PEACE EDUCATION THROUGH SPORT:
CRITICAL PEDAGOGY FOR CONFLICT LITERACY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the findings and analysis of an empirical research project on peace education through sport. The data set is made up of expert interviews with scholars, practitioners, and coaches and supplemented by ethnographic records about youth sport programs collected by the author in the Federal Republic of Germany between May and August of 2011. Part of a global mapping project on sport and peace, the research investigated what approaches and methods select sport programs for youth in Germany consider most effective for peace education. A grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2011) was used to code, categorize, and analyze the data, and simultaneous desk research in critical pedagogy and anti-extremist education was conducted through the constant comparative (Creswell, 2007) research method. It is argued that critical literacy provides a terminology by which sport and peace initiatives might express their theories of change. A new concept is presented as one explanation for peace education through sport: critical conflict literacy. The research analysis is supported with excerpts from the raw data and the concept is contextualized within the current German security climate. Based on Galtung’s theory of violence and peace, the thesis asserts that critical conflict literacy is one method for addressing violence (specifically, direct violence in extremism) in Germany. Implications for the current European security environment conclude the thesis.

Keywords: Anti-Extremist Education, Conflict Resolution, Critical Literacy, Critical Pedagogy, European Union, Experiential Education, Extremism, Germany, Integration, Peacebuilding, Peace Education, Pedagogy, Multiculturalism, Sport for All, Sport for Peace and Development, Sport for Social Change, Terrorism, Youth and Violence
For Jackson, with hope.

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INTRODUCTION

Amidst an international boom in grassroots and diplomatic initiatives in sport for peace and development, theorists, practitioners, governments, and donors are calling for a critical examination of the process of peacebuilding through sport. Significant awareness has been raised of the power of sport for social welfare (Right to Play, 2008). Within the last decade, dozens of grassroots and international programs have emerged that act on the same conviction. Much is being asked of sport, from diplomacy via national teams and international all-stars to preventative education for HIV and AIDS through creative basketball drills. The internationally respected magazine *Sports Illustrated* brought major attention to the sport and development phenomenon in its September 2011 headlining article, “Sports Saves the World” (Wolff, 2011).

At the same time, a current of critique has surfaced that challenges the claim that “sports saves the world.” Scholars (Black, 2010; Coalter, 2010; Darnell, 2010; Guest, 2005; Riedel, 2009) and the media (Branch, 2011; Reuters, 2012; Sohn, 2012) alike criticize rhetoric that promotes the altruistic power of sport, additionally providing examples of sport’s role in instigating discrimination, polarization, and violence. A strong argument exists for a critical appraisal of sport’s contribution to the greater good. The only safe conclusion, it would seem, is that sport is impressively powerful but incredibly ambiguous. The strength of sport, like the quality of power, apparently rests in how it is employed.

This thesis is an inquiry into the power of sport for peace. The research addresses how peace education is infused into various sports programs in the Federal Republic of Germany to build critical conflict literacy – the capacity to confront conflict and negotiate it non-violently. My concluding remarks discuss possible implications of this perspective in the current German and European security context, specifically with regard to the threat of extremism.
Using the methodology of grounded theory, I have conducted a qualitative analysis of empirical field research based on ethnographic data and semi-structured interviews with scholars and practitioners in the field of sport and peace who work in the Federal Republic of Germany. From this data, a framework of pedagogical approaches for teaching critical literacy in the face of conflict through sport was generated, named critical conflict literacy. This framework is then situated within recent scholarship on critical approaches to education, specifically highlighting a potential correlation between critical thinking skills and a reduction in extremist paradigms, bifurcated thinking, and direct violence. The consideration of the empirical data within literature on extremism and polarization is highly salient to the current security situation within the European Union (EU), and the framework of critical conflict literacy is offered as a potentially helpful resource for articulating a theory of change in sport for peace programs.

The first two chapters of the thesis provide a clarification of terms and explain the source of the data and research methodology. Chapter Three is a conceptual introduction to peace education and critical pedagogy, and Chapter Four builds on these concepts, offering a theoretical definition of critical conflict literacy. Chapter Five explains the critical conflict literacy framework through examples from the empirical data, and links its six representative categories to theoretical foundations of critical pedagogy. Chapter Six concludes the thesis with a discussion of the findings and their implications.
CHAPTER ONE

Conceptualizing Peace and Sport for Peace

“Sport for Development and Peace”

One explanation for the apparent fascination that diplomats, celebrities, and national and international bodies of government have with the phrase “sport and peace” is the fusion of two realms of existence that seem unrelated at first glance but, upon some reflection, make perfect sense in tandem. While peace might connote tranquility or rest, sport often conjures feelings of fervor and ambition or images of battle and fierce rivalry. These concepts seem far from compatible. Then again, there exists a great deal of positive imagery around sport, often capitalized on by local and international media, such that professional athletes are considered celebrities in many countries. Major sporting events broadcast internationally fascinate viewers worldwide. If one imagines a common court or field, the feelings associated with winning or losing as a member of a team, or the simple enjoyment of exercise, there seems to be a broad list of ways in which sport could be utilized to bring people together and do good. But these are ambiguous terms.

On the occasion of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, the non-profit organization Right to Play, in its role as the Secretariat to the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, published a seminal report on the potential power of sport for social welfare. The report, “Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments,” brought formal attention to a new field made up of grassroots and international stakeholders that was quickly gaining momentum in its efforts to use sport for social change. The report’s recommendations align particularly with the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for 2015, falling into the categories of governmental
relations; health and disease; children, youth, and education; gender (girls and women); disability and well-being; and social inclusion, conflict prevention, and peacebuilding (Right to Play, 2008, pp. i-v). In Right to Play’s definition, “Sport for Development and Peace” refers to “the intentional use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)” (p. 3). This thesis, which concerns the use of sport for peace education, will employ the word sport primarily in the context of its role as a tool for development and peace. Before moving toward implications for collaboration, it is necessary to examine the theoretical foundations of peace studies, as well as contributions made in the field of sport toward fostering peace worldwide.

**Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution**

The discipline of peace studies, historically rooted in the traditions of many religions, philosophies, and governing structures, is often regarded to have been academically formalized as an offshoot of the study of International Relations following World War II, “coming of age in the post-Cold War era” (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, 2005, p. 3). The mark of peace studies is apparent in international, regional, and interpersonal discourses and may also be referred to as the study of conflict resolution or conflict transformation (Lederach, 2003). As a field of specialization, peace studies has benefited from scholarly and practical contributions from a host of academic disciplines, among them art, theology, and law. The field’s most prominent contributors have been social scientists: psychologists, sociologists, political theorists, and educators. One foundational concept in the discipline of peace studies central to this thesis is Johan Galtung’s (1969) understanding of peace and violence.
Negative and positive peace and direct, structural, and cultural violence. Galtung’s 1969 article, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” was revolutionary because it expanded the concept of peace beyond “negative peace,” meaning a cessation or absence of violence, to also include “positive peace,” meaning the presence of social justice. As such, peacetheory is intimately connected not only with conflict theory, but equally with development theory. And peace research, defined as research into the conditions – past, present and future – of realizing peace, will be equally intimately connected with conflict research and development research. (183)

By drawing this distinction between negative and positive peace or, more abstractly, absence and presence, Galtung made it possible for multiple understandings of peace to coexist simultaneously. Moreover, he necessitated a broader conceptualization of violence than had previously been articulated. If peace was to be understood negatively and positively, violence had to be as well. In his research, Galtung defined violence in three ways: “direct violence,” meaning physical harm (as in a punch, a gun shot, or war), “structural violence,” or systems of injustice that fuel direct violence (for example policies and institutions that consistently repress or discriminate) and “cultural violence,” the mores, symbols, and practices that legitimize acts and systems of violence (such as traditions, flags or festivals) (1990, p. 291). Thus, negative peace refers to the cessation of direct, structural, or cultural violence, whereas positive peace refers to the replacement of violence with the presence of just and equitable customs, structures, and societal interactions. Conflict in itself should not be perceived as inherently harmful; rather, violence ensues from the ways in which humans use structures and norms of injustice to resolve their “perceived divergence of interest,” or conflict (Pruitt & Kim, 1983, p. 8).
One way to understand Galtung’s framework of peace and violence is visually, as in Figure 1, below:

![Figure 1: Galtung’s models of conflict, violence, and peace as seen in Ramsbotham et al (2005, p. 10).](image)

According to Galtung, conflict, violence, and peace should to be understood as dynamic processes that continually inform each other:

- *Cultural violence* arises from certain *attitudes or beliefs*, and thus should be addressed through peace *making* between parties in conflict;
- *Structural violence* arises from a *structural contradiction*, and can be addressed through peace *building* – changing structural imbalances; and
- *Direct violence* arises from specific *behaviors*, and can be changed by a modification in behavior – the work of peace *keeping*.
Galtung’s conceptualization of peace and violence has been tested and built upon by theorists and practitioners alike. His terminology is helpful for explaining the various ways in which sport is perceived as working toward peace.

**Sport and Peace**

Sport science and physical education have also contributed to the discipline of peace studies. Recalling that violence and peace are dynamic processes, one broad-branching definition of “sport and peace” would be difficult to identify. In practice, it is rare to find an organization claiming to work for peace through sport that would qualify itself exclusively as a “peace keeper,” “peace maker” or “peace builder.” Although the approaches are naturally interrelated, I categorize sport and peace work in the following for ease of understanding based on the form of engagement for peace.

**Peace through international sports diplomacy.** On an international level, the use of sports to extend the proverbial olive branch is as ancient as the Olympic tradition, as expressed through the “Olympic education” approach developed by French thinker Pierre de Coubertin at the turn of the 20th century. The Olympic philosophy is still employed today in the work of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and similar international sporting collaborations (Eichberg, 2010, p. 3). The reach of sports diplomacy extends far beyond the Olympics. International sporting events such as the Olympic Games or FIFA World Cup, while popularly familiar, are only two of the most prominent international competitions and exchanges organized by multinational bodies or diplomatic partnerships. The US Sports Envoys (Gire, 2012), Peace and Sport International Forum (Peace and Sport, 2011) or any number of official and unofficial sports programs provide examples of an international belief in the power of sport for peace
through a team’s or sport celebrity’s encounter with a foreign country or culture. As a diplomatic tool, sport has been used as a “soft power” way of bringing influential political stakeholders together, as was the case in the immortalized “Ping-Pong Diplomacy” of the Cold War (Bouzou, 2011). Sport has also been utilized as a positive tool for sustaining collegial relationships between neighboring countries, as was seen, for example, in the recent EU initiative on the integrative power of sport (Grimminger, 2008). Sport is also often used as a safe location to improve relationships in contested locations of protracted conflict, as exemplified by Northern Ireland’s professional hockey team The Giants (whose colors decidedly have no affiliation with either the United Kingdom or Ireland and whose slogan is “Game for All – Game for Everyone” (Farber, 2011)), or the work of the non-profit Peace Players International in South Africa, Israel and the West Bank, Northern Ireland, and Cyprus (Tuohey and Cognato, 2011).

**Sport for peaceful structural change: educating fans and practicing integration.** On a more immediate level, sport can work to dismantle structures of violence through the explicit inclusion of marginalized or excluded populations in integrative games (Coignet, and Commeti, 2009; Gottier, 2011; Noer, 2011; Viellile,). Some examples of this include the social integration of economically disadvantaged groups, new immigrants, refugees, or ethnically ostracized groups, girls and women, or handicapped and disabled individuals (Noer, 2011; Vielilile et al. 2009). Sport for integration can also refer to educational programs that address cultural, structural, and/or direct violence promoted or perpetrated by fans of sport teams or clubs, which in some regions of the world have particularly violent histories associated with sports and games (Glaser and Elverich, 2008). Sport as a tool for integration with fans, in schools, and elsewhere has traditionally been studied by sociologists and educators and is primarily practiced at a regional or local level. Grassroots or local peace building through sport is generally engaged in the long-
term work of addressing structural violence (Grimminger, 2008; Guyon, 2009; Hamelin, 2008; Vieille et al 2009) and because of this is referred to in more tangible terms than the label “peace.” Such terms include sport for fair play, responsible citizenship, anti-racism or anti-bullying, social change, integration, youth empowerment, or other community-relevant, structural concepts.

Peace through development: conflict, health, and reconstruction. A third common expression of peace through sport involves using sport as a tool to grow healthy and peaceful communities, especially in communities experiencing deep poverty or violent conflict and war. Right to Play’s (2008) report offers prime examples of sport’s role in effecting peace and development because of its focus on the UN MDGs. Among the goals most relevant to sport are “preventing disease and promoting health,” “fostering development and strengthening education,” or “prevent[ing] conflict and promot[ing] peace” (pp. ii, iv). An exhaustive network of organizations, foundations, practitioners, academics, and athletes working on peace and development through sport can be found online via the International Platform on Sport and Development (also referred to as “sportanddev.org”). As was mentioned above, such development initiatives often overlap with the work of sport and peacebuilding. Sport as peacekeeping regularly refers to communities of intractable conflict, or communities engaged in or recovering from war. Sport for peacekeeping initiatives strategically address direct violence or are specifically concerned with altering individual and community behavior toward peace.1

Peace Education in Germany: Deterrent of Direct Violence?

Of these three approaches to sport and peace, this thesis focuses on how German sport programs address behaviors and contradictions (injustices) that lead to direct and structural

1 See also Petry, Groll, and Tokarski (2011); KaBOOM! (n.d.); Almon and Miller (2011); Gounden and Vasu
violence. The focus was chosen as a function of the empirical data collected for the thesis and in light of currently salient forms of violence within the EU.

A deeper description of the field data collected for the present study is explored in the following chapter. It suffices at present to summarize that the majority of ethnographic data used in this project was gathered from program sites seeking to empower marginalized youth in Germany. To broadly generalize, the target participants of the programs researched belonged to economically underprivileged social classes. Sometimes, they were also members of minority ethnic groups, (recent immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants to Germany). A few of the organizations I researched specifically targeted certain social groups viewed as underprivileged, including but not limited to immigrants and their children, educationally underserved youth, and girls and women.

German society currently experiences all three levels of violence: cultural, structural, and direct. To qualify the field research examined here using Galtung’s framework for violence, the majority of the programs I visited seek to reduce structural violence in the pursuit of social cohesion through integration. By presenting a new concept in this thesis, critical conflict literacy, I argue that sport for peace programs in Germany hold the potential not only to alter structural violence but also to prevent direct violence in the form of extremism. Although I believe that critical conflict literacy has the potential to address all three aspects of violence, I will limit my discussion of its implications in the following to the prevention of extremism. On this note, it is relevant to offer select contextual examples of extremist violence to explain the current security context in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Since the impact of the terrorist attacks in the United States of America (US) on September 11th, 2001, insecurity has heightened within the EU as it has also become a site of
terrorist violence. What is strikingly unsettling for Europeans is that unlike the September 11th attacks in the US and with the exception of one failed attack on France, England, and Germany that was preemptively intercepted by authorities in September of 2010 (RPO, 2010), some of the most arresting attacks on civilians were committed by European citizens themselves.

In March of 2004, 191 people were killed and 1,800 injured by bombs that exploded on four commuter trains in central Madrid, Spain. Authorities and the media originally suspected Basque separatists, but later discovered that the bombs were placed by a Spanish terrorist-cell of young men who “radicalized themselves” in extremist Muslim jihadist beliefs (Atran, cited in Hamilos, 2007). Three years thereafter, three terrorist attacks were committed in the United Kingdom (UK). They were also executed by current UK citizens: two failed car bomb attempts were made in downtown London and a Jeep Cherokee loaded with tanks of gas was driven into a terminal of the Glasgow Airport (BBC, 2007). Because of the immigrant heritage of the attackers, the events intensified already salient insecurities within the EU about the nature of intercultural integration and the Union’s border policies. The debate in Germany became especially tense because of the tremendous influx of immigrants Germany receives from neighboring Eastern and Southern European countries, the Middle East, and Northern Africa, many of whom ascribe to the Muslim faith shared by the terrorists mentioned in the UK and Madrid. Managing this relatively new religious and cultural plurality in the public sphere has proved a challenge for the EU generally and Germany specifically.

Nearly four years later, in July of 2011, the Norwegian right-wing Christian fundamentalist Anders Behring Breivik massacred 92 individuals in one day, exploding a bomb in downtown Oslo before using an automatic rifle and a hand gun to kill over 75 counselors and campers at a political summer camp on nearby Utoya Island. Before authorities identified the
attacker, the media reported investigators’ suspicions of an external or internal attack by a Muslim jihadist. Within 48 hours of the killings, it was discovered that Breivik was the perpetrator, a Norwegian citizen who considered the attack his contribution to a holy war being waged with the religion of Islam (Associated Press, 2012). Marcus Buck, a political scientist in Norway, named the attack “right-wing domestic terrorism” (cited in Erlanger & Shane, 2011). Nicholas Kulish of The New York Times wrote that, “opposition to Muslim immigrants, globalization, the power of the European Union and the drive toward multiculturalism has proven a potent political force and…spur to violence” (2011). Kulish also quoted German Chancellor Angela Merkel on the issue, who said the hatred behind the attack was against “freedom, respect, and the belief in peaceful coexistence” (2011). It is arguable that Breivik’s actions lead to increased confusion in the security debate within Germany, adding to the polemical rhetoric in politics and media in the fall of 2010, notably chancellor Angela Merkel’s statement “multiculturalism has utterly failed” (cited in Eddy, 2010) and debate surrounding left-wing politician Thio Sarrazin’s (of Merkel’s opposing party, the left-wing Social Democrats) book, Germany Does Itself In (Bartsch, et al., 2010; Broder, 2010).

The certain security implication is that the threat of extremism cannot be isolated to a specific social, religious, or ethnic group. This reality became visible in security policy reacting to the string of murders in Southern France in the spring of 2012. In contrast to the immediate reaction in the Norwegian case to primarily track Islamic extremist groups, as the BBC reported from France on March 19, 2012 that, “[i]nvestigations are pursuing two principal lines of inquiry: an Islamist motive or the far right” (BBC, 2012b). French authorities did finally locate the perpetrator, a French citizen named Mohammed Merah (BBC, 2012c) whose motivation for the crimes and possible linkage to terrorist cells is still disputed.
In sum, although the threat of violence may be related to the European discourse around immigration and intercultural integration, its source cannot be isolated. Repeated occurrences of extremist violence perpetrated by European citizens themselves contribute to a terrorist threat that the EU cannot externalize; rather, as has been quite visible through the proceedings following the Brevik case, this violence must also be owned. The argument presented in this thesis is that extremist violence is not the function of an ascription to a certain belief system or membership to a specific group but rather the result of a quality of belief and a kind of behavior. It can therefore not be geographically isolated, but is liable to happen worldwide. The hypothesis will be examined more substantially in Chapter Six based on the analysis of the empirical data. Chapter Three will explain the theory of peace education that since belief and behavior are significantly shaped through learning, violence can be effectively prevented through education.

Lynn Davies (2008) holds that the linkages among religion (and religious absolutism), extremism, and terrorism are simultaneously interrelated and diffuse. They are interrelated as they often co-exist and inform one another, yet diffuse in that one is not solely or directly caused by another. Davies summarizes absolutism, terrorism, and fundamentalism under the heading extremism, which she considers especially relevant for policymaking considering the amount of money invested in anti-extremist military defense. She argues that a transformational approach to education could have an equally effective impact on security.

Peace education through sport in the form of critical conflict literacy could address all three forms of violence in German society. In the pursuit of clarity, the remainder of this thesis will focus most specifically on the threat and reality of direct violence in Germany. Although Germany has not been a site of ideologically motivated extremist violence as recently as its neighbors Norway and France have, its leading political, cultural, and economic role in the EU
make the security tensions no less tangible. As will be revisited in Chapter Six, discussions around managing cultural diversity can present an identity threat to members of German society that arguably lead toward extremist belief and behavior. The religious and political havens for polarization are moreover readily accessible within Germany’s pluralist democracy. To this end, I particularly draw on Davies’ (2008) framework for education “against extremism” when interpreting the implications of my empirical findings as they result to conflict, difference, ambiguity, and violence in the conclusion. In the following chapters, peace education through sport in Germany should therefore be understood in the terms of integration and the politics of difference, particularly, intercultural integration.

“Sport Spricht Alle Sprachen”: Proceeding Cautiously When Promising Peace

The alliterative phrase, “Sport spricht alle Sprachen,” is a commonly used tag line in marketing schemes for integrative sport projects in German-speaking countries. It means “sport speaks every language” or, as it is often articulated in English, “sport is a universal language.” Despite the popularity of the idea that sports saves the world, a growing body of commentary within the sport and development community urges caution at being overzealous in sport’s promise (Black, 2010; Coalter, 2010; Darnell, 2010; Riedel, 2009; Lea-Howarth, 2006; Guest, 2005). There exists little empirical data or long-term research causally connecting sport and peace, and a growing body of research on the connection between sport and violence (Young, 2012). Indeed, many practitioners I interviewed, regardless of organizational affiliation, commented without solicitation that in their own day-to-day work, sport certainly did not speak every language. Lea-Howarth (2006) argues that, “sport is a tool for tackling cultural violence, but can do nothing significant to alleviate structural or direct violence, all three of which should
be addressed if a society is to pursue positive peace” (p. 10). Guest (2005), “borrowing from the Olympic anthropologist John MacAlloon,” argues that sport is “an empty cultural form,” only effective when employed with a specific theory of change. And, as Jäger (2008) notes,

…although extensive [program] documentations are the exception rather than the rule, they do show the enormous potential…hidden in these [international youth exchange through sport] meetings – if they include the appropriate preparation, implementation, and evaluation. In these cases, it’s certain: it must be about more than playing the sport itself! (p. 18, own translation)

As the field develops, it has become important to differentiate between existing sport programs that integrate elements of what might be called humanitarian activism and humanitarian initiatives using sport to achieve their outcomes. In a 2005 report on Sport for Development and Peace, the Swiss Agency for Development pictures a continuum between these two branches, explaining the relationship between “development + sport” – the integration of sport as a tool for development and humanitarian aid and “sport + development” – the integration from development goals in physical activities (p. 19). This thesis intentionally focuses on “+ sport,” peace education conducted through sport.

Bearing in mind that peace is a charged and contested term, this thesis acknowledges the evident disconnect between action for peace education and the outcome of peace writ large, an analytical construct that, as Weber (1949) writes, “in its conceptual purity” simply cannot exist “empirically anywhere in reality” (p. 90). Since peacebuilding is a less concrete deliverable than similar + sport initiatives, particularly those within the development sector (such as employment or health-specific projects) a conceptualization of peace and an explanation of the + sport process are necessary to measure any program’s success. If + sport is expressed as peacebuilding plus
sport, or sport for peace, the theory of change behind sport’s capacity as a unique vehicle for experientially learning conflict resolution must be explicitly defined.

Therefore, while this thesis gives due diligence to a critical appraisal of “claiming” that peace is a direct outcome of sport, it also recognizes a charge from the field of peace education to make the connection between peace education and an end to “direct violence” more explicit (Davies, 2005; Galtung, 1983). I seek to solidify this connection by supplementing literature in peace education, critical pedagogy, and sport and development with new empirical data. This thesis accepts Guest’s (2005) conclusion that sport is an empty cultural form, but through the incorporation of new research, argues that sport can work to alleviate more than cultural violence. Utilizing critical pedagogies, peace education through sport has the potential to act as a deterrent for direct violence and a driver of positive peace. In the following chapter, I explain the research methodology that generated the concept of critical conflict literacy, one theory of change behind peace education through sport.
CHAPTER TWO

Research Methodology

Data Source: Global Mapping Project – Promising Practices in Sport and Peace

If sport does not equate to peace per se (Eichberg, 2010), the task for research is to discover the circumstances under which sport can or might work toward peace – in other words, to articulate a theory of change. The critical conflict literacy hypothesis presented in this thesis was generated from data I obtained in the course of a field research project conducted in the summer of 2011. This chapter explains the context of that project, as well as the methods of collection and analysis I later used to refine the theory and its implications.

This endeavor began under the auspices of a sport and peace research fellowship in the summer of 2011. As one of four fellows sponsored by the organization Generations for Peace (GFP), I contributed to a global mapping project that identified sport and peacebuilding programs worldwide and created a repository of “promising practices” in the field. Through observations of sport and peacebuilding programs and interviews with educational experts in France, Germany, and Belgium, I searched for intersections between peace education and sport programming. My specific angle concerned what peace education theories and strategies are acknowledged or implemented by sport programs. Instead of using indicators based on aspired programmatic outcomes, I explored learning processes already in place.

All of the programs researched targeted children and youth. Considering the contexts (i.e. schools, youth centers, training clubs); vocations and professional training (professors, social workers, coaches); and statements of the practitioners I interviewed, it is generalizable that the primary action of the sport programs researched was education. In the frank words of one club manager, “Ultimately, it’s about education.” Even though I was often advised by interviewees to
remember that sport itself was the prerequisite action for the outcome of education, and education for peace (Jäger, 2008), an intentional focus on education for “more than sport” could not be ignored in the data I collected. My data generated two questions: If the primary activity of sport for peace programs is education for peace, what kind of education is taking place? Can this education be equated to building peace?

I was spurred onto a deeper analysis of the precise usage of peace education through sport as a method to prevent direct violence later through connecting the data to critical pedagogy. Because the same empirical data gathered for the team project was used to generate the hypothesis of this individual thesis, there is overlap in research methodology between the global project and my independent inquiry.

**General Methodology**

The project used a pragmatic,² mixed-methods approach that combined qualitative, semi-structured expert interviews with ethnographic and auto-ethnographic field observations and a quantitative survey completed online by practitioners with whom we were unable to meet. As the research concerned itself first with the experience of individuals and organizations within their regional and conflict contexts and second with the content of that experience, this mixed-methods approach grounded in qualitative, in-depth interviews and ethnography was best suited to the project. As Creswell (2007) and Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) note, qualitative approaches are concerned with the construction, negotiation and experience of meaning. Because

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² Biesta and Burbles (2003) use John Dewey’s research philosophy to articulate a pragmatist approach to educational research: “Educational knowledge, the ‘product’ of educational inquiry, reveals possible connections between actions and consequences…not as a description of reality but as the relationship between actions and consequences” (p. 110). The pragmatist approach seemed appropriate to this research as it sought to determine consistent actions and consistent consequences in multiple locations, but was more concerned with generating a theory through observing patterns in the data than proving or disproving a hypothesis.
our team was searching a) to identify sport for peace programs, b) to understand their design and implementation methods, and c) to record their most promising practices, we were more interested in conveying meaning as articulated by research participants than in proving or disproving a certain hypothesis. Our “multimethod approach” produced a holistic data analysis that generated certain generalizations in the research through both quantitative and qualitative measures (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 20).

**Research Participants**

As my portion of the project was focused on linking theory and practice, I interviewed both academics and practitioners, generating two parallel data sets that were used to inform one another. Research participants included scholars, practitioners, program managers and coaches in sport belonging to the field of sport and peace. The specific articulations of peace (for example, conflict resolution education, interventions in locations of protracted conflict, intercultural integration, or human security promotion) were defined relative to program location and the form of violence in that location (i.e. direct, structural, and/or cultural violence). Participants were identified through searches of multiple online platforms linking sport and peace, integration, or development, and added to through the “snowball” sampling method upon recommendations from initial interviewees (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p.73). Care was taken to ensure responsible practice with and informed consent from all interview participants. All interviewed participants were over eighteen years of age and reviewed a notice disclosing the

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3 A table of research participants is provided in Appendix A. Many scholars in this data set are practitioners, and some practitioners have made significant academic contributions to the field. I have identified the participants here based on their current occupational titles for the purpose of protecting anonymity and providing clarity, but separating “academics” from “practitioners” is in fact artificial.


5 The research proposal (IRB #2011-260) received formal ethical approval from Georgetown University’s Institutional Review Board on June 6, 2011.
purpose for and intended outcome of the research being conducted before signing an approval prior to participation. The same procedure was used when gaining access to ethnographic research sites, where researchers took pictures and recorded field notes.

**Summer Research Focus: Peace Education and Integration**

The specific focus of my contribution to the global mapping project concerned if and how peace education theory is being used in sports programs focusing on intercultural integration in Germany and France. Using the team’s mixed-methods framework, the project involved desk research on European integration, peace education, program and curriculum design; expert interviews; online surveys; ethnographic field notes and photographic documentation; and auto-ethnographic records (Hillyer, 2010). The desk research was conducted before, during, and after the field research, reflective of the “iterative” (Hesse-Biber & Leavey, 2006, p. 348) or “constant comparative” (Creswell, 2007, p. 64) mode of data analysis.

Sixteen expert interviews were conducted with twenty-one program managers, practitioners (coaches), and scholars in Germany and France between May and July of 2011. One additional interview was conducted with a practitioner in Germany via Skype in March of 2012. Four interviews were conducted in English, two in French, and eleven in German (language at the discretion of the interviewee). Fourteen of the interviews were digitally recorded and two were recorded in hand written notes. Twelve interviews were transcribed from the language of the original interview into English. Five physical site visits were conducted within Germany in May, June, and July of 2011, where I recorded observations in writing and through digital photography. These observations were also used in the data analysis.
Reflexivity

In team research project. Within the team, consistent reflection on the researcher’s location and subjectivity, suitability of research methods and observation of emergent themes was vital to the data collection project – all of which I have continued at present. As the data collection evolved, so did the research and relevance of the research instruments. During the summer, through weekly team updates, bi-weekly blog postings on two interactive web platforms, discussions with practitioners, and auto-ethnographic memos, the team ensured that critical reflection was an integral part of the research process.

In subsequent individual research. Regarding the approach in this thesis, Mauthner and Doucet (2003) write,

research which relies on the interpretation of subject accounts can only make sense with a high degree of reflexivity and awareness of the epistemological, theoretical and ontological conceptions of subjects and subjectivities that bear on our research practices and analytic processes. (p. 424)

They conclude that rigor in qualitative research relies upon the authentic articulation of the researcher’s position within the context of the research, because “the validity of [a researcher’s] interpretations is dependent on being able to demonstrate how they were reached” (p. 418). Because this research project involves the interpretation of meaning as communicated by research participants, significant transparency in data analysis is required. I did not consider myself a neutral analyst. While my position as an observer and outsider to the participating programs created a degree of externality that Simmel (1908/1971) argues allow for objectivity,

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6 See Appendix A
7 www.sportandpeace.wordpress.com and www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org
many aspects of my subjectivity influenced the focus of the research and execution of the project. These include my position as a student and advocate of conflict resolution enrolled at a North American university within a research team of four North American females (three graduate students and one professor) with varied levels of living and working experience outside of the US. The focus of research for this thesis was also influenced by my personal employment experience as a social worker near Stuttgart, Germany, for eighteen months within a year of beginning the research. My primary work there was with children and youth of diverse social and economic backgrounds living in the area. While eighteen months are only a fraction of the time spent as a “practitioner” in comparison to the work of most of my research participants, this experience lent credibility to my ethos as a researcher as well as a familiarity with the sites I would be visiting and their regular visitors. Contacts resulting from my professional network in Germany also informed a small percentage of my research sample (n=2). For these reasons, and because of the mixed-methods approach to the project, I do not assume an objective stance opposite the research participants or the data. Rather, my approach was intentionally post-structural and reflexive in nature (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Skeggs, 2002).

**Grounded Theory Methodology for Subsequent Data Analysis**

**Generative theme: critical pedagogy in sport.** As data collection reached a point of saturation near July of 2011, I began to see generalizable themes of promising practices in program design and implementation shared by practitioners and academics. Because the European research context meant that I was primarily investigating sport programs whose focus was intercultural integration as an expression of peace, many of the theories and methods revealed were reflective of theories about intercultural education (Frank, 2008; Gieß-Stüber &
Blecking 2008; Gieß-Stüber, 2010; Moghaddam, 2008;). As was the case with research participants’ repeated reference to the goal of education stated above, a number of interviewees explicitly mentioned intercultural education strategies. In addition to the theme of intercultural education, regular review of the data through my own reflection (memoing) and discussion with colleagues revealed a less explicit but equally persistent recurrence of themes reminiscent of critical pedagogical theory. As this concept emerged from the research itself, the grounded theory method became practical for data analysis (Charmaz, 2011; Tarozzi, 2011). In a grounded theory methodology, the researcher first seeks to identify certain themes emerging from the data itself, rather than beginning with a hypothesis to prove and disprove. The researcher then categorizes, codes, and revisits the data under a new lens, which also allows for reflexivity. A grounded theory approach offered a new way to extract meaning from the substantial empirical findings that had not been exhausted by the initial summary report I submitted following the summer research. The following research methodology has therefore been undertaken for the present thesis.

Three Phases of Research

Categorization and open coding. The data underwent three major phases of coding and analysis. An open-coding process was used in the first phase of the project as I interviewed, transcribed, and interpreted trends in my ethnographic field notes, memos, and interviews until the data reached a point of “saturation” in mid-summer: similar themes began to repeat themselves in research participants’ responses to interview questions. After completion of the research report in fall 2011, I embarked on the second, axial coding phase in spring 2012, narrowing my focus to thirteen interviews conducted with German practitioners. I chose to
narrow the data analysis to one geographical location in order to generate more consistent analysis and allow more in-depth exploration of the expert interviews themselves.

**Axial coding and critical conflict literacy.** Given the paradigm of critical thought and education that arose from the open coding process, I returned to the interview transcriptions and coded each interview line-by-line. This process generated a number of themes relating to education, peace, conflict, violence, sport, pedagogical approach, and program implementation. These themes were combined and summarized in the forms of research memos, and then categorized into a conceptual framework. The recurrent themes generated six separate categories that came to define critical conflict literacy: 1) Reliance on Sport; 2) *Inszenierung*: Setting the Stage; 3) Context Driven; 4) Problem-Posing; 5) Expecting Responsibility; and 6) Life Skills Transfer. The categories are explained in Chapter Five.

**Selective coding and implications.** The final phase of selective coding involved combining empirical data and desk research. First, the recurrent themes that arose from memoing (writing and reflecting) about the empirical data were sorted and combined. Similar themes were grouped together, and through a review process, were narrowed down to six main categories. The codes were then combined into a spreadsheet under six categorical headings. Displaying the data within the spreadsheet revealed that it could be broken down for ease of viewing by understanding the categories as a chronological process.

Concurrently, I consulted books and journal articles relevant to critical pedagogy, critical literacy, critical peace education, and critical thought processes in order establish a set of theory-based indicators reflective of critical pedagogy in design and practice. When possible, I used scholarly material relating critical pedagogy intended to dissuade violence or build peace. This research generated a similar, theory-based categorical framework for the concept of critical
conflict literacy. Finally, I incorporated the theoretical data into the categories generated by the empirical data. The results of the selective coding process are explicitly articulated in Chapter Five and its implications are explained in Chapter Six. Before moving into empirical support, I first investigate critical pedagogy and its relationship to peace education through sport.
CHAPTER THREE

Theory of Change in Peace Education through Sport

Peace Education as Systems Transformation

If sport is purposefully used for peace education, there is enormous potential for behavioral, emotional, and social change. This chapter provides a theoretical platform for the concept of critical conflict literacy rooted in the literature of peace education and critical pedagogy. Since concepts of peace vary greatly, it is fundamental for clarity of purpose and process that peace educators describe what kind of transformation they hope to observe in learners and society as a result of their alternate approach to education. Peace educators should articulate how this alteration interrupts patterns of violence and how it creates peace. Because learning is a process and peace is not static, peace education tends to focus more on long-term engagement for sustainable change than on abruptly ceasing violent conflict. Lederach (2003) has termed this invested process of confronting violence and promoting peace “conflict transformation” in order to indicate the holistic approach necessary to change violent systems. Given the variety of ways to approach violence and the myriad potential contributions that sport and education could make to the transformation of conflicts, educators and programs should clearly express their specific theories of change.

To explain theories of change in peace education, the initial questions to be asked are which conflict the approach seeks to address and how it seeks to address it. Does the approach intend to decrease violence, increase peace, or both? In order to explain how the approach decreases violence or increases peace, one must also identify what form of violence (using Galtung’s (1990) terminology: direct, structural, or cultural) and/or what kind of peace (positive or negative) should be addressed or employed. With this foundational understanding, educators
can create evaluation mechanisms based on indicators of violence and peace that help them to understand if and how the approach “works.” In this thesis, one specific theory of change is employed: sport for critical conflict literacy as a form of addressing structural and preventing direct violence.

At present, many sport for peace programs evaluate their effectiveness by measuring their influence on participants’ knowledge, life skills, or social and emotional capacities. These indicators primarily show that sport for peace education increases what Galtung (1964) described as “positive peace.” Lea-Howarth’s (2006) research speaks to these capacities directly: “Sport is a tool for tackling cultural violence, but can do nothing significant to alleviate structural violence or direct violence” (p. 10). As Galtung (1983) and Davies (2005) have expressed, however, there is a pressing need to make the connection between peace education and an end to direct violence more explicit. I address this charge in Chapter Four by connecting critical conflict literacy to prevention of direct violence. By identifying specific approaches, methodologies, and indicators in Chapter Five, I also discuss the field’s current need for contributions to programmatic evaluations that connect the practice of peace education through sport to decreasing direct violence.

Peace education offers sport programs the vocabulary to articulate the uniqueness of their work in the terms of building positive peace, as a tool to prevent youth violence (Jäger, 2008), and to address cultural violence (Lea-Howarth, 2006). In this thesis, I present a theory of change that articulates how peace education through sport addresses direct violence. I argue that it has can encourage learners to expand their intellectual and physical capacities to deal with conflict. In order to explain these physical and mental capacities, and to make explicit the conceptual link
between peace education and critical literacy fundamental to the argument that follows, it is first necessary to conceptualize critical literacy as a process of peace education.

**Theoretical Foundations of Peace Education and Critical Pedagogy**

Critical literacy emerged from the broader field of critical pedagogy, an educational approach based on the assumptions that social and cultural systems and norms lead humans to use violence to resolve conflict. Critical educators have the task of “link[ing] [sic] the pedagogical to the political [sic] in a way that engages the specificity of contexts in which people translate private concerns into public issues” (Hernández, 1997, p. 7). Broadly, critical pedagogy can be situated within the philosophical shift toward post-structuralism and as such owes many of its assumptions to thinkers such as Foucault, Derrida, and Habermas. Feminist scholarship has also contributed substantially to the discipline, in both methodology and critique (Luke and Gore, 1992). As Kincheloe (2004) explains, critical pedagogy is influenced by and informs a wealth of disciplines, among them, philosophy, biology, cognitive and social psychology, and cultural studies. He emphasizes that values are never separated from critical pedagogy, that critical pedagogy has “a vision of social justice and social equity” (p. 6). Critical “education is: inherently political” (p. 8); “dedicated to the alleviation of human suffering” (p. 11); a “pedagogy that prevents students from being hurt” (p. 13); sees “teachers as researchers” (p. 17); and, amidst much more, places importance on the understanding and relationship to context (p. 32), and the acceptance of complexity, instead of causality, as a way of understanding the world (p. 36). If violence results, at least in part, from the way individuals are taught and socialized, societies entrenched in violence might also be transformed by the way individuals are educated.

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Cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead’s (1940) article, *Warfare Is Only an Invention – Not a Biological Necessity*, makes the case that the practice intergroup warfare in human history is not genetically inevitable but rather a invention serving a certain social function. She likens it to technologies such as marriage, trial by jury, or the plow, inventions instituted to improve human life and which continue to adapt and improve life. According to Mead, war is waged by societies who possess knowledge of it but it is not waged by all societies. Her argument is that the understanding of war’s status as an invention might change humans in our use of it. That war is an invention could give humanity hope, writes Mead, since “poor” inventions or behaviors historically give way to better ones (p. 22). Belief in the possibility of inventions makes the case for the development of better methods of resolving conflict, which in turn links back to education and the idea that changing education can subvert a cycle of violence.

In a similar vein, Maria Montessori’s research and action sought to alter educational structures that reinforced the paradigm of war. Deeply affected by the impact of Mussolini’s rise to power in her home country of Italy, Montessori sought to re-shape education as the foundation of peaceful society. In a 1949 public address, she said, “the frontier that will yield first and allow the enemy – that is, war – to enter, is not a physical boundary between one nation and another, but man’s lack of preparation and the isolation of the individual” (1949/1972, p. xii). In a political climate of increasing polarization and periodic outbursts of extremist violence from quite isolated individuals, these words feel almost prophetic. Montessori’s point was that attempting to alter a person’s violent trajectory once it is already in motion is too late of an intervention. Peace education processes globally must begin early and provide children with the context, knowledge, and experiences to demonstrate that peace is possible.
Montessori is not the only scholar viewing educational practice and research as vital for the transformation of societies. John Dewey (1943/1990) and his colleague George H. Mead (1934), writing at the beginning of the 20th century, understood the task of knowledge construction as both scientific and human. For Dewey, the understanding of knowledge (philosophy) was important only inasmuch as it (in theory and in practice) dealt with “the problems of men [sic]” (in Biestra and Burbles, 2003, p. 14). In other words, knowledge construction, which includes education and research, is only meaningful when it impacts human relationships. This contribution is important for the concept of critical literacy because it explains an epistemological shift away from the Cartesian separation of mind and matter (Mead, 1934, p. x) and toward the idea that knowledge is transferred through experience. Thus, the way in which one learns must be as important as the content being offered, and idea paramount for peace education. Dewey’s theoretical contribution begins to explain the role of critical pedagogy in peace education. Kincheloe (2004) points out that “critical teachers gain the ability to help students understand multiple perspectives and the influence of their own location in the web of reality on how they see the world” (p. 127). Critical pedagogy for peace education is about altering students’ experience of learning such that in learning, they become aware of the frameworks that shape their world. Through the process of learning about the world, students begin to exercise the agency with which they can change the world.

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970/2010) also portrays education as a means of transforming societies in conflict. He built upon the concept that individuals constantly process knowledge, even before entering a classroom. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire’s most well-known work, posited that traditional methods of schooling, with a focus on lecture, memorization, and recitation, what he named “the banking method,” effectively led to a
repetitive cycle of oppression. Freire sought to empower the marginalized through a new pedagogy, “the problem-posing concept of education” (1970/2010, p. 93). Problem-posing pedagogy utilized dialogue between teachers and students as action for liberation from oppression. Because education according to Freire is in its essence the practice of freedom, the act of teaching should not discourage freedom. To combat the oppression he saw embodied in the banking method of education, Freire devised a new pedagogy to empower learners within their immediate worlds. Freire’s revolutionary approach practically used the process of learning to read and write in Portuguese to raise awareness in the oppressed (“conscientização” (p.109) literally, “the awakening of critical consciousness”) to their oppression and, at the same time, empower them with the tools by which they could become agents of their own escape from marginalization.

The contribution that Freire (1970/2010) made to the discipline was revolutionary because his fusion of theory and practice (“praxis”) for teachers and learners meant that learners became readers of both the world and the word (p. 87). Freire’s pedagogy simultaneously offered students a theoretical understanding of social (in)justice and the tools by which to change it. This last phrase, the tools by which to change it, is termed literacy, encompassing both functional literacy – a technical command of language – and critical literacy – the understanding of a context and the agency to act within it.

**Critical Pedagogy through Critical Literacy**

Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren (1989) are two substantial contributors to the field of critical pedagogy, and both write on the subject of critical literacy. Giroux’s (1993) article, “Literacy and the politics of difference,” reinforces a broad conceptualization of literacy,
… not just a skill or knowledge, but an emerging act of consciousness and resistance…It is about providing students with the knowledge, capacities, and opportunities to be noisy, irreverent, and vibrant. Central to this concern is the need for students to understand how cultural, ethnic, racial, and ideological differences enhance the possibility for dialogue, trust, and solidarity. (p. 375)

While Giroux’s work has focused on cultural politics in pedagogy, at a local, integrationist level, McLaren contextualizes critical pedagogy as action against global forces of injustice (in Kincheloe, 2004, p. 87). Similarly connecting local education to global change, Monisha Bajaj (2008) links critical pedagogy back to peace education by reminding educators of Galtung’s (1964) broad conceptualization of violence and the task of peace education as “the transformation of educational content, structure, and pedagogy to address direct and structural forms of violence at all levels” (2008, p. 1). The examples offered here are only a sampling of the vast and varied scholarship within peace education and critical pedagogy. Bajaj’s (2008) model of “critical peace education” does well to combine the complimentary scholarship within the two disciplines, which both focus on the experience of teaching and learning as actions with power to promote or dissuade violence.

Having established how critical pedagogy can be understood as education for peace, the next chapter examines the concept of critical literacy and explains how to understand it as a method for peace education through sport. I modify the concept of critical literacy with the word conflict in order to articulate the explicit connection between critical literacy and violence, again working within Galtung’s holistic framework portrayed in Chapter One. The remainder of Chapter Four will focus specifically on theoretical support for critical conflict literacy and its
connection to sport. The theory is put into practice in Chapter Five through empirical data analysis, which offers a categorical framework for conflict literacy in practice.
CHAPTER FOUR

Critical Literacy in Sport, or Critical Conflict Literacy

Literacy

Language and text. Literacy is an appropriate starting point as the substantive action that “critical” and “conflict” describe. Here, literacy is conceptualized as the mastery of a language of expression (a skill) that allows an individual to communicate competently (to act) within a given environment. The meaning of literacy moves beyond the mastery of reading, writing, and arithmetic when text is understood more broadly than the language of letters and numbers. Hermeneutics aids in understanding text metaphorically. As the science of understanding, hermeneutics has evolved over time from the art of interpreting the meaning of ancient texts (for example, the methodical exegesis of scriptures) to more recently, theorizing the process of cognition. Lueger and Zlotnik (1994) explain the transition as follows: With the objective of understanding text by understanding its context, hermeneutics has always differed from nomological explanations and is instead oriented toward an ideal of cognition based on understanding and interpretation (p. 294). 9

Because hermeneutics is concerned with the interpretation of meaning, as a discipline it has moved from understanding letters as text to understanding experience as text. Citing Gadamer (1986), Lueger and Zlotnik continue,

Hermeneutics thus becomes a universal medium of historical consciousness including the only possible cognition of truth: ‘understanding life by understanding expression.’ Consequently, history is viewed as text and exploring the past becomes a matter of decoding texts ([Gadamer] p. 245). Everything is text! (Lueger and Zlotnik, p. 295)

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9 I thank Markus Twisselman for making me aware of this point.
I employ Lueger and Zlotnik’s perspective in this work. For the purposes of this thesis, everything is text – text can be interpreted as the fabric of social life and the phenomena that occur within it. Thus, literacy is measured by a person’s ability to act and communicate within his sphere of existence.

**Dialogue.** As Freire (1970/2010) describes it, learning occurs as students become readers of the world and the word. In his understanding, learning takes place through the practice of dialogue. As text has been described by hermeneutics not only in reference to language but essentially to experience, Freire describes dialogue as more than conversation. In his interpretation, dialogue is the medium through which humans construct meaning. In their process of naming the world, humans in dialogue transform the world. Freire writes:

> Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed – even in part – the other immediately suffers...When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter...On the other hand, if action is emphasized exclusively...dialogue is impossible. Either dichotomy, by creating unauthentic forms of existence, creates also unauthentic forms of thought, which reinforce the original dichotomy. (87-88)

> There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world. (87)

If dialogue is humanity’s process of making meaning in the world, then literacy is the faculty that enables one to dialogue. Literacy is the command of language within context. Freire himself was a proponent of harmonizing theory and practice (praxis), and his personal educational research in Brazil and throughout the world focused on empowering learners to transform life
through their command of the word. While Freire primarily worked in the content area of language literacy, his theories of dialogue and critical consciousness have also been applied to content areas outside of language arts, which is the work of critical literacy.

**Critical Literacy**

**Capacity.** Significant headway has been made in the discipline of critical literacy since Freire’s original contributions in the early 1970s and 80s. In the inaugural issue of the *Critical Literacy Journal*, editors Mario and de Suza (2007) contextualize literacy “no longer as a technology or a set of cognitive skills to be developed in individual minds, but as a socio-culturally situated practice involving the ongoing negotiation of meaning in continually contested sites of meaning construction” (p. 4). As a practice of negotiation, whereas *functional* literacy refers to the technical command of language (reading, writing arithmetic), *critical* literacy refers more broadly to capacity -- the understanding of a context and the agency to act within it.

**Social Agency.** In this instance, being critical has less to do with criticism or critique\(^{10}\) and more to do with understanding and questioning assumptions and reacting to them. For education to be critical in the Freirian sense, it must be concerned with agency. Agency is expressed in Freire’s *conscientização*, the awakening of critical consciousness in oneself of oneself and one’s relationship with the world (1970/2010, p. 109). He particularly concentrated on awareness -raising with marginalized and oppressed individuals of their social status as marginalized and oppressed. Freire asserts that it is through the process of critical consciousness raising that learners become equipped to participate in dialogue, whereby they become creators

\(^{10}\) As Wisler (2012) writes, a transformative approach to education should encourage a movement from “criticizing to critical action.” It is important that the term critical be understood in relation to perception and action, as opposed to empty or negative critique.
and transformers of the world (p. 89). The oppressed fight for their own liberation, “as a result of
their own conscientização” (67).

Likewise, Bajaj (2008) explicates critical education as education concerned with agency in
her definition of critical peace education. Naming agency a “central framework” of peace
education, she notes that the process of fostering “the critical consciousness of students that,
coupled with opportunities for collective thinking and action, can catalyze transformative agency
…aimed toward all human rights for all people(s), is instrumental to peace education efforts” (p.
5). Bajaj frames education as a tool for addressing all levels of violence, through the
“transformative potential of peace education to engage learners in action towards greater equity
and social justice” (p. 6). Her position underlines the idea that any pedagogy considered critical
must concern itself with structural justifications for violence and inequality (cf Wallowitz, 2008).

Critical theorists such as Apple (2005, 1993), Giroux (2012, 1993), Hernandez (1997),
McLaren (1993), and Lankshear (1993), have grown the discipline in the wake of Freire to widen
the understanding of literacy from a certain kind of knowledge to a skill: “an emerging act of
concepts of critical literacy and dialogue to Habermas’ theories of critical reflexivity and
communicative action. Whereas Freire focuses on revolutionary pedagogy, Habermas highlights
democratic processes and honing competencies for life in the public sphere. In general, the two
theories parallel each other, with Freire’s concrete social action complementing Habermas’
thetical democratic framework (p. 132-133).

**Distinct from Critical Thought.** Finally, the faculty of critical literacy should be
differentiated from the act of critical thinking. The two are interrelated, but different concepts.
Mulcahy (2008) summarizes it thus: critical thinking focuses on learners’ abilities to reason,
analyze, evaluate and express their thoughts and feelings. Critical literacy is an expression of critical thought, as the process of linking these ideas to broader themes and acting upon the ideas and linkages in practice. Individuals who are critically literate understand their immediate context and their location within it, interact with others in the situation, and negotiate their identities as co-creators and transformers of the world (Freire 1970/2010; Wallowitz, 2008).

Much of what is written on critical pedagogy and critical literacy has been theoretical, although more recent publications return to critical literacy in practice (Anderson & Irvine, 1993, p. 82) Wallowitz’s (2008) edited volume Critical Literacy as Resistance presents examples of instruction for critical literacy throughout classroom content areas in case studies on critical literacy in science, mathematics, history, current events, languages, and art. Despite her own suggestion of a broader-than-traditional notion of text and literacy, physical education is markedly absent from Wallowitz’s index. One wonders why this absence exists -- perhaps because the text with which students interact is not as tangible in sport as it is in other disciplines.\(^{11}\) Perhaps there are fewer physical education teachers who see themselves as critical educators. Whatever the case, I argue that sport, a bodily experience, should be seen as the ideal space in which to practice critical literacy.

To the domain of critical pedagogy, sport offers a new location for praxis, a physical place to grapple with negotiating the self in relation to the world. To sport for peace programs, critical literacy lends a lexicon for articulating a theory of change, and a field of practice in which to discover new strategies and educational approaches.

\(^{11}\) It may be that the text of physical or experiential education does not appear as open to critical analysis when compared with physical texts or canvases such as those encountered in mathematics, art, or history.
Critical Conflict Literacy

In this section, I explain the theoretical connection that can be made between critical literacy in sport and its correlation to a reduction in violence and an increase in peace. I assert that the connection is made through a repeated, bodily encounter with problems and contradictions in sport, the reason why I modify the term critical literacy with the word conflict. As stated above, sport is understood in the context of programs intentionally using a game or physical activity in order to educate (i.e. “+ sport” (SDC, 2005), “sport for development and peace” (Right to Play, 2008; Sportanddev.org, 2012) or “sport for all” (Eichberg, 2010)). The concept of critical conflict literacy was generated by my empirical research into educational sport programs in Germany focused on integration that consider themselves members of the + sport movement. Given the exclusively German data, I do not assume the transferability of the concept to other situational or cultural contexts. At the same time, I do foresee the communication and adaptation of the concept to contexts outside of Germany, especially considering the tremendous international reach and rapid exchange of ideas in the field of sport and development.

Experiential Learning for Conflict Resolution: “Bodily Knowledge”. I submit that the practice of sport is a unique vehicle by which program participants become critically literate with the experience and resolution of conflicts through the regular and embodied experience of themselves in conflict and within the structures of a game. To operationalize this hypothesis, I begin with an exploration of embodied knowledge.

Sport, as inherently experiential, is, in accordance with Mario and de Suza’s definition of literacy, an “ongoing negotiation” (2007). As a repeated experience, it reinforces what Shapiro (1999) terms “sentient knowledge,” a phenomenological way to think about humanity’s
knowledge and experience, and, as clarified in the earlier discussion of John Dewey’s philosophy, a direct refutation of Descartes’ separation of body and mind (“disembodied reasoning” (Shapiro, 1999, p. 146)). Mead and Dewey formalized the concept of embodied reasoning in the early 20th century. Dewey believed that human beings possess an intrinsic knowledge that is imbued through experience, knowledge that “lives first ‘in the muscles’” (Biesta & Burbules, 2003, p. 11). This process of knowing was expedited, he argued, in the creation of symbols, eventually becoming language. Knowledge is shared and exchanged through language in the work of communication (p. 12). Dewey’s colleague Mead (1934/1972) related individual knowledge to social knowledge: “that which we have acquired as self-conscious persons makes us such members of society and gives us selves. Selves can only exist in definite relationships to other selves” (p. 164). To regard it anachronistically, Dewey and Mead explain physical dimensions of Freire’s problem-posing dialogue: what we do, and how we do it with others, shapes who we are.

More recently, Eichberg (2010), Morris (2005), and Shapiro (1999) investigate the concept of bodily knowledge. Morris (2005) and Shapiro (1999) frame bodily knowledge as a strikingly postmodern “embodiment...at once material, individual, and social” (Morris, p. 144) that is “part of the epistemological shift towards the specific, the contingent, and the local” (Shapiro, p. 146). A hyper-specific, context-based knowledge, bodily knowledge is unique to every human being, but at the same time inseparable from each human being’s interaction with other human beings. Sport theorists have reinforced the concept that participation in sport imbues a bodily knowledge through the repeated negotiation with self, space, others (Gieß-Stüber, 2008; Eichberg, 2010). In this vein, bodily knowledge offers the theoretical foundation for understanding phenomenological cognition. I portray bodily knowledge in this thesis as a form of critical literacy. If repeated experiences create a sort of “muscle memory” that translates to
physical, emotional, and social knowledge, it is presumable that this knowledge might also be transferable to other contexts. Bodily knowledge is a competence humans can rely upon and a language through which we express ourselves. It is a critical literacy.

**Encountering others as participating in dialogue.** A wealth of theory and research on the concept of the self in relationship to others in education and sport exists, both in theory and in practice. Building on social learning theory (Bandura, 1969), recent research Europe has dealt with how strengthening the self-concept while simultaneously gaining exposure to difference through interacting with others can be used in sport contexts for intercultural education.\(^\text{12}\)

The crux of the issue is that the concept of experiential learning through the body in sport is an alternative way to gain knowledge and competence – literacy. The negotiation of the self in relation to others in situations of conflict, as literacy, is the enactment of Freire’s problem-posing dialogue, which “requires moving from the abstract to the concrete” (1970/2010, p. 105).\(^\text{13}\) As Morrow and Torres (2002) note, the non-directive dialogue is “oriented toward learning how to *produce* knowledge,” a “competence training” as opposed to “the imposition of content” on learners (p. 125). Linking Freire’s method to Habermas’ theories of collective learning and reflexivity as tools for civic education, Morrow and Torres synthesize the process of critical literacy in action: “Only through the cultivation of a multiplicity of competencies does education contribute fully to the capacity for ‘critical literacy’ that is required of democratic citizens” (p. 146). In Chapter Five, I extrapolate how sport programs cultivate competence in conflict

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\(^\text{12}\) See, for example, Gieß-Stüber’s work on reflexive interculturality and interaction with strangeness in sport (Gieß-Stüber and Blecking, 2008; Grimminger’s (2009) research in intercultural competence in physical education, and Rato Barrio and Ley on interculturalism in sport and development (2011; 2009).

\(^\text{13}\) From Freire (1970/2010): “This dialectical movement of thought is exemplified perfectly in the analysis of a concrete existential, ‘coded’ situation. Its ‘decoding’ requires moving from the abstract to the concrete; to the parts; this in turn requires that the Subject recognize himself in the object (the coded concrete existential situation) and recognize other Subjects. If the decoding is well done, this movement of flux and reflux from the abstract to the concrete which occurs in the analysis of a coded situation leads to the supersedence of the abstraction by the critical perception of the concrete, which has already ceased to be a dense, impenetrable reality” (p. 105).
negotiation by problem-posing around issues that arise in the context of sport, such as the rules of the game, the points assigned, or the conduct of the players. Experience creates both theoretical and bodily knowledge, which informs how individuals deal with situations of conflict. As Davies writes, “[p]aradoxically, peace education seems to come from exposure to conflict, learning from people who disagree with you, rather than those who agree” (2005, p. 365). With peace, as in sport, practice is the only path to precision. In peace, as in sport, there are no short cuts to improvement and efficacy.

**Encountering conflict as becoming literate.** Eichberg (2010) uses phenomenological philosophy applied to sport in order to express sport as a (universally) human action instead of an experience limited to elite athletes (p. 328). With this foundation, he postulates that sport is an embodiment of democracy. Eichberg terms the relationship between human bodies as the “inter-body”, intrinsic to sport and to humanity. The inter-body is also a reflection of democracy according to Eichberg. It is because of the inter-body that humans encounter conflict, but it is via the inter-body that they mediate conflict, which he equates to “the conditions of living democracy…based on the recognition of otherness, on the culture of difference and conflict” (p. 329). Sport thus makes a unique contribution to the pursuit of humanistic goals because the playing of a game is more important for its players than the game itself (p. 19). Sport therefore contributes to a democratic culture by providing a context in which relationships of trust and recognition are built. An individual, in her submission of self to the common game, contributes to a public culture of trust (p. 330). Using Eichberg’s depiction of sport-as-democracy as a backdrop on the meta-level, I now explore the experience and mediation of specific conflicts in sport. I submit that the repeated exposure to (micro-level) conflicts within sport might function constructively, allowing participants to acquire negotiation and conflict resolution skills by
employing their bodily knowledge with conflict. Finally, I interpret the practice of bodily knowledge as the acquisition of critical conflict literacy.
CHAPTER FIVE

Pedagogical Approaches for Critical Conflict Literacy in Sport

Research Findings

I have asserted that the structures of + sport educational programs lend themselves to critical pedagogy because of participants’ regular encounters with contradiction and the experiential practice of conflict resolution. Using a grounded-theory analysis (Charmaz, 2011; Creswell, 2007; Tarozzi, 2011), I present a framework that illustrates how German practitioners in + sport programs use sport to teach participants critical literacy in situations of conflict. It was established through the procedure of analysis detailed in Chapter Two. After an iterative, grounded theory coding of field notes, interview transcriptions, certain recurring themes emerged in the raw data. The themes were grouped together during the selective coding process, generating six main conceptual categories that describe the main components of critical conflict literacy in sport. These categories were generated through interviews with educational professionals (coaches, program managers, and professors) and not with program participants, which means that the data is reflective of methodologies that educators find successful. The construct-focused framework displays pedagogical approaches and methods that scholars and practitioners commonly viewed as successful for addressing violence through sport.\(^{14}\) It does not necessarily portray what participants encounter in + sport programs, and is not submitted as a prescriptive model for how educative sport programs should be built, but rather is a theoretical construction of what field experts express already takes place.\(^{15}\)

\(^{14}\)Interview questions can be seen in Appendix A

\(^{15}\) As this framework is not a prescriptive model for program structure, the phases of implementation should not be assumed to be chronologically rigid – practitioners spoke about many of these program aspects at multiple points of execution.
Program Design

Reliance on sport: start and return to play. To all of the experts I interviewed it was clear that even though their practice is education, privileging the experience of sport is central to the design and success of their work. Some are athletes who became educators and others are educators who turned to athletics, but their common task is to imagine how education can be intentionally infused into sport. There are of course many ways to use sport for good -- Right to Play’s report, Harnessing the Power of Sport offers a comprehensive defense for the many “+” options on which sport can capitalize. What interviewees had in common was a conviction of the unique vessel sport provides for education. One professor of physical education interviewed expressed its centrality for peace education because of sport’s simple authenticity:

Sport is unimaginable. I can’t trade my body, whether I wanted to or not, I have to live with it and now also in the sense of Bordieu, this theory of “habitus”…culture is something that…our bodies carry…we bring with us and our person, our milieu, our typical experiences, our cultural experience, our religious convictions, we carry this always with us and when we meet others they are very revealing …through my bodily presence I am simply more authentic…in sport, but also in play, perhaps especially because this is always connected to our affective selves, to our emotional
participation…which is why there are also real conflicts, that’s why so much clashes in sport when things *don’t* fit together. (E.D, personal communication, 2011, own translation)

Another scholar commented on how sport can be used for education in the way it makes conflict visible by revealing patterns of dealing with difference:

Things like nearness, foul, an elbow check, these things are connoted differently as legitimate or illegitimate. Then [there is] the difference between certain situations in which two bodies meet one another and have meaningful or different patterns of how to deal with this meeting….this can even make me aggressive and then we’re looking at coping strategies that one can observe much easier in sport because [they] ...so obviously…cannot be controlled through this open portrayal…I think that this in sport, in comparison to other things, is very visible. (C.F., personal communication 2011, own translation)

In this vein, + sport programs use sport to make conflict visible in the pursuit of an educational or societal goal, precisely because of its unique capacities to unite people in a common, authentic experience that is at once physical, emotional, strategic, and analytical. There are a number of approaches and forms of sport that can be used to intentionally engage conflict, but the most common thread is a pattern of play – reflection – play. In sport, players naturally negotiate with others while playing. In programs centered on education for transforming conflict, however, these players are also offered the explicit opportunity to spend time in reflection on their play as well as their experience and relationships with others in play.
**Context driven.** A trademark of many programs I investigated lay in their inseparable connection to the immediate contexts of their target groups (Zeile, Sandmann, Giebenhain, Witopil, & Gergert, n.d., p. 28). Many practitioners and program designers expressed their work as elicited from a neighborhood context, meaning it reacts to the needs of a community rather than arriving in a community with a prescribed solution. It was important for programs to be near to their participants – both in terms of the physical resources they offered (fields, courts, centers that are a short distance from participants’ homes) and in terms of the educators’ personal accessibility. In this way, programs can be uniquely relevant to the specific challenges that these groups face (e.g., integration, gender, equality, discrimination, right-wing radicalism), regardless of their status as a “franchise site” of a national organization or an alone-standing community center.

**Defining peace.** Scholars and program designers often reinforced *defining* first and foremost the specific aspect of peace or violence being addressed by the program being discussed in their interview responses. These research participants were sometimes more likely (and often more comfortable) expressing their work in more locally relevant terms than “peace.” Thus, “sport for gender equality” or “sport for community health” was generally articulated before connecting the work to peace – with good reason. In general, practitioners voiced their desires to serve the needs of their immediate residential communities. In order to be coherently relevant to their contexts, it was a consistent opinion of practitioners that programs should generate a theory of change after thoughtful reflection on their locations, target groups, and most apparent needs.

In the terms of peace education, there are two implications to this “defining” process: first, violence should be understood more holistically than direct violence. Thus, approaches
which address violence must also be holistic, which calls for an active awareness in practitioners to societal currents of structural and cultural violence that may also affect direct violence in their contexts. Secondly, a commitment to local engagement requires a dedication to relationships, the development of individual personalities, and an investment in long-term change.

Building relationships. Investing in relationships with young people was an incredibly salient aspect of my interview and ethnographic data. Practitioners emphasized that few methods for constructively developing individual persons can be prescribed – in effective programs, the sport, rules of play, location, and educational style are elicited based on an acute awareness of systems of violence and justice in the program’s greater context. One program director coaching table tennis spoke about the role of relationships in her sport club and how they impact the program’s theory of change:

[I]t’s very important for us to give people who um, are, not really firmly integrated into the German society a concept of what community, what living, working, being together means, and this is something that is much more valuable than just learning a sport…Well I started with the idea, how it works: table tennis practice. If you are a swimmer or doing track and field, you practice for yourself. You don’t need a practice partner. In table tennis, you have to be, um, committed to the situation. You have to work with your partner…to practice a relay at a certain speed so that everybody can achieve something…So there are a number of really minor things, one would think, that gives you the opportunity to interact…it’s very important that you just create an environment where people are very tolerant…So we [the coaches] try to be involved in their personal life…we try to handle the whole thing like a family. (Z.W., personal communication, 2011)
She continued by explaining how her work often involved homework help, calling parents on the phone, or going for ice cream. At the end of the same interview, her point was proven when a young person entered the gym where we were meeting. I caught the following exchange on tape, completely unrelated to the table tennis practice that had just finished:

   Student: We’re about to go for a run, right?

   Coach: Yes, sure Svenja.\textsuperscript{16} Do you have your running shoes here? Is Lisa here?

   Student: No, but I did see Jessica.

   Coach: Okay, make sure she has running shoes here, too. Do we want to go right away or at six?

   Student: Okay, six is fine.

   Coach: So we’ll play a little, and then go running?

   Student: Yeah! (personal communication, 2011, own translation)

This example is only one of any number of exchanges I witnessed on and off the record demonstrating the relational investment practitioners regularly emphasized as inherent to their work. When asked about the long-term effectiveness of her program, this same coach said,

   [F]or me, it is all about doing relationships. I have a really good rapport with the students that come regularly. And I always notice if I cannot achieve this connection, if I cannot tie them in, you don’t get the same results, personality-wise. I mean, you can become a great athlete, without, you know, liking me! But if comes to this concept of personality building, you know, changing, um, living by example for existence. Then it’s most important that you have a really strong…bond with the students. That is why I always try to take time to do other things with the students…outside the club. (Z.W., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

\textsuperscript{16} Names were changed to protect research subjects.
In my ethnographic research at a soccer tournament at another German city nearly 400 miles away and more than a month later, I recorded an informal conversation with a school principal who spoke about a specific soccer program’s effect on the students in his school: “it is more sustainable, but requires patience…Relationship and continuity are necessary.” To summarize, effectiveness is ensured through practitioners’ long-term, relational investment in developing the personalities, (not “just” the athletic skill) of their players.

**Context driven programs in practice.** Practically, there are a number of sustainable methods for context-based work. In example, many practitioners expressed their connections to neighborhood networks; coaches know and regularly call parents or involve them in program functions. Coaches know about or participate their players’ lives outside of the sport, often helping their players with schoolwork, going to movies together, and simply understanding the player’s life outside of the game. Most practitioners I interviewed belong to both local and global sport and social networks.¹⁷ Locally, they know other representatives from social services, schools, or stores. Nationally or internationally, they are connected to other sports programs with similar intentions or target groups.

One particular example of the context-derived program is the “project-based” initiative KICKFORMORE (KICKFAIR, 2007b). Supported by the German non-profit organization KICKFAIR, KICKFORMORE expands their educational approach outside the boundaries of soccer.¹⁸ Initially, KICKFORMORE engages young people in its soccer programs through tournaments organized locally by other young people in their region or at their school. When students become committed to KICKFORMORE, its staff and volunteers support students in the

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¹⁷ This conclusion was reached through the interview question “What resources, tools, or networks would support you in your work?” 100% of practitioners interviewed responded that they were already connected to enough networks in the field, and explained the nature of these connections.

¹⁸ KICKFAIR is a German organization using “the potential of [soccer] to develop various projects in the areas of education, learning and upbringing” (KICKFAIR, 2007a, para. 2).
creation and completion of their own unique ideas, inclusive or regardless of their relationship to soccer. One example is the KICKFORMORE music project, wherein participants wrote, recorded, and produced a CD based on the words and thoughts of fellow teens related to respect, tolerance, and cooperation. The CD (created in 2006) continues to be played at KICKFAIR tournaments today. Another example is KICKFAIR’s long-term youth leadership through football project in coordination with the Peres Center for Peace in Jerusalem and its Football for Peace Program (KICKFAIR, 2011). In KICKFORMORE, but also in other programs, the common thread is that being relevant and legitimate to participants’ immediate surroundings is, according to experts, central to educational success.

Program Implementation - Pedagogical Approaches and Methodologies

“Inszenierung”: Setting the stage. More than a third of the participant pool employed the German term *inszenierung* to describe the pedagogical task behind using sport for peace, regardless of organizational affiliation or educative goal. The word translates literally to “orchestration.” It is primarily used in a theatrical context, and gives the sense of “setting the stage” for something to take place. To liken the sports’ fields to a stage, on its platform, conflicts are acted out with and in front of others. These “performances” are true experiences of conflicts that arise naturally from the game, whose resolutions are improvised on spot. These conflicts are reflective of real life interpersonal and societal conflicts because they are real life conflicts – neither the conflict nor the solution is scripted. If a program intends to utilize sport in the pursuit of education, these moments of conflict should be allowed for, drawn attention to, and analyzed for critical learning to occur. It is by creating structures that allow conflicts to take place and be learned from (*inszenierung*) that + sport programs are distinguished from sport + programs.
Sport lends itself to education both through the simplicity of its rules and through their flexibility. Setting rules, changing rules, and keeping rules is the main pedagogical task of educators helping students become literate with conflict through sport. As one professor of sport pedagogy observed,

If I have a group and I bring a ball and throw it in their middle and say, “Play!” then chaos ensues. When it is a basketball then the cultural conscience is brought to the fore – with a basketball you’ll play this and with a soccer ball that but if I throw something in there that is not specific, then I don’t know what I should do. (E.D., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

She continues that, in this sense, rules can function to create order, but they can also be applied and negotiated, depending on the goal and the group at hand:

On the one hand…rules are very helpful because they give us frames and orientation and a certain prescribed order that of course does not have to be negotiated…This means that children who perhaps don’t share the same language can communicate with each other…. But it is sometimes also good to point to the fact…that one can in fact change these rules, that a completely different game comes out of it, that I can make new rules that are dependent upon who wishes to do something together. And that…pursues a very important pedagogical goal. In the first place I need a certain competence in conflict if I want to make myself understood. … And there are….great chances for peace education because it’s politically not any different…There, too, all of the rules are somehow negotiated with one another. (E.D., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

In order for sport to be used for peace education, the major work of practitioners is setting the stage for conflict and negotiation to take place. “Setting the stage” might happen physically
through the delineation of space, or it might happen methodically, through the establishment and consistent reinforcement of certain ground rules. A helpful example of how *inszenierung* can be effectively used in + sport programs is the popular fair play methodology “football3.”

Football3 is a dialogue-centered approach to fair play in soccer originally developed in Medellín, Colombia that today “describes a range of innovative approaches to achieving social development through football” (soccer) (streetfootballworld, “football3”, n.d.). All football3 approaches have two components in common: first, all games have “three halves,” meaning that pre-, during- and post-game dialogue between teams count as an official part of the game. Secondly, there are no referees. Instead, players themselves develop and enforce their own requirements for fair play. These central components are molded to satisfy local contexts in order to engender fair play around the world. The football3 methodology is a prime example of peace education through sport, and offers a helpful structure to express how *inszenierung* can be used to promote critical conflict literacy.

*Creating a common physical space.* While in Germany, two of my site visits included football3 tournaments. During these tournaments the “stage” was set quite visibly, as the organizers brought materials to construct their own smaller-than-regulation soccer fields. In early July, I was privileged to assist a team of employees and volunteers at one tournament in the piecing-together of the barriers, goal nets, and posts of a kid-sized field for a girls’ football3 tournament. The small field is ideal for the program’s approach: teams play rapid, seven-minute games against one another, and the size of the fields allow multiple games to be played at once in the same place, so the tournament proceeds quickly. Through my ethnographic observations, I noted that participants thrived on governing a space meant for them. Unlike more formal sports
tournaments, players wore jewelry on the field, or Converse All-Stars to play instead of field spikes.

A different location I visited focused less specifically on soccer: as an open drop-in center with access to a neighboring school’s large asphalt court, the pedagogical focus was not always on one sport, but more often on using the common as a “superordinate goal” (Sherif, 1951, in Moghaddam, 2008) to encourage the diversity of visitors who wanted to use it at the same time to govern their own space. One social worker from the center describes the approach:

We offer the space and equipment for kids to decide on their own how they would like to play…we let them play together, students who wouldn’t necessarily meet one another otherwise, who are in different grades or different schools…I say to our kids from time to time, “Hey! You’re discussing the game more than you’re actually playing it!” That is to say, what rules in the street (that older kids are always in charge or the stronger ones are always in charge or the majority is always in charge) – that’s not the way it is [here]. We make sure that everyone has an equal chance. We also pay attention and stop them from hitting one another or beating one another up if that starts. We play close attention to rules regarding how to start the game…after they know these rules for a while they’ve started to take them on and enforce them themselves … We hope to use the opportunities they already have to manage things with one another. We want to suggest as little as possible, to offer as little direction as possible. (N.P., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

This practitioner has precisely illustrated two aspects of inszenierung. First, the center offers a physical, common space for students to encounter one another, to encounter difference, and to
encounter challenge, contradiction, and conflict. Second, educators set specific ground rules that keep the space safe for participants to negotiate conflict.

*Setting simple ground rules.* The structure of specific ground rules is integral to using sport for peace education. These rules govern different aspects of play, such as space, participation, or team make up (e.g., as was just expressed, “We make sure that everyone has an equal chance”). They never prescribe how a conflict is meant to be or should be resolved. One coach from a Judo club in a major German city expressed setting ground rules in her program this way:

> My goal…is that they learn first of all how to talk with one another, before they punch each other in the face, right, and for this, too, Judo is an ideal sport to create a level where they don’t have to right away be “at 100,000” but first express themselves before they do something…and this takes a large time investment. It takes quite a lot of time, and it doesn’t work with all the children, but over the years that I have done this, I have confirmed that these kind of approaches are noticeable. Yes, they’re really ready to help one another. They respect one another so that it works together a bit more harmoniously. And, I can imagine that they turn around and take that with them into their lives, right? Because they do it voluntarily, at least in my class, right, so they have somehow gotten the hang of it and apply it – unconsciously… (T.U., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

This coach illustrates the importance of setting clear and understandable guidelines to govern the common space – instead of creating a long list of rules that can’t be easily remembered, or on the other hand, trying to collaborate with no guidance at all, setting (and maintaining) a few simple ground rules that can be agreed upon by everyone who wants to play reminds participants of
their cooperative responsibility, thus creating not only a physically safe space to encounter
conflict, but a socially safe space as well.

At another football3 tournament I witnessed, the ground rules for play included not only
space but also time, which lends itself to the play-reflection-play approach. The general approach
is as follows: before the game, the opposing teams decide together on three central rules for fair
play that should be adhered to during the game. A peer observer (called a “Teamer”) writes
down the rules, observes the game, records the goals scored, and watches for fair play adherence
and violations from off the field. After the game, the teams and the Teamer re-group in the
dialogue zone (the “third” half-time) and discuss the outcome of the game. Teams receive points
for the goals they physically scored, but in addition, award points to each other according to how
well they feel the other team followed the fair play rules. In the case of foobtall3, there is no
prescription for how a conflict should be solved. In addition, traditional authority figures (i.e.
school teachers or staff, parents, and also coaches) are strictly prohibited from participating in
the “dialogue zones.”

**Rules that distinguish and alter the game.** It is commonly acknowledged within the +
sport field that a major opportunity that sport offers education are the standards and flexibility
found in the rules of well-known games (Gieß-Stüber, 2008 Jäger, 2008; Sugden, 2006). A
recently published coach’s manual from the organization Integration Durch Sport (“Integration
through Sport” or IDS), whose work, supported by the German government, encourages gender
and intercultural integration in and through sport, offers one example of the flexibility of rules as
a teaching tool:

As such, it [sport pedagogy] doesn’t always have to happen through so-called
“interaction-games.” … [A] small alteration of the rules in basketball, for example, such as forbidding dribbling, can improve communication within a team through the constant pressure it puts on teammates to pass [the ball]. (Zeile, et. al., (n.d) p. 30 own translation)

This example, like the example from the Judo club above, shows that it is not only playful exercises around the game that can teach peace, such as trust-building games or reflective activities. In fact, much can be done within the actual sport itself. As another practitioner explained the development of the football3 methodology, there is a balance involved in using the game of soccer itself, thus maintaining the real-life experience of conflict, and clearly distinguishing between soccer on the street and football3 by altering rules:

It was very much how do we translate the already existing platforms…football, as it was played at this time [in Colombia] being just an additional reason for fighting and killing and war…in the situations where people played football, they just took everything, they, they carried with them onto the football pitch, and it was just the same, just another reason to fight. And we had to disrupt, let’s say, the whole logic of the game. And therefore the proposal had to be as different as possible…it would have to allow for cheers, obviously, the passion around the game…but at the same time as different as possible in order to make clear that this is a different proposal. (B.T., personal communication, 2012)

It was for this reason that football3 included mixed-gender teams, “three half-times” and no referees. The practitioner further observes that practicing the sport in this way created “safety” for players on multiple levels:

A safe environment in physical terms. Football3 was recognized in Medellín as a place of being safe, nobody had weapons there...It was also safe because people didn’t have to
respond to…what they felt were social attitudes that [other] people were expecting from them…it was a safe haven in terms of being able to be themselves, and not in a position where they would be under pressure to do something…it was an experience, a training field, a practice of how things could be if people would be skilled to approach a situation in a different way that wasn’t killing but talking. And safe on a third level…because it was a football environment…they just felt competent talking with a language they felt they were literate at. (B.T., personal communication, 2012)

While the football3 approach was developed in Colombia, a country that continues to be heavily burdened with instances of direct violence, these three aspects of safety apply to football3 programs around the world. Creating a space where players feel themselves physically, emotionally and socially safe enough to communicate with one another about difference, the football3 methodology sets the stage for peace education through soccer. By capitalizing on the “text” or “language” of a content area (in this case, soccer), in which players consider themselves competent (or “fluent”), football3 empowers its players to confront differences and negotiate conflict. In other words, football3 gives its players the tools to become critically literate in situations of conflict.

*Inszenierung* is a broad concept, as portrayed by the diversity of approaches interviewees explicitly or implicitly utilized the term when explaining their programs. Setting the stage can be summarized as providing a safe space in which to encounter other people and encounter difference, access to the physical space and practical equipment to explore this encounter (and have fun while doing it), and a set of structured ground rules that allow this encounter to take
place safely. The *Inszenierung* process prepares a space for the central confrontation with conflict: problem-posing education.

**Problem-Posing Education: Participants Experience Contradiction and Conflict.** A problem-posing approach to education through sport describes the experiences in which participants engage when they encounter challenges and conflicts on the field or on the court. It is for the purpose of encountering these problems that educators have “set the stage.” Problem-posing as described by these experts can be divided into four parts: a) raising awareness of self and awareness of others; b) understanding structures, why they are there, and how to use them; c) experiencing positive peace (in this instance, equality, fairness, resolution, and harmony); and d) internalizing the experience through practice.

In practice, experts gave examples of conflict experiences as participants’ involvement in making or changing rules, creating boundaries or making “calls” (i.e. foul, off-sides, ball), helping partners or opponents to improve techniques, refereeing their own games, and reflecting together after the activity on what was learned during play, including what rules were held or not held. In all of these activities, there is a heavy focus on the ability of participants to express themselves and communicate their needs, interests, and values to others.

I have named this experience “problem-posing” because it can be perceived as an embodiment of Freire’s (1970/2010) problem-posing approach to raising critical consciousness. Freire’s pedagogy asks students to be active participants in learning instead of static recipients. Teachers, too, are learning, as they engage in dialogue with their students. Problem-posing in sport programs focuses on dealing with present and concrete (instead of abstract) conflicts at an

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19 The *Inszenierung* process is informed by a variety of theories in pedagogy, psychology, multiculturalism, and conflict resolution, among others. For a more thorough investigation of these educational strategies and their application to peace education and sport, see Biester, Föll, Ramirez and Ress, 2009; Jäger, 2008; Gieß-Stüber and Blecking, 2008; Gieß-Stüber and Blecking, 2008; Solomon, 2004; and Tuohey and Cognato, 2011.
immediate, almost micro level, so that through practice, participants acquire the ability to deal with conflicts on meta- or macro levels.

*Raising awareness and understanding.* As two program designers describe their soccer program specifically using football3, they say that soccer itself is “enormously ambiguous.” They highlight their intentional use of the ambiguity of soccer in order for learning to happen. One designer explains the program’s approach to encountering ambiguity:

> When one uses soccer intentionally, then you can use this ambiguity as a chance to learn, right? So, what is fairness, is it this or that? What is a rule, why is a rule important? How do I negotiate a rule in fact? What do I do when people don’t stick to the rules? What possibilities do I have for dealing with that? …and sometimes the normal, traditional understanding of soccer gets turned on its head. We intentionally use football3….as an educational approach. And there is a specific set of rules, that’s the first point. And the second point is that it starts with play, and it also always returns to play. But the essential part of learning is the discussion that takes place between the game, meaning outside of the field. (F.D., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

A colleague adds,

> The thought behind it…[is] precisely in order to make this ambivalence the seed, a jumping off point and an approach to a process of change to take on other subjects that develop themselves alongside this process…[the sport’s] potential, for the educational understanding we described, lies in what happens when you turn it on its head and exhaustively explore it. (R.W., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

And the first continues,
…what we do is we come at it through the game. This is what I meant; this is something concrete. We ask, “What did you experience? Where was there a conflict?” but then also, “What is a conflict actually?”…it is always current…always changing, and always concretely related to what has been experienced. (F.D., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

This program’s use of the football3 methodology catered to the negotiation of ambiguity. I witnessed the concept in practice at one of the football3-centered tournaments I visited in Germany. Using the football3 methodology, players create their own rules and negotiate outcomes. The process of creating and re-visiting rules independently leads to an understanding of rules and structures and heightens an awareness of self and others.

As can be seen in the examples above, no interviewees directly referenced Freire, although many made frequent, specific reference to participants’ process of acquiring an awareness of themselves, others, and the environment. Many interviewees directly referenced Banudra’s (1969) Social-Learning Theory, whereby individuals learn about their personal selves through their experiences with others. In confronting a problem, isolating its experience, understanding the problem, reflecting on the situation, and coming to a conclusion, interviewees observed, young people become aware of their own needs and the needs of others. Through this experiential learning process, they also learn about how rules are made and why they exist. Importantly, this learning is not prescribed by an authority but experienced individually and cooperatively by the players themselves.

*Encountering contradiction, experiencing resolution.* Experts used words such as “cooperation,” “process,” “communication,” and “negotiation” to describe the skills participants engage while problem-posing in sport. Through the repeated negotiation of real conflicts in real
time, students become critically literate in negotiating conflicts. In terms of the process’ relationship to violence and peace, as one social worker commented, “[interacting] helps them…become aware of their own sensitivity to justice.” (N.P., personal communication, 2011, own translation). Another expert said, “experience creates the knowledge that peace ‘pays’; that peace is worth it” (C.M., personal communication, 2011, own translation). From a practitioner’s point of view, it seems that creating opportunities for problem-posing in sport provides a prime location for the negotiation and resolution of concrete conflicts in that this requires participants to put their own cooperation, communication, and interpersonal skills into practice. In one illustration from my research, two practitioners in the same Judo program speak about the cooperation and communication skills that their players experience:

Program Manager: Judo and Jujitsu are especially fitted to this because you constantly have to consider the other person and pay attention to quite a few social values in order for the sport to work in the first place. And in the best-case scenario, you carry this over to your daily life. (L.M., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

Coach:…It’s the sport itself, right? It’s made up of case technicalities, of hits, of holds; later of levers, of chokes, and so on. It begins simply with the throw, right? I can throw my partner like a wet sack, or I can through him conscious of the fact that I don’t want to hurt him…I just want to try out the technique…and if he unfortunately gets hurt then I go up to him and apologize to him because that’s not actually what I intended, right? … on the sport level, it’s really this paying attention to one another, being ready to help….respect, simply. [It’s] not only about technique. They couldn’t improve it [technique] that way [without talking about it] anyway. One has to explain to them again and then again, why, how, how come?… It’s a matter of practice, and it requires on the
other hand also a bit of courage, to let yourself be thrown, to say “OK, I’ll let myself be
thrown now; he’s standing there and I’m lying down here on the ground, but that’s OK
because it’s part of practice; that belongs to the sport and it’s no problem. (T.U., personal
communication, 2011, own translation)

In this example, similar to the previous examples of the football3 approach, experts observe that
it is the physical and emotional experience of negotiating conflicts in sport, that is of central
importance.

Returning to M. Mead’s (1940) assertion that war is a human invention: “A form of
behavior becomes out of date only when something else takes its place, and, in order to invent
forms of behavior which will make war obsolete, it is a first requirement to believe that an
invention is possible” (p. 22). Encountering conflict and resolution in sport is important because
practitioners believe it is through players’ personal exposure to alternative solutions to conflict in
sport that their “repertoires” (skills for and knowledge about) how to engage and resolve
conflicts are broadened. Experiencing conflict and resolving conflicts, to use Mead’s idea, helps
students invent new mechanisms for non-violently dealing with conflict and to refine and
practice their inventions.

*Practicing critical skills.* In addition to regularly encountering conflicts, participants
should regularly practice dealing with them in order to internalize methods for non-violent
conflict resolution. Explanations of practicing the problem-posing approach by practitioners
were also reminiscent of the bodily knowledge concept based on G. H. Mead (1934) and Dewey
(1943/1990) expressed in Chapter Three. Understood in the context of sport, scholars and
practitioners hypothesized, repeated experience with conflict could shape an internal knowledge
of conflict negotiation that can be put to use later outside of sport – perhaps in the same way that
(American) football players who learn ballet off the field perform flawless footwork in the end zone. One social worker using sport in her work with youth explained this phenomenon in her city:

…I think that through the fact that you have a collective goal, namely, you want to practice the same kind of sport, that you like playing soccer together, [makes] you hold yourself to certain rules. I have the feeling that sport rules are easier to follow than saying “please” and “thank you.” And they are somehow more logical. Because if you foul all the time, then soccer just doesn’t work. And then you’re also much more interested in finding a proper solution for the conflict you have…And also that we discuss [situations like] younger and older [players sharing the court] and who has what rights, helps children and young people to grapple with it. This is far from meaning that you automatically follow the rules! … But we verbally draw attention to it and I sometimes think it’s too little [sic] when all you do is say something, that’s so pedagogical – we’re just talking. But I think it is through this process that you become more aware. (K., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

The problem-posing approach to encountering conflicts in sport is allowed for by educators who create understandable foundations that allow contradictions to be safely confronted – a kind of structured chaos. Vital to the problem-posing process is that participants confront and resolve the conflicts themselves. As demonstrated above, the educator makes room for and may draw attention to conflicts. Because participants are growing conflict-resolving muscles, they must be the ones engaging in negotiation and dealing with the ambiguity that arises from sport. This is the process of embodied dialogue.
Program Outcomes – Practicing Literacy

**Expecting responsibility and cooperation: participants practice new skills.** Problem-posing in sport requires dedicated engagement from participants. It means players must take responsibility for their actions, not only for their own plays but also through refereeing their own games, organizing multi-team tournaments, and contributing to a team. From an educator’s perspective, problem-posing is a result of effectively “setting the scene.” Practitioners take the time to bring players to an open and welcoming space and consistently remind players of the rules of the game. From this point on, the outcome of the game is in the hands of the players. In the case of football, this is witnessed not only in the outcome of the game, but also in the negotiation creation of the game’s rules and even the process of refereeing the game.

In another example of a non-football soccer program, one expert explains the breakdown of training new players in the program. As a part of the three-day program, the play-reflection-play approach is used. The training begins with a game of soccer and a focus on various techniques (the experience portion). On the second day of training, the players (usually teenagers) teach primary school students, which in his words, “can really be the most exciting hours” (S.Y., personal communication, 2011, own translation) as teens discover how they feel in the position of coach and as a rule-enforcer. On the third day, the students themselves organize their own small tournament, each responsible for one team of younger children:

…so that they really get the feeling of this position of being coach themselves, to get into it, to cheer for their team…also to be in the position of referee, to really get into this position where they can actually see, “OK how is it when you have to decide if someone really shot a goal, or to decide about a foul…so that they themselves get the experience. Here also we try to insert blocks of theory content…but as I mentioned the portion of
praxis is very, very high...we....increased the amount of time spent practically teaching others because we simply noticed that this as the portion where they learned the most.

(S.Y., personal communication, 2011, own translation)

Thus, practically expecting responsibility from students might include participants’ construction of rules for fair play, becoming trained as coaches for younger players, refereeing or “mediating” other matches, organizing tournaments, or even creating new projects, as is the case in the project-based approach explained above. Responsibility is reflective of Freire’s critical pedagogy because learners are not simply receivers but co-creators. In the words of one interviewee, it calls “for a paradigm shift” for coaches “from the transfer of knowledge to a didactic of empowerment.” (F.D. personal communication, 2011, own translation) Acting from a position of responsibility, say experts interviewed, players start to see more complexity in their environment and they begin to understand their role as co-creators of experience.

**Life skills transfer: from practice to literacy.** The last aspect of the framework is transferability for personal agency, when critical thinking skills become critical literacy. Literacy means that players can employ conflict resolution skills in a variety of environments. This transferability is the aspect of + sport programs least documented at present, in part because many of the projects are relatively new. Often practitioners would explain this transferability anecdotally in their interviews by sharing the story of one or two students who truly internalized conflict resolution skills through the sport program.\(^{20}\)

Another reason that transferability is difficult to document is that the conflicts dealt with in sport are tangible, and generally have a limited number of potential outcomes (i.e. a foul is

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\(^{20}\) A professional example of these stories can be seen on KICKFORMORE’s “success story” video documentaries of five student participants: [http://www.kickformore.org/die_liga/erfolgsgegeschichte.php](http://www.kickformore.org/die_liga/erfolgsgegeschichte.php)
generally named a foul or not a foul, there are no “half-fouls” of which I am currently aware). The specificity and immediacy of conflict in sport are indeed the aspects of games that make them ideal for peace education. Of course, not all conflicts in life are limited to a field or court, and many conflicts have a vast, rather than limited, range of possible outcomes. However, it is precisely because of this complexity that the critical conflict literacy framework highlights the acquisitions of skills rather than knowledge or technique. Being outfitted with agency is naturally more difficult to measure quantifiably than, for example, an individual’s increase in long-jump distance over time or number of goals scored in a certain season.

Some experts referred to the process of learning conflict literacy as an unconscious acquisition of bodily knowledge communicated through confidence and a heightened awareness of self and others that program participants carry into other parts of life. The Judo coach referenced above states emphatically, “Judo gives you a backbone, and this is true only for your physical back but also for your life. They [our students] just have a very different demeanor when they…take the values from Judo into the rest of their lives” (T.U., personal communication, 2011, own translation). One mother, speaking of her daughter’s involvement in the same program said her daughter “developed a higher sense of self-worth…learned, through this, to confront problems, to confront conflicts and to confront difficult situations. This is perhaps an ideal case to a certain extent, but with [a friend’s] daughter it is similar” (L.M., personal communication, 2011, own translation). Heather Cameron (2011) observes the same process in her writings on the increase of social agency in young minority girls active in Cameron’s Berlin-based program Boxgirls International, presenting a new theory of change based in the philosophy of Foucault and Bourdieu (p. 212). She concludes by underlining the role that evaluation must play in the current growth of sport and development. Many practitioners argue anecdotally that critical
literacy (or social agency) is honed in sport programs whether or not it is the intention of the coach. The transfer of this literacy to other parts of life has yet to be substantially evaluated.

Others refer to their programs as more conscious efforts whereby the tangible “range of options” their students possess for dealing with contradictions, differences, and conflicts are increased. Dewey (1943/1990) explains that these two ideas are not mutually exclusive. Sport is bodily and it is conscious. This leads to a discussion of tracking both behavioral and cognitive change, perhaps where much of the future work lies.

Chapter Five has demonstrated through empirical data those approaches to peace education through sport that experts in Germany consider most effective. Critical conflict literacy is not a prescriptive framework, but an aggregation of stories and ideas that practitioners and scholars experience as successful. I narrow the application of the data in the concluding chapter to a discussion of critical conflict literacy’s relevance to the current security climate in Germany and the EU.
CHAPTER SIX

Research Implications and Conclusion

Critical Conflict Literacy and Direct Violence - Extremism

Critical conflict literacy, a categorical framework for peace education through sport, is an attempt to portray how critical pedagogy is currently implemented in sport programs in the Federal Republic of Germany. By representing approaches and methodologies considered successful by a diversity of sport practitioners and scholars, I have worked to explain a coherent theory of change linking sport to peace within Germany. There is a substantial amount of research yet to be done in the field of peace education through sport, and there are a great number of ideas I could not address here. In conclusion, I briefly investigate the security implications of critical pedagogy in sport in the context of the current political climate in Germany and the EU with a particular emphasis on political and religious polarization. I finally assert that critical conflict literacy is a tool for preventing future threats of direct, extremist violence.

Peace education as “Education Against Extremism” within the EU. Davies’ (2004, 2005, 2008) recent research on educational theory in the context of extremist violence and terrorism is highly salient to the discussion of critical literacy in sport and its connection to direct violence. In defining critical literacy, I have reviewed Freire (1970/2010), who promotes social agency though education, and Habermas (1994), who deals with education for civil competence in the public sphere. These theoretical contributions are foundational aspects of the argument presented here. In practice, however, they are primarily methods for education to address structural and cultural violence. Davies’ books, Conflict and Education: Complexity and Chaos (2004) and Educating Against Extremism (2008) are pivotal contributions to the field of critical
pedagogy because they portray ways in which peace education can work to undermine extremist paradigms more expressly linked to direct conflict. A current scholar writing from the UK, Davies’ work is especially relevant to the data presented in this thesis as she places many of her arguments within current debates over governmental and educational policy within the EU.

In the tradition of peace education, Davies’ (2008) builds on the conviction that the content and quality of education play a definitive role in the perpetuation of direct violence and war. She presents a pedagogical response to a current trend she asserts is taking place in education leading students away from a belief in tolerance and pluralism and toward absolutism, fundamentalism, radicalism, and extremism. Whether or not one agrees with her assessment of a current educational crisis narrowing children’s worldviews and foddering extremism, there is no doubt that a substantial threat of direct violence as a result of extreme and intolerant worldviews exists today, that it is particularly salient within the EU, and that it specifically effects children and youth.

Although the direct violence resulting from extremism is not the same in Europe as it is in, for example, Iraq or Afghanistan, a recent string of extremist, violent attacks on EU civilians by both foreigners and EU citizens contribute to a quite tangible insecurity within the EU. This is visible in the media and audible in political rhetoric, as summarized in Chapter One of this thesis (cf Bartsch et. al, 2010; BBC 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Kulish, 2011; Schiffauer, 2006; Smee, 2010). Regardless of motivation, there seems to be an on-going cycle of violence (structural, cultural, and direct) and polarization in the EU and specifically in the Federal Republic of Germany. If this cycle is to be altered, education should play a definitive role. The demand

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21 Davies (2008) defines each of these terms in the first chapter of her book (p. 4-12), the point of which is to identify how beginning down one of these paths might lead to an ascription to religious fundamentalism and or extremism and terrorist violence. In her opinion, these are the roots of direct violence that endanger societies worldwide (1).
falling upon European citizens to be strictly morally committed to the common good and at the same time unendingly tolerant of pluralism in the face of heightened insecurity is not an easy balance to strike. The challenge for education, writes Davies (2008), “is how to give a sense of purpose in life yet not push people to absolutist ‘extremes’ and identifications of ‘the forces of evil’” (p. 24). It is toward such an informed and engaged citizenship that peace educators advocate. I assert that critical conflict literacy through sport offers one method for peace education to counteract extremism. To explain this linkage, I investigate recent data connecting education, violence, and conflict.

**Quantitative support linking education and extremist violence.** While the bulk of research surrounding education’s connection to conflict and peace is qualitative, there are a growing number of recent quantitative studies supporting the hypothesis that the quality of education and the cognitive skills it encourages are connected to a decrease in direct violence. In the case studies outlined below, researchers have sought to find a correlation between education and violence. Naturally, it is necessary to define the concept of violence for each case. In the studies following, the qualities of violence researchers measured include individual countries’ propensity for engaging in civil war, the recruitment of students to militant or extremist groups, and a group or society’s propensity to abstain from violent conflict. Of these examples, the type of violence most closely related to the present argument, given the data’s European context, is education’s impact on extremism and terrorism.

To date, the quantitative data correlating education to extremism are coarse and geographically disparate, which should be kept in mind when evaluating their relevance to this thesis. Nevertheless, mining this data provides relevant insights to important linkages between education and violence. A 2007 study by Gambetta and Hertog entitled “Engineers of Jihad”
quantitatively researched the representation of graduates of subject areas such as science, engineering, and medicine in Islamist movements in the Muslim world, and specifically, engineers in Islamic groups in Western countries. The hypothesis for this project was that the “mindset” of students in the scientific and mathematical fields lend themselves more to absolutist and bifurcated thinking than students of other disciplines. This dominant mindset, coupled with the associated technical skills, make engineers, scientists, and doctors (like the drivers of the Jeep Cherokee attack on the Glasgow Airport in 2007 – a medical doctor and doctoral engineering student) attractive recruits for terrorist cells (p. 2). The logic is that “an under abundance…of critical thinking skills renders these students more susceptible to violence” (Winthrop & Graff, 2010, p. 32). Accordingly, a low tolerance for ambiguity places individuals at higher risk for adopting extremist beliefs and perpetrating acts of terror.

Moghaddam (2005, 2010) and Davies (2008) express the process: the phenomenon of globalization can feel like a consistent flow identity threats and existential questions that make bifurcated ideologies attractive thanks to their clarity and structure. Investigating more exclusionary worldviews may encourage such individuals to significantly narrow their understanding of acceptable belief and conduct, leading to an increasingly exclusionary and radical worldview. Moghaddam (2005) names the process a “staircase to terrorism.”22 In the staircase theory, individuals who feel threats to their identities seek security in the comfort of like-minded others, which over time can lead to an ascription to radical and exclusionary beliefs and in extreme cases to violent action. Winthrop and Graff grapple with a similar issue in their

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22 Davies (2008) and Moghaddam (2010) explain an increased threat to individual and group identity resulting from the current pressure of rapid globalization. Social psychological theories (notably Tajfel’s (1978) social identity theory (cited in Moghaddam, 2008)) support the argument that human beings displace aggression on out-groups when their own identities are threatened. Munroe and Moghaddam (2012) observe that today’s religiously motivated terrorist violence mirrors other cases of ideologically motivated violent aggression toward out-groups throughout history.
2010 Working Paper *Beyond Madrassas*, policy recommendations on links between education and militancy in Pakistan. The authors pull on a breadth of global evidence from South Asia to Northern Ireland that demonstrates how conflict and education might be linked, especially as expressed in “grievance, worldviews, skills, and opportunity” (p. 30). They articulate how education can be or has been used (even “subverted”) to discriminate and oppress (p. 31), and to legitimize extremist authoritarian and intolerant political systems (p. 32). Winthrop and Graff point out that the quality of education may have as much or more of an influence on individual propensity to conflict and violence than the attainment of any education in the first place.

Finally, a 2010 study from Brockhoff, Krieger, and Meierrieks refine the linkage between education and terrorism. Their empirical survey of 118 countries from 1984 to 2007 suggested that the effect of education on terrorism was dependent upon socio-economic and political conditions within the individual’s country. They concluded that the nature of human security was more closely linked to levels of terrorism in a country than the objective level of educational attainment. Krueger and Malečková’s (2003) study of suicide bombers and the potential linkages between poverty and terrorism supports the conclusion that ideology and political or religious convictions have a greater effect on participation or support for terrorism than economic prosperity. Quality of conviction, not quantity of prosperity, is the deciding factor.

Given the global nature of the current data, the issue of extremism and the roots of terrorism do not appear to be limited to their stereotypical locations. The phenomenon of dealing with extremist paradigms affects individuals the world over (Krueger and Malečková, 2003, p. 32). Barber (1995, cited in Davies, 2008) argues that increased globalization threatens to lead toward hyper-insulated, rather than hybrid, worldviews (cited in Davies, 2008). Even as human...

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23 The data sample was primarily focused on individuals in the Middle East (p. 32)
identities become more pluralistic, others are equally more polarized. Moghaddam’s (2010) hypothesis that the intense interconnectedness resultant of globalization leads to heightened insecurity, means that comparatively minor actors can become major security threats (p. 12). In response to this insecurity, Davies (2008) and Lederach (2011) speculate that societal systems that tend toward the isolation (rather than engagement) of terrorist groups and at-risk individuals are more likely to increase polarization and violence than to alter its course. As has been shown by more recent, “home grown” attacks on civilians, the definition and sources of terrorism are increasingly disputed. For this reason, education for all young people in and about situations of conflict, ambiguity, and difference is in my opinion critical for increasing peace.

The growing body of literature linking education to conflict and extremism, combined with the current atmosphere of insecurity in the EU at the intersection of cultural diversity, democracy, and the threat of terror make a solid case for a holistic educational approach to peace. Given this security context, peace education within Germany should seek to prevent violent political and religious polarization. Davies (2005, 2008) asserts that encouraging students to confront ambiguity, contradictions, and difference (rather than ignoring or hiding from these sources of conflict) is the route toward a competent, engaged, and democratic citizenry. Future citizens should be given the chance to experience new worldviews and practice conflict resolution skills that make space for difference and complexity (Lederach, 2011), allow for plurality instead of exclusion, and encourage tolerance over discrimination. Critical conflict literacy is a process whereby students can create an experiential knowledge for negotiating situations of conflict, competently learn to confront ambiguity (Davies, 2008), and broaden their options for resolving conflicts non-violently (M. Mead, 1940). It is my argument that critical conflict literacy addresses not only structural and cultural violence, but, as a deterrent for radical
extremism, can also prevent direct violence. Critical conflict literacy is a theory of change that employs peace education to prevent violence in German society.

**Recommendations for Further Research and Conclusion**

The focus of this thesis is a theoretical clarification of current practices. Extensive opportunities exist for further study within the rapidly growing field. Outside the realm of critical pedagogy, research could be conducted on connections between sport and critical thinking skills; and between physical behavior, emotional attitudes, and actions toward peace. Quantitative research in psychology and cognitive science could make new and impactful contributions to peace education through sport. Qualitative research, likewise, should continue to examine peace processes and to document how sport and peace function together or challenge one another in short and long-term violence prevention. Investigating the transferability of critical literacy skills acquired through sport to other spheres of public and personal life is incredibly valuable, and would substantially broaden the field.

The hypothesis generated in this thesis was based on interviews with experts in the Federal Republic of Germany. Their cultural perspectives and my position in relation to them thoroughly influence the theoretical concept of critical conflict literacy and the sub-themes within this text. The framework presented is not intended to act as a prescription for successful peace education through sport. As a compilation of data based on research with a diversity of experts, the framework’s effective transfer to any one context, within Germany or elsewhere (including at program sites documented here) would be impossible. On the other hand, as a theoretical concept, it is my hope that critical conflict literacy aids practitioners of sport and
peace programs as they reflect on their own theories of change and as they seek to further their endeavors based upon theoretical and empirical evidence.

By identifying critical pedagogies used by German organizations fusing sport and education, I have constructed a theoretical framework to articulate one theory of change for peace education through sport: critical conflict literacy. Using a grounded theory approach, empirical data from expert interviews were aggregated into a number of categories. The category generation was supplemented by ethnographic field observations and desk research. Working intimately with this qualitative data, I extrapolated recurrent themes in sport for peace programs and explained their relationships to one another as critical conflict literacy. Throughout the iterative coding process, I attempted to stay as close to the data as possible, and to remain alert to how the empirical results and academic literature informed one another. It was my goal to clarify the process of peace through sport by using a theoretical framework to portray the practice of critical pedagogy as a form of peace education, understanding peace education as one way to increase justice and prevent violence through sport. The connection was made theoretically possible by relating the words that field experts chose to describe success within their own programs with ideas in scholarly literature.

I have finally discussed the implications of critical conflict literacy through sport in the context of heightened insecurity within the EU, specifically in the Federal Republic of Germany. My understanding of violence was based on Johan Galtung’s (1969) broad conceptualization of conflict, violence, and peace (i.e. direct, structural, and cultural violence and negative and positive peace). Connecting peace education to preventing direct violence, I have made the case that critical conflict literacy can be learned and practiced in sport programs intentionally choosing to educate. Equipping program participants with critical conflict literacy, I argue, is one
way to confront the threat and reality of direct violence within the EU in the context of political polarization, religious extremism, and terrorism.
# APPENDIX A

## Relevant Research From Summer Report 2011

### Part I: List of Formal Meetings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Type of Research</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>E. D.</td>
<td>Professor of Sport Pedagogy</td>
<td>Academic Interview</td>
<td>05/25/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>C. F.</td>
<td>Professor of Sport Pedagogy</td>
<td>Academic Interview</td>
<td>05/25/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Drop-In Center (Local Organization)</td>
<td>N.P.</td>
<td>Co-Director, Social Worker</td>
<td>Site Visit; Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>05/27/11</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Sport Organization</td>
<td>D.B.</td>
<td>Chair of the Board – Gymnastics Club</td>
<td>IDS Site Visit; Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>06/01/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Sport Organization</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
<td>Regional Director</td>
<td>(Both) Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>06/01/11</td>
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<td>Z.W.</td>
<td>Head Trainer, Table Tennis Club</td>
<td>Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>06/10/11</td>
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<td>Director, Judo Club</td>
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<td>06/10/11</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Sport Organization</td>
<td>S.U.</td>
<td>Coach, Judo Club</td>
<td>Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>06/10/11</td>
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<td>Institute associated with university</td>
<td>J.H.</td>
<td>Sport &amp; Dev Project Director</td>
<td>Academic Interview</td>
<td>07/13/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National / Regional Sport Program</td>
<td>S.Y.</td>
<td>Regional Director</td>
<td>Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>07/13/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local sport program (educational)</td>
<td>E.D.</td>
<td>Founding Director</td>
<td>Site Visit – Soccer Tournament</td>
<td>07/14/11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institute associated with university</td>
<td>C.M.</td>
<td>Director, IFP</td>
<td>Academic Interview</td>
<td>07/20/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drop-In Center (local)</td>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Director &amp; Head Social Worker</td>
<td>Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>07/21/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National /Regional Sport Program</td>
<td>F.D. R.W.</td>
<td>Founding Directors; Authors</td>
<td>Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>07/21/11</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Lead Organizer</td>
<td>Site Visit - Soccer</td>
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<td>B. T.</td>
<td>Founder &amp; Director</td>
<td>Practitioner Interview</td>
<td>03/2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Organizational Breakdown:

Interviewee Breakdown:

Part II: Summary of Accomplishments

In addition to contributing to our team’s overarching effort to “map” actors in the field, I focused on identifying promising practices in program design and educational approach that effectively use sport to teach young people conflict resolution skills. I wanted to know if and how peace education theory is being used in sport-for-peace programs.
I chose to visit Germany and France based on knowledge of Europe’s strengths in university research dedicated to peace education and physical education, its multitude of sporting organizations, and the context of its current integration debate. Consulting literature in German, French, and English, I sought to lessen the knowledge gap between languages and countries.

Through interviews with practitioners and academics, site observations, auto ethnographic research and a thorough literature review, I was able to establish a solid map of sport-for-peace and integration projects throughout Germany and France for our team.

Part III: Research Methodology

Research Questions:

The research questions listed below, while phrased differently for practitioners and scholars, were designed to measure the following:

A) Sport – Why? (Theory of change in program design; is sport unique?)
B) Sport – How? (Reliable methods for implementation and training coaches)
C) Sport – What? (Outcomes/evaluation methods; biggest challenges; networks +/-)

Questions For Practitioners:

1. Could you explain the design and theory of change behind your organization? *
2. Please explain your educational approach. What are the specific methods used to incorporate integration or peacebuilding into your program?
3. How is the coaching/facilitation staff trained?
4. How do you monitor and evaluate the program, curriculum, and/or staff?
5. What are the biggest challenges for your work? / What are your dreams?*
6. Are you connected to any networks? Would having access to a network be helpful to you?
Questions For Scholars:

1. In your experience, what educational methods/approaches are successful when using sport as a tool for integration/peacebuilding?

2. Are you familiar with peace education? If so, how do you see peace education being used in sport for integration programs?

3. Why do you find sport unique for integration or peacebuilding?

4. What pedagogical methods are most successful in sport used for integration?

5. Are you aware of effective monitoring and evaluation approaches? If yes, please describe.

6. Additional organizations or relevant literature you are willing to share?

*These questions were added upon reflection in the field.*
APPENDIX B

Critical Conflict Literacy Categorical Framework

Please see the Excel spreadsheet attached.
REFERENCES


Broder, Henry M. (2010 Oct 20). Germany’s Integration Blinders: What’s So Bad


Fischer, Peter; Greitemeyer, Tobias,and Kastenmüller, Andreas. (2007). What Do We Think About Muslims? The Validity of Westerners' Implicit Theories About the Associations Between Muslims’ Religiosity, Religious Identity, Aggression Potential, and Attitudes Toward Terrorism. Group Processes & Intergroup Relations.10: 373-382.

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