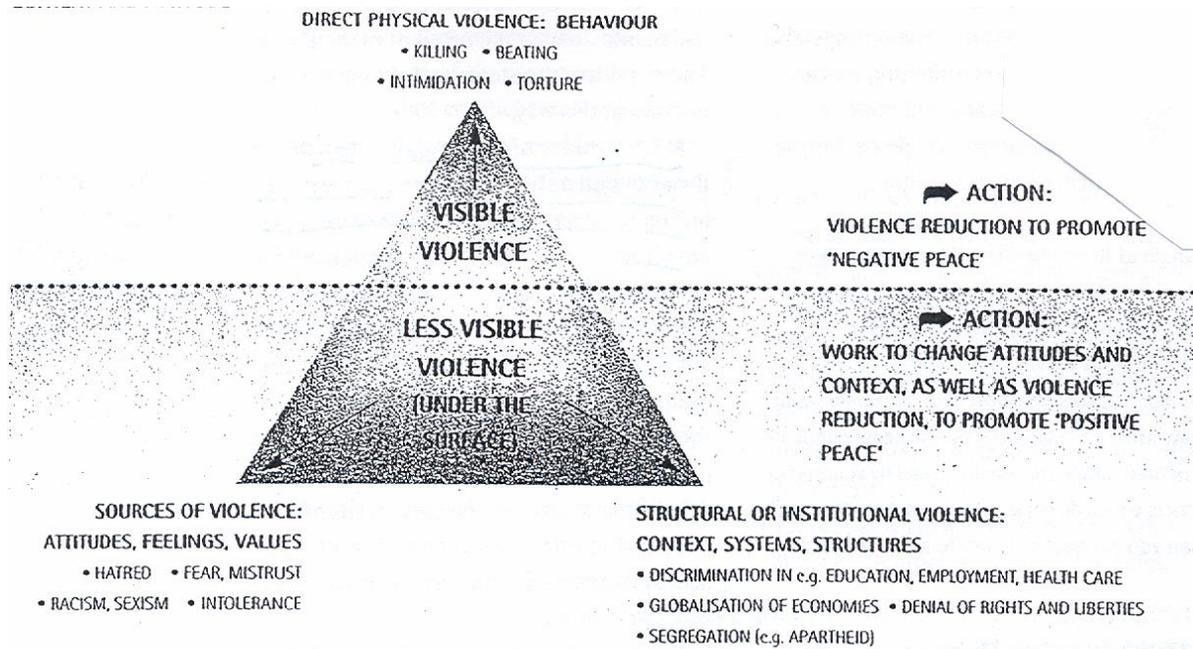


Fig. 1: Relationships between direct physical violence, structural or institutional violence, and sources of violence. [Diagram from: Fisher, et al. (2000). Adapted from J. Galtung, 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 27 (3), 1990].

Kenya and athleticism

In order to fully appreciate the role of running in peace promotion in Kenya, it requires some deep appreciation of the meaning and recent history of running in in this country. There is a substantial body of research focused on running in Kenya, with studies on Kenyan nation and

running (Bale and Sang, 1996), the motivations of Kenyan runners (Jarvie and Sikes, 2012), and especially explanations for Kenyan dominance in international running (Pitsiladis et al., 2004).

One of the illustrations of this success are performances at the Men's World Cross Country Championships, where Kenyans were champions every year from 1986 safe for 2004 and 2005 (Jarvie and Sikes, 2012). Since 2000, nine of 13 female Boston Marathon champions have been Kenyans. Jarvie and Sikes note in their 2012 article that Kenyan men and women have won 68 Olympic medals in distances ranging from the 400 metres to marathon, far more than any other African nation.

The tradition of Kenyan running includes stories about memorable performances by top runners over the years, with Kipchoge Keino's successes at the 1968 Mexico Olympics being a common reference point since it marked the beginning of Kenyan mastery over the sport at an international level. Rudisha's compelling victory in the 800 meters at the 2012 London Olympics and the rise of the Javelin athlete world champion in 2015, Yego, aka the 'YouTube man' are the most recent markers of the country's running supremacy.

The success of Kenyan women in athletics came later than Kenyan men but they are also dominant internationally. For example, distance specialist and noted women's and girls' rights activists Tegla Loroupe is a world champion, world record holder, and multiple marathon winner.

Bale and Sang (1996:40) discussed the importance of these sorts of performances in the promotion of national pride within Kenya, noting that "many people, particularly politicians wary of tribal assertiveness, felt that when "Kenya" does well in international running competitions ... tribal differences temporarily disappear". In this sense, Bale and Sang (1996:40) acknowledge how an 'imagined community' emerges 'for a time and for some people' following Kenya's international sport successes, and outline how Kenyan media commonly assists with this narrative of unity around sporting competitions. At the same time, however, Bale and Sang point out that international success may also lead to celebrations of ethnic group-specific successes - and that such celebrations could be considered divisive. They refer in this case to ethnic group-specific celebrations of the Nandi, who took great pride in the early successes of Nandi member Kipchoge Keino.

Post-election violence of 2007 in Kenya

Finally, and although it is not practical here to offer a tinged history of Kenya and its politics, some discussion about the recent history of election-related violence and associated inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya is crucial background for this study of post-election reconciliation efforts. First, there is need to point out Kenya's post-election violence in 2007–2008 was a surprise to those who had seen an increasing stabilization of democratic processes in the country since the

initial implementation of a multi-party electoral system in 1991. The 2002 election was especially optimistic moment for many because a democratically-induced change in ruling parties took place without notable unrest, as the governing independence KANU party was defeated by NARC and an uneventful transition of leadership took place.

Elite athletes came out with the Run-for-Peace events that contributed to post-conflict reconciliation efforts. Such athletes included former world beaters in marathon Douglas Wakihuri and Luke Kibet. The big question is did these peace initiatives relate in any way to the peaceful 2013 elections?

1. An analysis of TeglaLoroupe's peace initiative and its results

This elite running star, TeglaLoroupe has created a foundation to support peace-building initiatives not only within the warring communities around her community of Pokot in Kenya but also around the Great Lakes region of East Africa.

The TeglaLoroupe Peace Foundation (TLPF) was established in 2003 by TeglaLoroupe, who is a three time world half-marathon champion and also held the world marathon record twice. Because of her roots in the pastoralist Pokot community of North Rift Kenya, she experienced conflict through the traditional cattle rustling all her life. This was the motivation that drove her to take action using her fame in sports to create awareness and initiate projects to bring peace among the warring communities. The TLPF is in honour of Teglawho has dedicated her track achievements, skills and connections to promote peaceful coexistence and socio-economic development of poor and marginalized pastoralists and agro-pastoralist in Northern Rift Valley in Kenya, parts of Uganda among the Karamoja community, Southern Sudan and even far flung Tana River Delta which have experienced inter-ethnic conflicts for many generations.

Since its inception, the TLPF has organized annual peace races that bring together warriors from the Pokot, Turkana, Marakwet and Sebei communities in Kenya and Karamoja in Uganda. The use of sport as a strategy for building peace is out of the recognition of the ability of sport to bring people together and build an atmosphere that allows people to accept that there will be winners and losers in any situation. According to Cárdenas (2012), sport has become a recognized method of intervention in disadvantaged communities particularly in the developing world. He argues that sport, has been used as a catalyst for social inclusion, conflict resolution and peace in different regions affected by poverty and conflict.

This adage, 'Sports for peace' is one of the major ways of building trust. The TLPF chose sports as the entry point for peace building as it resonates well with the people from these communities who are by nature part of the excelling sports pundits. The various warring communities targeted by this initiative have produced world champions such as Ben Jipcho from the Sebei, Paul Ereng

from the Turkana and TeglaLourupe herself from the Pokot among others. Other Kenyan world athletic champions such as KipchogeKeino, Paul Tergat, Edith Masai, Ezekiel Kemboi, and Moses Tanui among others have given support and publicity to the TLPF by direct participation in its activities and they themselves come from neighbouring communities. According to Tegla, “this unity among world athletic champions sends a powerful message to every child, warrior, elder and community that peace can be achieved when we work together.”(<http://teglapeacefoundation.org>).

Tegla is not alone in this initiative, the TLPF has partnerships with local and international organizations such as International Organization for Migration (IOM), Oxfam, and corporates like mobile service provider Safaricom Limited, Kenya Airways, International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF), International Olympic Committee (IOC), National Olympic Committee of Kenya (NOCK), Athletics Kenya (AK), Interior Ministry in Kenya and other security organs from countries participating in the peace initiatives, National Cohesion Commission, and Conflict Management of Uganda. The TLPF maintain presence in the public arena through participation in international events such as conferences and seminars. For example,Peace through Tourism like ‘Building Strategic Alliances for Sustainable Tourism Development, Peace and Reconciliation on the African Continent’ held in Kampala, Uganda in 2007. Tegla, the TLPF founder is the United Nations Goodwill Ambassador for Sport and has used that platform to advance the culture of peace.

TLPF has therefore done very well in advocacy for peace through sports. There have been many young people who through this initiative have traded their guns for farming. Others have gone back to school and are excelling while curiously, some have adopted the same running as a way of life and in the process earning a living through sports.

TeglaLoroupe and disarmament

Tegla’s foundation has impressed upon the warring communities on the need for respect of property and concerted efforts are being implemented through joint disarmament exercises between government security agencies from Kenya and Uganda to wipe out illegal firearms and to enhance development along the borders. The Foundation in conjunction with the government through the Sub-County Commissioners is involved in voluntary disarmament activities in the Pokot and surrounding areas. More often several firearms and rounds of ammunition are periodically recovered and surrendered to the government. Those warriors who returned their firearms and reformed are assisted to find alternative means of livelihood through productive activities such as sports as well as taking front role in peace-making process through ‘warrior to warrior’ peace-building activities.They are an important point of contact in cattle rustling as they are the primary actors who engage in the actual violence. Althoughpeers, elders and even some

politicians may encourage livestock rustling, the people who implement it are warriors and so if they discard this age old practice, it is a sure way of stopping cattle rustling. This therefore enhances achievement of the objective of protecting the people from death, injury and loss of property that accompanies the practice of rustling.

TeglaLoroupe and conflict monitoring

Early signals of conflict basically involve monitoring the activities of conflict players and possibly stop likely occurrence of conflict. Due to its involvement with local communities, the TLPF can easily pick slight changes in daily relations among groups that may signal the beginning of conflict, thus performing the role of an early warning function. Local groups through informers can monitor the conflict situation and make recommendations to decision makers, provide information to advocacy groups, and provide inputs for early warning. This close coordination helps to mitigate against violence that would otherwise result in misery of the people in this region. Tegla's foundation also plays the role of peace/conflict impact assessment(UN, 2004) where the impact of a government policy such as disarmament is being implemented. The TLPF has often insisted that if the exercise targets one community in the conflict and not the other, there will be lack of cooperation. The whole spectrum has to involve a cross section of all the actors in the region.

TeglaLoroupe raising community awareness

The foundation is in the forefront in raising awareness of issues through various communication channels such as the media, workshops, seminars or conferences. The objective is to facilitate debate on issues that may have been neglected by both the county and national government. These include but not limited to inadequate services like roads, electricity, education and health and show how the failure to put up these services is causing and maintaining the problem for which the communities are being condemned for. The TLPF plays this advocacy role by engaging local leaders such as the Regional, County and Sub-County Commissioners and presenting the views of the people through local forums, and at national stage by even involving the people's representatives in parliaments.

TeglaLoroupe and economic empowerment

For community's economic socialization Tegla through TLPF uses a restocking programme where members of the community are awarded heifers and goats. These are awarded either through participation in the peace races or through a grant targeting those who lost their livestock to rustlers. The beneficiaries have lauded this programme as an idea that helps change the belief that restocking can only be done by stealing animals from their neighbours. This has reduced the

intensity of negative attitudes towards their neighbours. The reformed warriors also praised the programme for providing them with a more viable and more sustainable alternative source of livelihood. Through such practices, people learn to develop tolerance, mutual trust and the ability to compromise. Due to these efforts, former cattle rustlers whose livelihoods depended on violence have reformed into genuine breadwinners for their families. Some have embraced agro-pastoralism and lead more sedentary lives that are more tranquil. Peace in essence allows these people to carry out other meaningful economic activities. With such changed lifestyles like farming, they are assured of regular source of income and so they are able to take their children to school who in turn become great change agents in the community as the community will be able to see the benefits of education for greater economic development.

TeglaLoroupe and inter-ethnic social cohesion

Overall, the peace races which have been held annually from 2003 bring together members from the warring communities. These have created a forum for relationship building and restoration of trust. The peace races have the ability to bring people in close contact with one another and this promotes social cohesion among the parties in conflict. The organization of the sporting events incorporate an entertainment and fun element as participants mix freely during the events without consideration of ethnicity. The events also include traditional singing and dancing, recitation of poems and beauty contests. Other studies have shown that sport plays a major role in building social wealth. Putnam (2002) argues for engagement and participation in joint activities between adversary groups, such as joint associations such as Parents Associations in schools, cultural events, and even sports. The TLPF achieves this through peace races and multi-ethnic schools where pupils and parents from different communities mix.

By creating such platforms for mutual dialogue and encounter, these people understand each other and that their differences should enhance rather than divide them. The main function is the engaging of armed groups and communities peace or even disarmament or cease fire negotiations. The TLPF also appeals to the warriors not to engage in any raids during the peace events and for an agreed period of time thereafter. The foundation uses peace education workshops and seminars.

TeglaLoroupe and education

Education is an important entry point for peace building. The root cause of conflict among pastoralists is the competition for scarce resources such as pastures and water and the culture of 'warriorhood' which upholds raiding as a kind of initiation into manhood. The TLPF believes that these practices can only be stopped by introducing alternative means of achieving these cultural values, hence the need for education. Education is a transformational process that

inculcates knowledge, values, morals, beliefs and attitudes in people, hence the slogan by Tegla is 'say no to guns and yes to the pen' has had a lot of significance in TLPF. In recognition of this fact, the Foundation has given priority to educational infrastructure which also offers other services such as health and sports facilities for training athletes. This has been achieved through the construction of two institutions, support to needy students through scholarships and bursaries and donations to rural schools in cash and in kind. The objective is to support pupils orphaned by the conflict and those left destitute due to poverty. The institutions draw learners across the border areas of the northern Kenya, north eastern Uganda, Ethiopia, Southern Sudan and even the war torn Somalia. The reason for this is that it will act as a Peace building institution.

As a vehicle for peace, education is expected to enable the children unlearn the war values and the enemy attitude by mixing children from various warring communities and nations. This will be aided by offering a peace education curriculum as part of its overall teaching curriculum, enable parents from various warring communities to interact through visitation to school to see their children and provide training facilities for the talented youth from these communities who hope to develop or pursue a career in professional sporting such as athletics, soccer and other sports.

Findings from Tegla's foundation

From the analysis of the available information, there is a success story in the following perspective:

- a. The choice of sports as an entry strategy to talk about peace gives this foundation a high profile because sports and more so athletics is a source of national pride in Kenya. It is therefore bound to attract a lot of publicity and donor aid. It also resonates well with all stakeholders.
- b. The encouragement and facilitation of the warring communities to take up agro-pastoralism as a way of life. This has reduced dependence on livestock, thus reducing the need for rustling.

The founder of TLPF, TeglaLourupe comes from the Pokot community and although the Pokot have less regard for women, she is respected for her courage and success as an athlete even by men. As a result she has been able to identify with the grassroots actors such as the warriors. She has local knowledge of the prevailing situation among the warring communities and this has helped in the formulation and implementation of the peace-building strategies.

2. CONCLUSION

TeglaLoroupe Peace Foundation has had a big role in peace building has been analyzed. It has emerged from this discussion that sports has the ability to contribute to peace-building for sustainable intra and inter community peace. The communities that Tegla's foundation target have sporadic violent conflicts with periods of relative peace in between. This therefore means that the foundation's advocacy plays a major role as it has a long term impact and there is a reason to continuously support this outfit. The main character of support should therefore be contextual, in the sense that programmes that will have the greatest impact of the people of the north rift are that the community will identify with and own.

3. RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE ACTION

From Tegla's success story, by all standards the choice of sport as an instrument of peace-building and the community standing of Tegla among the Pokot is a major source of success. Despite the funding constrains, it is the opinion of this paper that Kenya as a nation has a lot to learn from this foundation and replicate this in conflict affected areas like Tana River, Nandi, Kisumu, and Narok Counties (these areas recently experienced rustling related activities). These many lessons that have been learned can only become valuable if they are enshrined in activity, designs and plans, and delineated as a setof guiding principles for all development and peace-related activities in this country. For instance, sport should be adequately positioned within the frame of reference used by donor or aid agencies and explicitly stated for aid agency as policy documents, so that donor, aid agencies or countries offering donor or aid assistance could choose to use donor or aid funding for sport programming and make greater allocations to sport in their budgets.

This paper by all means acts as an impetus for future scientific research by enriching the limited literature available and stirring the minds of research pragmatists. Scientific evidence on the success of sport to achieve peace has not been supported by sound evidence from research. When strong evidence base is developed, guidelines will be developed to help determine which types of programme designs are effective in specific situations.

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