Football-based prevention of radicalisation: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Younis Kamil Abdulsalam[a][1], Marc Theeboom[b], Fred Coalter[c]

[a]Research Fellow, Vrjie Universiteit Brussels, [b]Professor, Vrjie Universiteit Brussels, [c]Professor Emeritus, Vrjie Universiteit Brussels

Abstract

This paper describes the development of a programme theory for a football-based radicalisation prevention programme. As part of the Belgian Red Courts programme, an initiative of the Belgian Football Association in cooperation with the Vrije Universiteit Brussels and the Hannah-Arendt Institute, a literature review was conducted that links current research on preventing radicalisation with findings from the field of Sport for Development research. The Belgian Football Association is building and renovating 40 mini-football pitches in Belgium, providing sports infrastructure as well as a theory-based football programme to prevent radicalisation and promote social cohesion, and training of coaches to implement the programme. Starting in September 2023, the implementation of the trainings will start in 10 locations, which will be accompanied and evaluated within the framework of a PhD. In 2024, a further 10 locations will be implemented and evaluated. The paper aims to develop and describe a programme theory as the basis of a football curriculum for young people aged 14-18. The central mechanism for the prevention of radicalisation is Daniel Koehler's (2017) theory of re-pluralisation. In the course of the literature review, concrete contents and competences were identified that are considered to prevent radicalisation and at the same time work towards re-pluralisation of the target group in the course of the programme theory. This research aims to contribute to a larger body of scientific literature on the use of sport as an instrument in the prevention of radicalisation but also to develop a theory-based and practice-oriented foundation for promising sports programmes. With the completion of the research, the project will provide empirical evidence about the effect and possibly also the programme's sustainability.

Introduction

The term "radicalisation" has entered the language of security circles, politicians, the media and, most recently, the general public since the 9/11 attacks in New York. Before that, the term "radicalisation" had only a vague meaning and stood more or less for "anger" (Coolsaet, 2016).

---

[1] Corresponding Author Contact: Younis Kamil Abdulsalam, Email: Younis.Kamil.Abdulsalam@vub.be, Faculty of Physical Education and Physical Therapy, Sport and Society; Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussels, Belgium, Twitter: @Youjaka

Since then, an amount of research has been conducted and funded by the European Commission and member states (Coolsaet, 2010). This has contributed to better insights and a knowledge-based understanding of radicalisation processes.

The rise of political parties in the right-wing and Euro-sceptic milieu as well as in the religiously motivated milieu in almost all EU member states shows that the challenge of radicalisation is far from being mastered and there is consensus that innovative solutions are needed that prevent young people from drifting into radical milieux (Sealy & Modood, 2020). Radicalisation among young people does also exist in Belgium. Ever since the attacks in Paris in 2015 and Brussels in March 2016 resulting in more than 160 fatalities (Miard-Delacroix & Welter, 2020. Steinvorth, 2021) the threat of radicalisation has become a matter of public awareness and a focus among politicians and security authorities in Belgium.

The educational opportunities of young people in some areas of Brussels for example are significantly lower compared to the rest of Belgium thus it is not surprising that youth unemployment in particularly disadvantaged areas of Brussels is close to 50% (Reybrouck, 2016). According to Devroe & Ponsaers (2016) and Sealy & Modood (2020), this is one of the circumstances that led to Belgium being the country with the highest rate of fighters per capita leaving for IS (Islamic State) in Syria.

In recent years the European Union and the United Nations have begun to regard sport as an effective tool in helping to prevent radicalisation. In their analysis of sports-based Preventing/ Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) projects, Handle and Scheuble (2021) have also perceived an increase in the use of sports in P/CVE and have identified three focal points in the use of sport as a tool for prevention of radicalisation. These are the following:

- solely sport-focused interventions
- the creation of partnerships with sports clubs to work on youth resilience
- the incorporation of sports elements into larger prevention programmes

There has been a rise in the funding of specific sports-related EU-funded projects. Currently, four football-based EU-funded projects are being implemented, which indicates the relevance of the issue for the European Union.

But it is not only the European Union that invests in sport-based prevention approaches. The United Nations (2021) have published several handbooks and guidelines for

sports-based prevention of extremism as well as a "Compendium of existing policies, projects and initiatives aimed at making use of sport and its values as a tool to prevent violent extremism" (United Nations, 2021, p. 2).

Sport, especially football, is considered to have a high potential to promote social and personal development processes (Gadais, 2020). From an academic point of view, however, a lack of theory and evaluation that can back up these statements is criticised, and according to Coalter (2017), academia as well as policymakers demand for theories that explain not only what works but also how and why and in which context sport programmes work.

To contribute to the prevention of radicalisation, the Belgian Football Association (RBFA) has launched the 'Belgian Red Courts' (BRC) project in collaboration with the (Belgian) Hannah-Arendt Institute and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB).

This paper reports on an EU-funded research project that aims to develop a programme theory and a manual based on a literature review for the implementation of the Belgian Red Courts programme. Based on the manual the Belgian Red Courts Coaches will be trained to implement the programme. In addition, the implementation will be observed and its effectiveness will be evaluated.

To have a solid basis for the development of a programme theory for a sports-based programme that seeks to prevent radicalisation, we reviewed different definitions of radicalisation and approaches to radicalisation prevention and decided on a conceptual framework for the development of the programme theory.

Theory of radicalisation and de-radicalisation as de-pluralisation and re-pluralisation

Daniel Koehler is the founder of the German Institute on Radicalization and De-radicalization Studies (GIRDS), and author as well as co-author of several books on radicalisation and de-radicalisation. In his book Understanding Deradicalization (2017) he introduces his theory of radicalisation and de-radicalisation against the lack of knowledge about "… the exact driving factors and mechanisms behind radicalization" and "… the surprising lack of conceptual and theoretical foundations for deradicalization work" (Koehler, 2017, p. 55). He states that "… preventive efforts (…) only make sense if they are based on a thorough understanding of the

`how´ and `why´ behind the pathways leading to violence and extremist convictions" (Koehler, 2017, p. 55)

In his theory, he describes radicalisation as a process of "decontestation or de-pluralisation" as "the core dynamic of radicalization" (Koehler, 2017, p. 61), in which alternative ideologies, political beliefs and values appear non-existent or worthless as radicalisation progresses. A recently published study by Rigoli (2022) seems to provide empirical support for Koehler's theory. The findings consistently showed a positive correlation between political extremism and residual variability in ratings, indicating a higher discriminability parameter among extremists. The more pronounced this effect, the more advanced the radicalisation process and the more likely the use of violence (Koehler, 2017). Koehler (2017) calls this mechanism the "time bomb effect" and depicts it graphically as in Figure 1. Decontestation or de-pluralisation as the core dynamic of any radicalisation process begins with the postulation and definition of religious and political problems (e.g. the worldwide oppression against Muslims or extinction of the Aryan race). It is followed by a contextualisation with individual experiences to bring one's own micro-social problems (unemployment, conflicts in the family, discrimination) in line with the ideology and the perceived global threat. "Through this mechanism, other individual or social problems and issues (e.g., school exams, finding a job, sexuality, unemployment, poverty, and drug addiction) are gradually pushed aside or integrated into the main problem set defined by the ideology" (Koehler, 2017, p. 61).
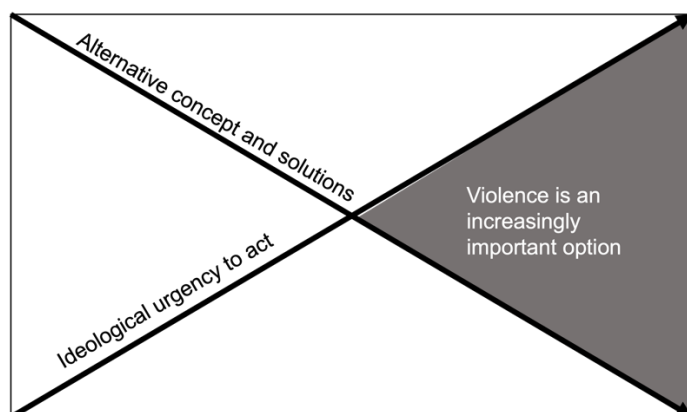

Figure 1 The time bomb effect of violent radicalisation based on Koehler (2017)

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

At the end of the radicalisation process, the perception of the individual is limited to the one all-dominant problem, the only conceivable solution to it and only one vision of the future. The individual has de-pluralised to such an extent that no alternative causes for problems are seen, no further possibilities to solve this problem and none but the vision envisaged by the ideology appears worth living for. Nor are alternative concepts for justice, freedom and honour perceived and other views on this are sometimes met with aggression or at least with strong aversion.

Just as de-pluralisation is the crucial mechanism for advancing an individual's radicalisation process, Koehler (2017) argues that re-pluralisation is the mechanism that works in the opposite direction, preventing individuals from drifting into violent radicalisation.

Although a large number of prevention projects have been implemented, there is still a shortage of theories of radicalisation prevention. Koehler (2017) has developed a theory of "de-radicalization as re-pluralization" to complement his theory of "radicalization as de-pluralization". He introduces it as a "psychological mechanism- as a theory- behind a successful and sustained decrease in commitment to an extremist ideology" (Koehler, 2017, p. 64).

According to him, the more external interventions contribute to a re-pluralising effect on the perception of "… alternative options, value definitions and/or political concepts", the stronger "… doubt and uncertainty about the correct course of action" (Koehler, 2017, p.65) become. Koehler (2017, p.65) states that external interventions must address at least one of the elements, "… problem definition, solution, and future vision" to achieve a re-pluralising effect. He concludes that "Effective deradicalization intervention therefore must be hand-tailored to the individual radicalisation process and psychological driving factors behind the commitment" (Koehler, 2017, p. 65). With regard to radicalisation prevention on a primary or secondary prevention level, however, he says that an increase in the perception of political concepts, values and ideals "… results in a forced reflection upon the need for ´extreme´ measures" (Koehler, 2017, p. 65). It can be concluded that preventive interventions should always have the overarching aim of achieving a pluralising effect on life concepts, values, morals, ideals and world views. The mechanism of perceived pluralisation can also be

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

triggered through contact and exchange with other participants from different social, cultural and religious backgrounds and can lead to intergroup friendships.

In Figure 2 Koehler (2017) presents graphically the mechanism of re-pluralisation. He states that the more diverse the environment, personal contacts, world views, and perceived opportunities for participation in society are, the more resilient individuals are against radical ideologies.
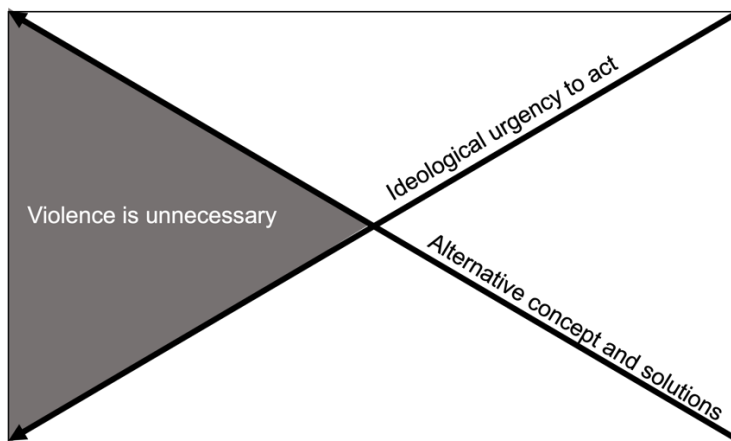

Figure 2 De-radicalisation and re-pluralisation based on Koehler (2017)

As mentioned before, many authors have doubts about conceptual clarity and transparency as well as the possibilities of evaluating the effects of prevention initiatives (e.g. Horgan, 2015; Horgan & Altier, 2012; Horgan & Braddock, 2010; Williams & Lindsey, 2014). However, Koehler´s (2017, p. 65-66) theory

"… allows for the connecting selected intervention methods with a theory of effect and an evidence-based opportunity to differentiate success from potentially counterproductive or ineffective tools for each participant."(…) "Another practical advantage of 'de-pluralization' and 're-pluralization' based understandings of violent radicalisation and de-radicalisation is the ability to measure their progress."

We recommend Koehler´s (2017) theory of de-pluralisation and re-pluralisation as a theoretical basis and the mechanism of perceived re-pluralisation as a guiding principle for the

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

development of a football-based radicalisation prevention programme for two main reasons. On one hand, the practical applicability, clarity, and measurability of the theory support its potential use in the football context. On the other hand, the unique nature of the football context provides conducive conditions, such as cultural diversity, shared achievement, group belongingness, and increased self-esteem through an increased significance for the group.

Prevention of radicalisation (primary-secondary-tertiary)

Even though we have already discussed Koehler`s (2017) theory of radicalisation and de-radicalisation, the mechanism of re-pluralisation does not allow us to derive specific learning content for a vulnerable target group. In this section, we analyse whether the recommendations of other researchers on framework conditions and concrete learning content support Koehler's (2017) theory of radicalisation prevention as re-pluralisation.

Based on Caplan´s (1964) Public health model the "triad of radicalisation prevention" is used as a framework for categorising prevention measures based on their impact level. It includes primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention is intended to prevent the occurrence of radicalisation, secondary prevention is intended to avoid consolidation and tertiary prevention aims to maintain a psychological change and to prevent recurrence.

Against this background, Declerck (2018) developed the "prevention pyramid" (Figure 3) which Lenos and Jansen (2019) applied to sports in a paper entitled "The role of sports and leisure activities in preventing and countering violent extremism".
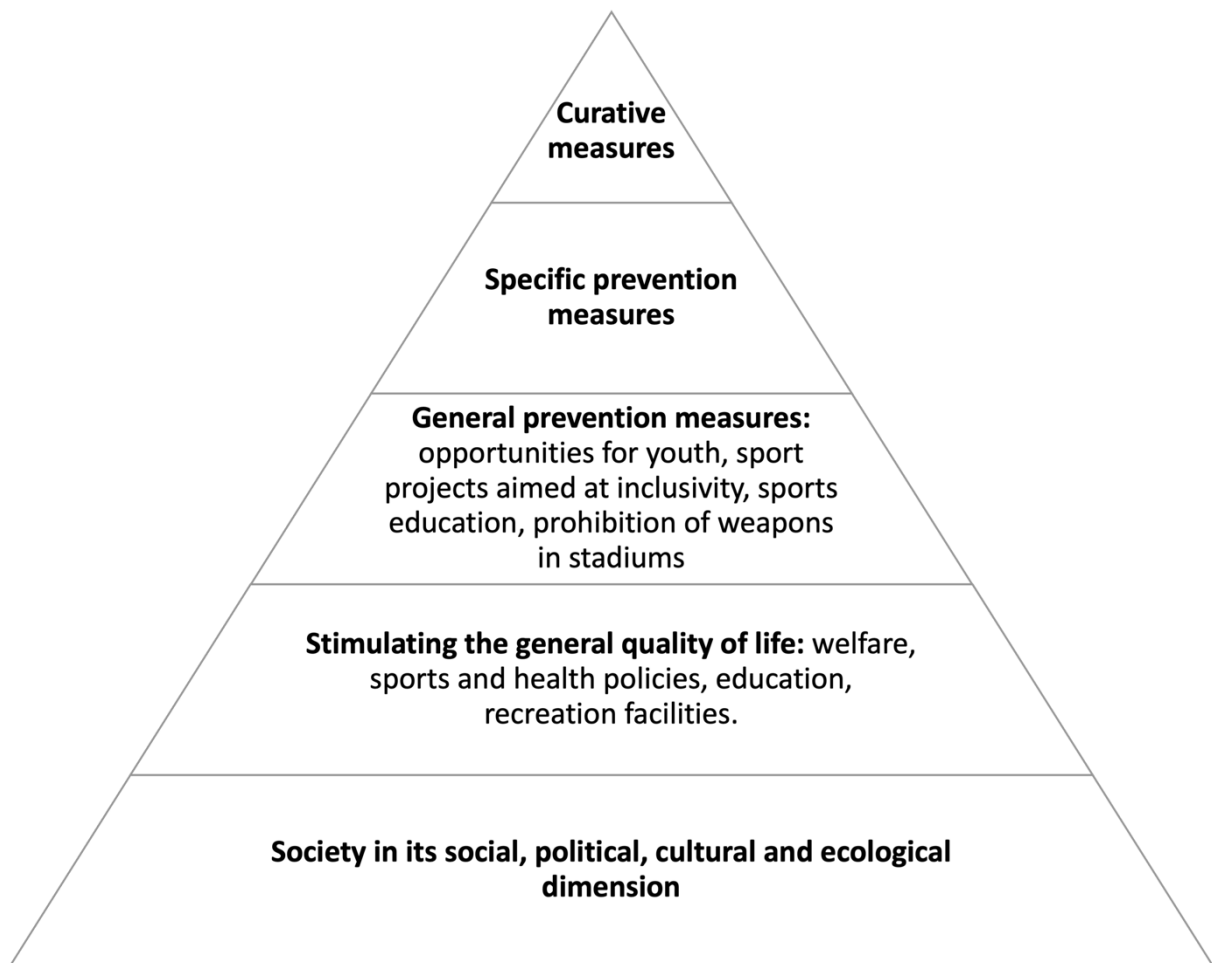
Figure 3 Sports prevention pyramid, based on Declerck (2018)

The programmes and projects we found that explicitly mentioned to use of sport as a means to tackle radicalisation can be found on the level of "General prevention measures" or "Stimulating the general quality of life" and are therefore to be located on the level of primary prevention programmes. Based on this, scientific articles, handbooks and programme manuals have been analysed to identify recommendations for the successful implementation of radicalisation prevention at the level of primary prevention.

Relevant contextual factors of a football-based prevention programme

Football-based radicalisation prevention is a very specific working context and therefore requires a separate examination of contextual factors that may have an impact on the effect of

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

the prevention programme. From a realist perspective the Rameses II Project (2017) refers to context as follows:

> "Programmes are introduced into existing settings, and interact with existing policies, procedures, attitudes and beliefs, and priorities. These features of context affect how programmes are implemented, which in turn influences how people respond." (The Rameses II project, 2017, p. 2).

Pawson (2013) provides a definition of the characteristics of a context: (i) the individual participants (ii) their interrelationships (iii) institutional location (iv) surrounding infrastructure.

The following Table 1 lists preferred contextual factors for the implementation of a football-based radicalisation prevention programme. The results are mainly based on four sources, (GREASE, 2020; Beelmann et al., 2021 and Koehler, 2017, Jugl et al., 2020) all of which did not specifically focus on football as an instrument for the prevention of radicalisation, but whose recommendations and principles could be related to a football programme in the following table.

	Preferred Context for implementing football-based radicalisation prevention programmes
Local and institutional level	-Existence of a radicalisation officer and prevention strategy
	-Availability of an office for social and cultural Integration Work
	-Policy for social justice
	-Sufficient accessible youth leisure facilities
	-An existing network of professional youth welfare institutions
	-Networking with local structures can gain young people's trust and facilitate their access to the programme
	-low threshold access to the programme (location, time, registration)
	-Schools that are sensitised to the phenomenon of radicalisation
	-Crime prevention concepts and active policies
	-Vocational qualification offers for disadvantaged young people
Coaches and Educators:	-Awareness of and training for the identification of radicalisation factors

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

	-Awareness that radicalisation is not a phenomenon of certain groups in society but a process of social alienation and has risk factors on the micro (individual), meso (group) and macro (societal) level
	-Sensitivity to young people's experiences of discrimination
	-Diversity-sensitive atmosphere
	-Appreciation of multiculturalism
	-Gender balance
	-Coach as a role model for the participants (e.g. he/ she is a local football player)
	-Low social distance between coach and participants
	-Combination of a male and a female coach
Group constellation	-Mixed age and gender
	-Heterogenous group, no group is dominant
	-Mixed educational backgrounds
	-Different socio-cultural backgrounds

Table 1 Preferred Context for implementing football-based radicalisation prevention programmes

These contextual factors are of essential relevance as they describe the necessary circumstances in which the desired mechanisms can be triggered and accordingly contribute to a higher probability of success.

Branding and Communication

Communication of prevention of radicalisation programmes is a key success factor and choosing the wrong communication strategy is a direct threat to the success of a programme leading to "informational gaps that the public fills with its own negative assumptions" (Clubb et al., 2022, p. vii). Club et al. (2022) have argued that it is also crucial for the success of every radicalisation prevention initiative to build trust through transparency of contents and goals.

It has been indicated that to counteract and challenge existing narratives of vulnerable groups through a targeted communication a thought-through communication strategy is required (Clubb et al., 2022) that uses all available media channels to "… spread to deprived communities, vulnerable and marginalised groups, as well as those who are at risk of

radicalisation" (United Nations, 2022, p. 56). There is also agreement that a direct reference to radicalisation prevention should be avoided and instead, positive messages such as respect, tolerance, pluralism and mutual understanding should be at the forefront of communication (United Nations, 2022). According to Braithwaite (2009) clear referral to deradicalisation or labelling a certain group of young people as "at-risk youth" may stigmatise them leading to a self-fulfilling prophecy. In the case of a football-based radicalisation prevention programme the following recommendations have been formulated (United Nations, 2022):

- Establish a clear communication strategy that is agreed with all relevant stakeholders.
- Embed the strategy in the organisational culture (for example in the Belgian Football Association).
- Avoid rhetoric that points too clearly to the issue of radicalisation.
- Use discrimination- and diversity-sensitive language.
- Use social media channels and set up a stand-alone online platform for the initiative.
- Provide frequent and target-group-oriented content on the different platforms.
- Provide media frequently with programme/ project progress and outcomes.
- The involvement of the press should be well-considered and closely monitored.
- Use of footballers as influencers for the topic.

It is highly recommended by Clubb et al. (2022) to do a pretest of the planned communication strategy with a representative sample group (e.g. in a focus group). Based on their reactions, feedback and recommendations a public relations and communication strategy can be developed.

Life Skills promoting resilience against radicalisation

To get an overview of the contents and competences for promoting resilience against radical ideologies we reviewed and analysed programmes, concepts and projects on the level of primary and secondary prevention. Due to the lack of sports-based radicalisation prevention programmes we analysed programmes that ranged from early childhood development

programmes to voluntary recreational activities, to school programmes that were implemented either as a supplement to or as a substitute for teaching. In our selection, we have paid attention to the widest possible range of different programmes and approaches from different European countries.

Beelmann et al. (2021) suggest that the focus should be on preventing factors that promote radicalisation and strengthening individuals to resist these factors. They recommend a development-oriented approach to radicalisation prevention and advise implementing measures that contribute to preventing the occurrence of these factors. From this perspective, prevention programmes can take place at the level of primary prevention in early childhood or even through parent training (Beelmann et al., 2021). What all these programmes have in common is that they aim to develop specific competences of the participants or their parents to implement competence transfer.

Kruglanski`s et al. (2014) significance quest theory suggests that successful radicalisation prevention programmes try to reduce feelings of insignificance among participants. In a football-based programme, this might be a participatory approach or the feeling of being a valuable member of the training group.

On the level of primary and secondary prevention, programmes were found that focus on the individual and aim to strengthen young people's resilience against radical ideas through experiences, knowledge and skills acquisition (Kiefer, 2015). In the literature, a total of eight thematic priorities can be identified in programmes that had the goal of strengthening resilience against radicalisation of young people (Lub, 2013; Davies, 2018; Beelmann et al., 2021):

- development of perceived self-efficacy and self-esteem.
- empowerment training for vulnerable youth.
- development of critical thinking and problem-solving.
- personal and social support programmes (including employability programmes)
- peer mediation in group conflicts.

- dialogue activities for young people of different ethnic origins, religions or subcultures.

- programmes that aim to foster a sense of social cohesion.

- facilitation of knowledge and understanding of the non-violent message of the Islamic faith (in case of prevention of radicalisation among young Muslims)

In these programmes concrete learning contents were identified that "… create opportunities for youngsters to work on the attitudes and life skills that make them resilient to ideological exploitation and the lure of extremist violence." (RAN, 2019, p. 1). An evaluation of 19 resilience-building PVE projects in London offers solid empirical data that it was "successful in building Londoners' resilience to radicalisation and extremist recruitment, and reducing racism, intolerance, hate and extremism in the capital." (Williams & Hulse, 2023, p. 4). The study found insights to enhance resilience and developed a Theory of Change based on the evaluation. In general, formal and non-formal education have been increasingly recognised as tools for radicalisation prevention since 2015 (UNESCO, 2018). However, Davies (2018, p. 15) mentions that "… preventative initiatives are highly prevalent and popular (e.g. cognitive behavioural initiatives or mentoring initiatives), but there is no clear evidence that they are effective in achieving positive outcomes." She blames this on the lack of high-quality evaluations.

Table 4 lists life skills that were identified based on a review of projects, handbooks and scientific papers.

Life Skills	Reference
empowerment training for vulnerable youth/ personal and social support programmes	
Perceived self-efficacy, Self-esteem	Beelmann et al. (2021), Davies (2018), UN (2022), Williams & Hulse (2023)
Political education and knowledge of one's own rights	Herz (2016), Davies (2018), UN (2022), Schmid (2013)
Democratic competences, knowledge and skills for active citizenship	Herz (2016), Davies (2018), UN (2022), Schmid (2013), Davies and Limbada (2019)

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Self-reflection (on own values and behaviour)	Davies (2018), UNESCO (2018), Meere and Lensink (2015)
Critical thinking, questioning and problem solving	Davies (2018), UN (2022), UNESCO (2018), Davies and Limbada (2019)
Social media, digital literacy, identifying fake news	Davies (2018), Davies and Limbada (2019), Williams & Hulse (2023)
Leadership skills	UNESCO (2018), Davies (2018)
dialogue activities for young people of different ethnic origins, religious or subcultures/ peer mediation in group conflicts	
Communication competence	Davies (2018), UN (2022), UNESCO (2018), GREASE (2020), Johns, Grossman, and McDonald (2014), Young et al. (2014)
Dialogue competence	Davies (2018), UN (2022), Schmid (2013), Davies and Limbada (2019), GREASE (2020), Johns, Grossman, and McDonald (2014), Young et al. (2014)
Tolerance of ambiguity and diversity	Davies (2018), UNESCO (2018), Kiefer (2015), Johns, Grossman, and McDonald (2014)
Intercultural learning	UN (2022), UNESCO (2018), Davies and Limbada (2019)
Development of non-violent conflict resolution skills	UNESCO (2018), Davies (2018)
programmes that aim to foster a sense of social cohesion	
Promotion of empathy and ability to change the perspective	Davies (2018), Feddes, Mann, Doosje (2015), UNESCO (2018), Beelmann et al. (2021), Williams & Hulse (2023)
Promotion of civil courage/ moral agency	UNESCO (2018), Davies (2018)

Table 2 Life Skills to strengthen resilience against radicalisation factors

Considering these recommendations and Koehler's (2017) de-radicalisation theory as re-pluralisation, it is clear that a large number of recommendations are directly leading to Koehler's (2017) central mechanism of re-pluralisation. For young people to undergo a re-

pluralisation in the perception of their visions of life, their problems and the possible solutions to these problems, competences such as communication, dialogue competence, empathy and intercultural competence but also critical thinking and problem-solving certainly have a direct effect. However, all these competences place a high demand on the target group, which vulnerable young people in particular often do not have. Therefore, the development of these competences such as perceived self-efficacy, self-esteem, self-reflection, decision-making and critical thinking is the basis for achieving a pluralising effect on the participants. This is supported by Woodmann et al. (2010) who argue that any participation in prevention programmes should always aim at both promotion of perceived self-efficacy and self-esteem and acquiring more complex competences.

Based on these findings and recommendations a programme theory for a football-based radicalisation prevention programme will be presented below.

Social inclusion, social capital and their impact on the selection of participants for a football-based prevention programme

The European Union (2022) and the United Nations (2005) attribute a special role to sport in promoting social inclusion. Social exclusion or "social alienation" (Schmid, 2013, p. 4) is considered by many authors as one of many factors or at least as a breeding ground for radicalisation processes. To make a statement about whether sport can contribute to the social inclusion of disadvantaged social groups and individuals, Coalter (2022, p.3) says that "… it is necessary to explore the variety of meanings attributed to social exclusion - the negative condition which sports need to address to achieve social inclusion". He quotes Silver (1994) who lists some of the aspects of social inclusion which read just like the conditions for the success of a radicalisation prevention programme. He (Silver, 1994) mentions among others secure and permanent employment, education, skills, the benefits provided by the welfare state, citizenship and equality before the law, participation in the democratic process, public goods, the family and sociability, humane treatment, respect, personal fulfilment and understanding.

To believe that sport can have a positive impact on all these factors of social inclusion would not only be an exaggeration of the potential of sport itself but also an excessive demand on sports officials, coaches and athletes. Especially against the background that Krouwel, Boonstra, Duyvendak and Veldboer (2006) point out that in football social conflicts, inter-ethnic and cultural tensions ignite on the football pitch. This phenomenon is confirmed in the German amateur football situation report, which shows an increase of 32 per cent in match abandonments due to incidents of violence or discrimination in the 2021/22 season compared to the 2018/19 season (Deutschlandfunk/ DFB, 2022).

Therefore, the learning methods and content of the football programme must be as relevant as addressing social exclusion and promoting social inclusion among participants so that participation in sport does not only make "… young people's experiences of social exclusion more bearable, rather than actually addressing aspects of social exclusion" (Spaaij, 2014, S. 119).

Coalter (2007) points to the fact that, well-designed and implemented sports programmes in the field of employability can achieve positive developments among the participants, but the potential for social inclusion is highly dependent on the respective contexts. In the case of employability, for example, the conditions of the local labour market are crucial. The best employability programme is useless if there are no vacancies. In the case of radicalisation prevention, the success of the sports-based intervention depends not only on the personal development of the participants but also on the political climate, the social atmosphere, the peer group, experiences of discrimination, role models to identify with and opportunities for participation.

Social inclusion is an essential part of preventing radicalisation, and it requires a holistic approach. This approach should include interventions such as the Belgian Red Courts programme, as well as structural changes like promoting diversity in associations, using diversity-sensitive communication, and increasing the participation of disadvantaged social groups in decision-making structures.

One approach to promoting social inclusion of a more sociological nature is that of social capital. Coalter (2022) refers to the definitions of social capital by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam "… as referring to social networks based on social and group norms, which

enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and which contain various types of 'resources' via which individuals or groups can obtain certain types of advantage" (Coalter, 2022, p. 8).

The three types of social capital in groups are bonding, bridging and linking social capital. While bonding social capital is based on strong relationships in a group and leads to strong cohesion, bridging social capital is characterised by less strong relationships but has the advantage that the resources of other social groups are made accessible to the members of a heterogeneous group through mixing. Linking social capital is also a form of bridging social capital, in which access to socially different strata is achieved and allows the group access to previously unreached networks and resources such as knowledge about opportunities for democratic participation. The concept of social capital in all its manifestations is of particular interest for sports-based radicalisation prevention interventions for two reasons. Percy-Smith (2000, p.7) points out that promoting bridging and linking the social capital of a group creates an atmosphere "… in which it is easier to address other aspects of social exclusion". Furthermore, Theeboom, Schaillée and Nols (2012) mention that social capital can develop in both mixed and separate groups. However, Coalter (2022) concludes that bridging and thus linking social capital is most likely to develop in heterogeneous groups.

Accordingly, for the establishment of a radicalisation prevention sports project that wants to contribute to the social inclusion of its participants, a diverse group consisting of participants from different socio-economic groups should be represented to allow the bridging and linking social capital to fully develop. Coalter et al. (2021) recommend that the social distance between the coach and the target group should be as low as possible, but in terms of social capital, this person should at least have access to other social groups or have the knowledge to access networks and resources of other social groups. Ideally, a coach combines all these qualities in one person: a person with low social distance to the target group, who has acquired access to other social groups through his or her career.

Theory of Change for a football-based programme for prevention of radicalisation and promotion of social cohesion

Sport offers a learning field for many of the above-mentioned contents, in which participants can achieve personal development playfully through the development of perceived self-efficacy and self-esteem. As already mentioned, sport is now also increasingly used in the prevention of radicalisation. Handle and Scheuble (2021, p. 13) identify the following categories in their analysis of European and international sports-based P/CVE initiatives:

1. P/CVE initiatives by sports clubs/associations or programmes executed in cooperation with sports clubs
2. sport-focused P/CVE programmes
3. sports elements within larger prevention/ countering violent extremism (P/CVE) approaches

Handle and Scheuble (2021, p. 16) also criticise a lack of theory and "… a lack of relevant evaluations or other reliable data that can provide concrete evidence rather than positive indications".

The Theory of Change described here aims to address this deficit by identifying mechanisms. Based on the theory of de-pluralisation (Koehler, 2017) it also develops evaluation approaches.

Astbury and Leeuw (2010) argue that mechanisms are "… underlying entities, processes, or structures which operate in particular contexts to generate outcomes of interest." Following Weiss (1997) the Theory of Change for the Belgian Red Courts programme is composed of an implementation theory, which describes the framework conditions for successful implementation, and a programme theory, which explains the mechanisms that mediate between the individual programme activities and trigger the desired outcomes. Pawson (2013) refers to mechanisms as "engines of explanation" and Weiss (1997) points out that mechanisms are primarily cognitive in nature as they "… describe how the resources available in a programme influence the participants' reasoning and subsequent behaviour."

Weiss (1997) stated that a programme theory makes its assumptions explicit and seeks "…to identify the processes and inner workings, connections and operations of programme components. Such an approach "seeks to explore the mechanisms via which the programme achieves its outcomes" (Coalter, 2021, p.2).

Due to the lack of comparable theory-based programmes, this programme theory was developed based on the literature review on the use of football as a tool in the prevention of radicalisation. For this, Koehler's theory of radicalisation and de-radicalisation was used as a theoretical framework and both content and contextual factors were identified by analysing academic articles, programme manuals and handbooks.
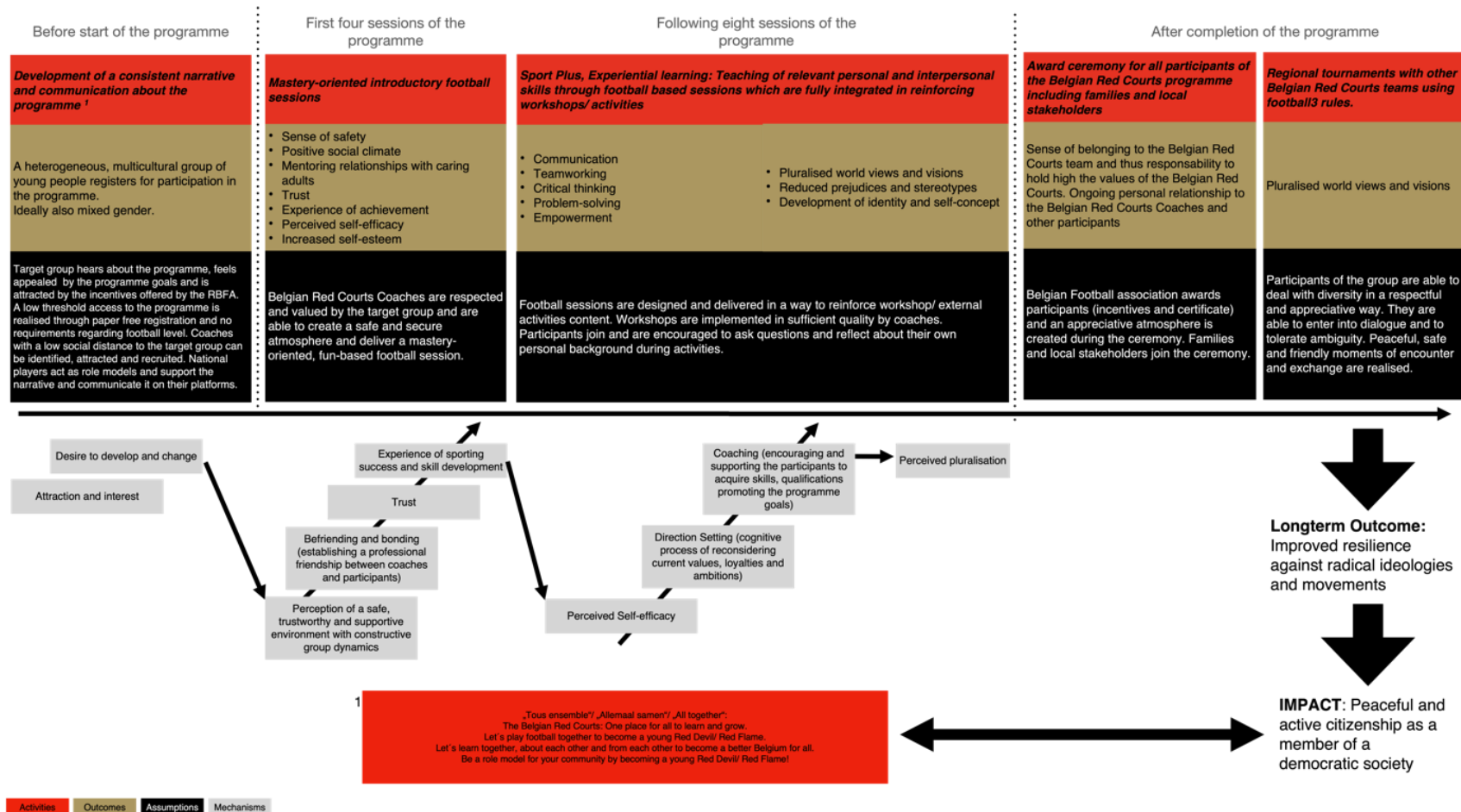
Figure 4 Programme theory for the Belgian Red Courts programme

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

The programme theory is divided into four phases of the programme. The pre-programme phase is followed by the first four weeks of the programme. The further eight weeks contain a selection of life skills leading to a perceived pluralisation of the participants. In the post-programme phase, sustainability and long-lasting impact are intended.

It consists of a description of activities, the expected outcomes, the assumptions and the mechanisms that explain why the programme activities, given the assumptions, lead to the desired outcomes.

In the phase before the implementation of the programme, the interest of participants should be raised based on a radicalisation-prevention branding and communication strategy. It is important to have a transparent information campaign about the aims and contents of the programme, but without mentioning words such as radicalisation, extremism or Islamism. Instead, positive wording should be used, such as promotion of social cohesion, equal opportunities or following the example of Belgium's multicultural national teams. In addition, it should be clear from the communication that the programme is about "more than just football" and that relevant life skills are to be taught. This should lead to a desire for development and change among the target group. The high attractiveness of the Belgian Football Association and the ambassadors of the Belgian Red Courts play a major role in attracting and keeping the participants in the programme.

Another factor that should be attractive to the target group is young coaches with a similarity to the target group who have skills in football coaching as well as basic pedagogical knowledge and skills in dealing with children and young people. In addition, they have been trained in the use of discrimination-sensitive language and have been trained with some basics on the topic of radicalisation prevention through the Belgian Red Court Coach training. Their presence during training times should promise the target group safe, organised and attractive training.

The first phase of the programme itself, consisting of one training session per week, aims to lay the foundations for learning further and more complex soft skills. Based on a sense of security, both physical and emotional, participants should experience self-efficacy through mastery-oriented exercises and a sense of achievement and develop a healthy level of self-esteem based on a realistic assessment of their actions. The key mechanisms of this early

phase of the programme are a perceived safe environment, mentoring, confidence and the experience of sporting success and football development.

In the second phase of the programme, the early outcome of the project perceived self-efficacy itself becomes the central mechanism and serves as the basis for learning the life skills that are considered to increase resilience against radicalisation. This phase of the programme lasts eight weeks and includes weekly Sport Plus training. (Coalter et al. 2021) Sport Plus workshops are sports sessions that are fully intertwined with the content to be learned and are based on experiential learning. The experiences in the sports unit are discussed with the group during the unit or immediately afterwards in a reflection and the relevant soft skills are explained in a way that is appropriate for the target group and age group. Petitpas et al. (2005) state that "… program developers have argued that the best way to foster skill acquisition is to integrate sport and life skill instruction seamlessly rather than attempt to teach these topics separately". Coalter (2020) concludes that this approach is also an extension of Pawson's (2006) coaching component of mentoring in which participants are encouraged and supported to understand and develop necessary aptitudes" relating to the programme goals.

The aim of this phase is, based on the de-radicalisation theory of Koehler (2017), the dismantling of prejudices and stereotypes and the pluralisation of world views and visions achieved through the mechanism of perceived pluralisation.

In the phase after the actual programme implementation, the participants are to be awarded for their participation in the programme and receive the promised incentives. This phase aims to express appreciation, value diversity and establish a sense of social cohesion. Ideally, this award ceremony will be integrated into local contexts and families and friends of the participants will also be invited. In this way, sustainable relationships can be established between participants, coaches and the participants' families.

Another element in the pluralisation of world views, visions and life perspectives of the participants are the Belgian Red Courts tournaments, which bring together young people with different socio-cultural backgrounds from all over Belgium and offer them opportunities for dialogue and informal exchange.

Based on the programme theory presented here and taking into account the framework conditions and contextual factors described above, a manual with detailed descriptions of the 12 different training units was developed for the Belgian Red Courts programme, which is now to be implemented and evaluated.

Conclusion

Whether this particular football-based approach is a suitable tool for preventing radicalisation among young people will become clear after the evaluation of the project.

There is already empirical evidence that radicalisation prevention programmes can be effective. Morrison et al. (2021) identified eleven themes, at least five of which are also part of our programme theory. What is certain, however, is that such a complex social challenge as radicalisation cannot be solved by the simple application of a game.

We need to move away from an "evangelical belief" (Coalter, 2015, p.1) in the power of sport and turn to theory-based concepts and evaluate them without prejudice or euphemism to make an informed statement about what works, how it works and under what circumstances it works. Additionally, it is essential to develop robust evaluation frameworks to assess the impact and value of football-based prevention programmes.

Using football as a tool in the prevention of radicalisation requires a deep understanding of the context in which the programme is to be implemented. Nothing works everywhere for everyone in the same way (Rameses II, 2017) and it makes a difference whether a football-based radicalisation prevention programme is implemented in Western Europe or Saudi Arabia. The content and methods will be as different as the causes for the possible radicalisation of young people.

In addition, it should be noted that football is not just football. Competitive club football is not comparable to a specially designed football programme for the prevention of radicalisation of young people. It is also important to raise awareness that a lot of negative behaviours and emotions are triggered in organised football, but also in recreational football played on mini-pitches or in backyards. Especially in organised club football, societal conflicts often become visible on the pitch and are ignited by perceived injustices or

discrimination. Often this leads to a confirmation of already existing narratives and social polarisation rather than to their invalidation and social cohesion.

Nonetheless, we believe that football can be an effective method for preventing radicalisation if its appeal to a young audience is utilised and the appropriate context is created to effectively convey relevant content. By engaging in football activities, individuals can develop positive relationships, enhance their self-esteem, and promote a sense of shared identity that transcends cultural and ideological differences.

With this paper, we aim to contribute to a greater body of empirically and theory-based knowledge about what works, how it works, and under what circumstances it works. In the following papers, we will report on the implementation and results of our program theory and contribute to a larger body of knowledge.

References

Abay Gaspar, H., Daase, C., Deitelhoff, N., Junk, J., & Sold, M. (2018). Was ist Radikalisierung? Präzisierungen eines umstrittenen Begriffs. (PRIF Reports, 5). Frankfurt am Main: Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-59474-6

Abbas, T. (2021). Countering Violent Extremism A GUIDE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE BY YOUNG PEOPLE. In *Countering Violent Extremism* (1st ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781838607258

André, V. S. and S. (2016). *30 measures against terrorism*. http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06661.4

Armborst, A., Biene, J., Coester, M., Greuel, F., Milbradt, B., & Nehlsen, I. (2018). Evaluation in der Radikalisierungsprävention: Ansätze und Kontroversen. (PRIF Reports, 11). Frankfurt am Main: Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-59493-8

Astbury, B. (2013). Some reflections on Pawson's Science of Evaluation: A Realist Manifesto. *Evaluation*, *19*(4), 383–401. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389013505039

Astbury, B., & Leeuw, F. L. (2010). Unpacking Black Boxes: Mechanisms and Theory Building in Evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, *31*(3), 363–381. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214010371972

Baffsky, R., Kemp, L., & Bunde-Birouste, A. (2021). Theory of Change in Sports-Based Urban Youth Programs: Lessons from Creating Chances. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Global Public Health*, *May*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190632366.013.313

Beelmann, A., Lutterbach, S., Rickert, M., & Sterba, L. S. (2021). *Entwicklungsorientierte Radikalisierungsprävention : Was man tun kann und sollte*. https://lpr.niedersachsen.de/html/download.cms?id=3381&datei=Gutachten-Landesprogramm+fDuM-2021-onlineversion.pdf

Blamey, A., & Mackenzie, M. (2007). Theories of Change and Realistic Evaluation: Peas in a Pod or Apples and Oranges? *Evaluation*, *13*(4), 439–455. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389007082129

Borum, R. (2011). Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research. *Journal of Strategic Security*, *4*(4), 37–62. https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.2

Caplan, G. (1964). Principles of preventive psychiatry. Basic Books.

Center for Theory of Change. (2021). *What is Theory of Change?*
https://www.theoryofchange.org/what-is-theory-of-change/

Clubb, G., Koehler, D., Schewe, J., & O´Connor, R. (2022). *Selling De-Radicalisation Managing the Media Framing of Countering Violent Extremism* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Coalter, F. (2023). Sport and Social Inclusion: Beating the odds or changing the odds? In N. Schulenkorf, J. Welty Peachey, R. Spaaij, & H. Collison-Randall (Eds.), *Handbook of Sport and International Development* (p. 13). Edward Elgar.
https://www.e-elgar.com/shop/gbp/handbook-of-sport-and-international-development-9781800378919.html

Coalter, F. (2015). Sport-for-change: Some thoughts from a sceptic. *Social Inclusion*, *3*(3), 19–23. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i3.222

Coalter, F. (2021). *The evolution of evaluation: From the black box to programme theory* (p. 24). Routledge.
https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429340635-9/evolution-evaluation-fred-coalter

Coalter, F. (2017). Sport and social inclusion: Evidence-based policy and practice. *Social Inclusion*, *5*, 141–149. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i2.852

Coalter, F., Theeboom, M., Taylor, J., Commers, T., & Derom, I. (2021). *SPORT AND EMPLOYABILITY A MONITORING AND EVALUATION MANUAL.*
www.sport4employability.eu

Coalter, F., Theeboom, M., & Truyens, J. (2020). Developing a programme theory for sport and employability programmes for NEETs. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *12*(4), 679–697. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2020.1832136

Collison, H. (2020). *Preventing Violent Extremism Through Sport: Technical Guide*.

Collison, H. (2021). Preventing Violent Extremism Through Sport. In *United Nations*.
https://search.proquest.com/docview/1657590181?accountid=8630%0Ahttps://birminghamprimo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/openurl/44BIR/44BIR_Services?genre=article&issn=00322571&title=Preventing+Violent+Extremism+Through+Community+Engagement&volume=82&issue=2&da

Connell, J. P., & Kubisch, A. C. (1998). *Applying a Theory of Change Approach to the Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives: Progress, Prospects, and Problems*. *32*(5–6), 233–236.

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Coolsaet, R. (2010). EU counterterrorism strategy: value added or chimera? INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 86(4), 857–873. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2010.00916.x

Dalkin, S. M., Greenhalgh, J., Jones, D., Cunningham, B., & Lhussier, M. (2015). What's in a mechanism? Development of a key concept in realist evaluation. *Implementation Science*, *10*(1), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13012-015-0237-x

Davies, L. (2018). Review of Educational Initiatives in Counter-Extremism Internationally: What works? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *12*(1), 1–19. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439598/prevent-duty-departmental-advice-v6.pdf%0Ahttp://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2016.1164469%0Ahttp://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00071005.2015.1121201%0Ahttp://doi.org

Davies, L., & Limbada., Z. (2019). Education and radicalisation prevention: Different ways governments can support schools and teachers in preventing/countering violent extremism. *Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-edu/docs/ran_edu_different_ways_governments_can_support_schools_teachers_052019_en.pdf

Davies, P. (2004). Is Evidence-Based Government Possible?. Presented at the 4th Annual Campbell Collaboration Colloquium, 19 February, Washington D.C. https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20091013084422/http:/www.nationalschool.gov.uk/policyhub/downloads/JerryLeeLecture1202041.pdf

Devroe, E., & Ponsaers, P. (2016). *How integrated is local prevention of radicalisation and terrorism ?*

Doosje, B., Moghaddam, F. M., Kruglanski, A. W., de Wolf, A., Mann, L., & Feddes, A. R. (2016). Terrorism, radicalization and de-radicalization. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *11*(October), 79–84. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.06.008

Dorokhina, O., Hosta, M., & Sterkenburg, J. van. (2011). Sport in Post-Conflict Societies. In *Council of Europe*.

Emler, N. (2002). The costs and causes of low self-esteem. *Youth Studies Australia*, *21*(3), 45.

Europol. (2021). European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend report. In *Te-Sat*. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg. https://doi.org/10.2813/677724

Europol. (2020). European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (Te-Sat) 2020. In *Europol.Europa.Eu*. https://doi.org/10.2813/677724

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Europol. (2020). *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2020*.

Feddes, A. R., & Gallucci, M. (2015). A Literature Review on Methodology used in Evaluating Effects of Preventive and De-radicalisation Interventions. *Journal for Deradicalization*, *5*, 27.

Feddes, A. R., Mann, L., & Doosje, B. (2015). Increasing self-esteem and empathy to prevent violent radicalization: A longitudinal quantitative evaluation of a resilience training focused on adolescents with a dual identity. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *45*(7), 400–411. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12307

FIFA. (2020). *Fifa guardians*. https://www.fifa.com/social-impact/fifa-guardians

Figoureux, M., & Van Gorp, B. (2020). The framing of radicalisation in the Belgian societal debate: a contagious threat or youthful naivety? *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *13*(2), 237–257. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2020.1714415

Fouad, H. (2015). Preventing Islamist Radicalisation in Germany. *Deconstructing Islamist Terrorism in Egypt"*.

Gadais, T. (2020). Sport for Development and Peace: Current Perspectives of Research. *Sports Science and Human Health - Different Approaches*, *November*. https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.89192

Gadais, T., Charland, P., & Arvisais, O. (2021). *Health and Education through Sport for development and peace in extreme development contexts : cases studies from various developing countries*. *April*. https://doi.org/10.31236/osf.io/cau6j

GREASE. (2020). *An International Handbook of Good Practices for Building Resilience Against Violent Religious Radicalisation Acknowledgements Contents*. http://grease.eui.eu/.

Grierson, J. (2021, July 7). 'Staggeringly high' number of autistic people on UK Prevent scheme. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jul/07/staggeringly-high-number-of-people-with-autism-on-uk-prevent-scheme

Hall, N. (2011). "Give it everything you got": Resilience for young males through sport. *International Journal of Men's Health*, *10*(1), 65–81. https://doi.org/10.3149/jmh.1001.65

Hamann, J. (2016). "Das Volk" und "Die da oben": Misstrauen und Entfremdung in Europa. (DGAP kompakt, 17). Berlin: Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V.. https://nbn-resolving.org/ urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-54273-8

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Handle, J., & Scheuble, S. (2021). The role of sports in violent right-wing extremist radicalisation and P/CVE. *Radicalisation Awareness Network*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/radicalisation-awareness-network-ran/publications/role-sports-violent-right-wing-extremist-radicalisation-and-pcve-2021_en

Hassan, G., Brouillete-Alarie, S., Ousman, S., Savard, E., & Varela, W. (2021). A Systematic Review on the Outcomes of Primary and Secondary Prevention. In *Canadian Practitioners Network for the Prevention of Radicalization and Extremist Violence*. https://cpnprev.ca/systematic-review-2/

Hennink, M., Kiiti, N., Pillinger, M., & Jayakaran, R. (2012). Defining empowerment: perspectives from international development organisations. *Development in Practice*, *22*(2), 202–215.

Herz, M. (2016). *Socialt arbete, pedagogik och arbetet mot så kallad våldsbejakande extremism – en översyn*. https://www.gu.se/sites/default/files/2020-03/1566980_rapport---socialt-arbete--pedagogik-och-arbetet-mot-sa---kallad-va--ldsbejakande-extremism-vers2.pdf

Holt, N. L., Neely, K. C., Slater, L. G., Camiré, M., Côté, J., Fraser-Thomas, J., Macdonald, D., Strachan, L., & Tamminen, K. A. (2017). A grounded theory of positive youth development through sport based on results from a qualitative meta-study. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *10*(1), 1–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2016.1180704

Williams, M. J., & Hulse, T. (2023). Call Two: Evaluation Report. London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue.

Jahnke, S., Abad Borger, K., & Beelmann, A. (2021). Predictors of Political Violence Outcomes among Young People: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *Political Psychology*, *July*. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12743

Jasko, K., Webber, D., Kruglanski, A. W., Gelfand, M., Taufiqurrohman, M., Hettiarachchi, M., & Gunaratna, R. (2020). Social context moderates the effects of quest for significance on violent extremism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *118*(6), 1165–1187. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000198

Jenson, J. (2010). *Defining and measuring social cohesion*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/151856/Jenson ebook.pdf

Johns, A., Grossman, M., & McDonald, K. (2014). "More than a game": The impact of sport-based youth mentoring schemes on developing resilience toward violent extremism. *Social Inclusion*, *2*(2), 57–70. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v2i2.167

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Jugl, I., Lösel, F., Bender, D., & King, S. (2020). Psychosocial prevention programs against radicalization and extremism: a meta-analysis of outcome evaluations. European journal of psychology applied to legal context, 13(1), 37-46.

Kiefer, M. (2015). Prävention gegen neosalafistische Radikalisierung in Schule und Jugendhilfe. *BpB*, 1–6.

Kiefer, M. (2013). *Dialog als Methode der Radikalisierungsprävention*. https://www.vielfalt-mediathek.de/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/kiefer_dialog_als_mittel_der_radikalisierungspraevention.pdf

Kiefer, M. (2015). Auf dem Weg zur wissensbasierten Radikalisierungsprävention ? *Forum Kriminalpräventiom*, *1*.

Koehler, D. (2017). *Structural quality standards for work to intervene with and counter violent extremism*. Ministry for Interior Affairs, Digitalisation and Integration, Baden-Württemberg and

Koehler, D. (2017). *Understanding Deradicalization*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315649566

Koopmans, R., Lancee, B., & Schaeffer, M. (2014). Ethnic diversity in diverse societies: An introduction. *Social Cohesion and Immigration in Europe and North America: Mechanisms, Conditions, and Causality*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315775975-8

Krouwel, A., Boonstra, N., Duyvendak, J. W., & Veldboer, L. (2006). A good sport?: Research into the capacity of recreational sport to integrate Dutch minorities. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *41*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690206075419

Kruglanski, A. W., Bélanger, J. J., & Gunaratna, R. (2019). The Three Pillars of Radicalization. *The Three Pillars of Radicalization*, *December*, 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190851125.001.0001

Kudlacek, D., Jukschat, N., Beelmann, A., Bögelein, N., Geng, B., Glitsch, E., Görgen, T., Harrendorf, S., Höffler, K., Kietzmann, D., Meier, B., Neubacher, F., Schmidt, S., & Bliesener, T. (2017). *Radikalisierung im digitalen Zeitalter*. *October*.

Lam, S. (2020). Toward learning from change pathways: Reviewing theory of change and its discontents. *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, *35*(2), 188–203. https://doi.org/10.3138/CJPE.69535

Lenos, S., & Jansen, A. (2019). The role of sports and leisure activities in preventing and countering violent extremism. *Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)*, *March*, 1–11.

Lösel, F., Heinrichs, N., & DFK-Sachverständigenrat. (2013). Messung von Wirksamkeit und Umsetzungsqualität (Evaluation). *Forum Kriminalprävention*, *13*(2), 24–26.

Lubans, D. R., Plotnikoff, R. C., & Lubans, N. J. (2012). Review: A systematic review of the impact of physical activity programmes on social and emotional well-being in at-risk youth. *Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, *17*(1), 2–13. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-3588.2011.00623.x

Lygre, R. B., Eid, J., Larsson, G., & Ranstorp, M. (2011). Terrorism as a process: A critical review of Moghaddam's "Staircase to Terrorism." *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *52*(6), 609–616. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2011.00918.x

Mayne, J. (2017). Theory of change analysis: Building robust theories of change. *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation*, *32*(2), 155–173. https://doi.org/10.3138/cjpe.31122

Mayr, J. (2021). *Terrorverdächtiger Soldat ist tot*. ARD Brüssel. https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/europa/belgien-conings-109.html

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2008). Mechanisms of political radicalization: Pathways toward terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *20*(3), 415–433. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550802073367

Meere, F. de, & Lensink, L. (2015). *Youth Counselling Against Radicalisation Guidelines 2 Youth Counselling Against Radicalisation Guidelines for Front-Line Workers*. https://www.ycare.eu.

Meiering, D., Dziri, A., & Foroutan, N. (2020). Connecting structures: Resistance, heroic masculinity and anti-feminism as bridging narratives within group radicalization. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, *14*(2), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.4119/ijcv-3805

Miard-Delacroix, H., & Welter, U. (2020). *Opfer für das ganze Land*. Deutschlandfunk. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/terroranschlaege-in-paris-2015-opfer-fuer-das-ganze-land.795.de.html?dram:article_id=487394

Moghaddam, F. M. (2018). *Mutual Radicalization: How Groups and Nations Drive Each Other to Extremes. Washington*. American Psychological Association.

MolenGeek. (2023). *MolenGeek*. https://molengeek.com/?lang=en

Moreau, N., Thibault Lévesque, J., Molgat, M., Jaimes, A., Parlavecchio, L., Chanteau, O., & Plante, C. (2018). Opening the black box of a sports-based programme for vulnerable youth: the crucial role of social bonds. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *10*(3), 291–305. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2018.1430060

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Morrison, J. F., Silke, A., Maiberg, H., Slay, C., & Stewart, R. (2021). *A Systematic Review Of Post-2017 Research On Disengagement And Deradicalisation*. https://crestresearch.ac.uk/resources/a-systematic-review-of-post-2017-research-on-disengagement-and-deradicalisation/

Msila, V., & Setlhako, A. (2013). Evaluation of Programs: Reading Carol H. Weiss. *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, *1*(4), 323–327. https://doi.org/10.13189/ujer.2013.010408

Muro, D. (2016). What does radicalisation look like? Four visualisations of socialisation into violent extremism. *Notes Internacionals CIDOB*, *163*, 1–5. https://www.cidob.org/layout/set/print/content/download/65628/2012988/file/NOTES+163_DIEGO+MURO_ANG.pdf

Nathan, S., Bunde-Birouste, A., Evers, C., Kemp, L., MacKenzie, J., & Henley, R. (2010). Social cohesion through football: A quasi-experimental mixed methods design to evaluate a complex health promotion program. *BMC Public Health*, *10*. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-10-587

Neeten, M. (2020). *Sport for Prevention of Extremism in Youth*. International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education.

Neumann, P. R. (2016). *Der Terror ist unter uns*. Ullstein Buchverlage.

Pawson, R. (2004). Mentoring relationships : an explanatory review. *Policy*, *October*, 98. http://www.faculty.londondeanery.ac.uk/e-learning/explore-further/e-learning/feedback/files/Mentoring_Theory_and_Practice.pdf

Pawson, R., & Tilley, N. (2004). *Realist Evaluation*. 36. https://doi.org/10.3303/CET1439084

Petry, K. (2020). *Sport im Kontext von internationaler Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung* (J. Mittag & J.-U. Nieland (eds.); 1st ed.). Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Rameses, T., & Project, I. I. (2007). *Realist evaluation training materials*. 1–19.

RAN. (2021). *Radicalisation Awareness Network*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/radicalisation-awareness-network-ran_en

Reinares, F., Alonso, R., Bjørgo, T., Porta, D. Della, Coolsaet, R., Khosrokhavar, F., Lohlker, R., Ranstorp, M., Schmid, A. P., Silke, A., Taarnby, M., & De Vries, G. (2008). Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism. *A Concise Report Prepared by the European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation*, *May*, 20. https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/446365/file/6814706

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation

Reiter, J., Doosje, B., & Feddes, A. R. (2021). Radicalization and deradicalization: A qualitative analysis of parallels in relevant risk factors and trigger factors. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *27*(2), 268–283. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000493

Renard, T. (2016). *Counterterrorism in Belgium*. Egomnt Institute. http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06661.3

Richardson, C., Cameron, P. A., & Berlouis, K. M. (2017). The Role of Sport in Deradicalisation and Crime Diversion. *Journal for Deradicalization*, *0*(13), 29–48.

Rigoli, F. (2022). Political Extremism and a Generalized Propensity to Discriminate Among Values. *Political Psychology*, *44*(2), 301–318. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12839

Rogers, P. J. (2008). Using programme theory to evaluate complicated and complex aspects of interventions. *Evaluation*, *14*(1), 29–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389007084674

Sager, F., & Ledermann, S. (2006). Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) und Realistische Evaluation. *Qualitative Evaluationsforschung*, 250–264.

Schmid, A. (2013). Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review. *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies*. https://doi.org/10.19165/2013.1.02

Sealy, T., & Modood, T. (2020). *Radicalisation and Resilience Case Study Belgium* (Issue 770640). http://grease.eui.eu

Séville, A. (2019). Vom Sagbaren zum Machbaren: Rechtspopulistische Sprache und Gewalt. *Politik Und Zeitgeschichte*, *69*(49–50), 33–38.

Silver, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms. *International Labour Review*, *133*(December), 531–578.

Silverstein, P. A. (2019). Sport, Bodily Habitus, and the Subject(s) of the Middle East. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *51*(3), 482–485. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743819000448

Spalek, B., & Davies, L. (2012). Mentoring in relation to violent extremism: A study of role, purpose, and outcomes. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *35*(5), 354–368. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2012.666820

Srowig, F., Roth, V., Pisoiu, D., Seewald, K., & Zick, A. (2018). Radikalisierung von Individuen: Ein Überblick über mögliche Erklärungsansätze. In *in: PRIF Report,: Vol. Bd. 6*.

Steinvorth, D. (2021). *Fünf Jahre nach den Anschlägen von Brüssel fühlen sich viele Opfer alleingelassen*. Neue Zürcher Zeitung. https://www.nzz.ch/international/5-jahre-nach-bruesseler-terroranschlaegen-opfer-alleingelassen-ld.1607862

Swann, W. B., & Buhrmester, M. D. (2015). Identity Fusion. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *24*(1), 52–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721414551363

Taplin, D. H., & Rasic, M. (2012). *Facilitator´s Source book*.

The RAMESES II Project. (2017). *What realists mean by context; or, Why nothing works everywhere or for everyone*. 1–4.

Tilley, N. (2000). *Realistic Evaluation*. https://doi.org/10.1177/135638909800400213

UN. (2021). *Guide for Policymakers for the use of sport for prevention of violent extremism*.

UNESCO. (2018). *Preventing violent extremism through education : Effective activities and impact* (p. 16).

United Nations. (2020). *Sport - a global accelerator of peace and sustainable development for all*. *09395*(July), 24. https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2020/09/A75155-Sport-SG-report-ENG.pdf

United Nations. (2021). *Global Programme on Security of Major Sporting Events, and Promotion of Sport and Its Values as a Tool to Prevent Violent Extremism*. *April*.

United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism. (2022). *Preventing Violent Extremism through major sporting events*.

van der Kreeft, P. (2017). *Life skills training through sport to prevent crime, violence and drug use*. https://www.unodc.org/dohadeclaration/en/sports/lineupliveup.html

Van der Veken, K. (2021). *The ' plus ' in sport-plus* [Ghent University]. (Doctoral Dissertation) https://backoffice.biblio.ugent.be/download/8707830/8707831

Wagoner, B., Moghaddam, F. M., & Valsiner, J. (2018). The Psychology of Radical Social Change: From Rage to Revolution. In B. Wagoner, F. M. Moghaddam, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Psychology of Radical Social Change: From Rage to Revolution*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108377461

Wegweiser. (2021). *Wegweiser*. https://www.wegweiser.nrw.de/

Weiss, C. H. (1995). Nothing as Practical as Good Theory: Exploring Theory-Based Evaluation for Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families. *New*

Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods, and Contexts, 7, 65–92.

Weiss, C. H. (1997). Analyzing and Interpreting Data. In *Pearson* (Second). https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195313802.003.0010

Wickes, R., Hipp, J. R., Zahnow, R., & Mazerolle, L. (2013). "Seeing" Minorities And Perceptions Of Disorder: Explicating The Mediating And Moderating Mechanisms Of Social Cohesion. *Criminology*, *51*(3), 519–560. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12011

Wiese-Bjornstal, D., & Weiss, M. (2009). Promoting Positive Youth Development Through Physical Activity. *President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports*.

Williams, M. J., & Hulse, T. (2023). Call Two: Evaluation Report. London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue.

Wood, J. V., Heimpel, S. A., Manwell, L. A., & Whittington, E. J. (2009). This Mood Is Familiar and I Don't Deserve to Feel Better Anyway: Mechanisms Underlying Self-Esteem Differences in Motivation to Repair Sad Moods. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*(2), 363–380. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012881

Woodmann, T., Akehurst, S., Hardy, L., & Beattie, S. (2010). Self-confidence and performance: A little self-doubt helps. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *11*(6), Pages 467-470.

Yngborn, A., & Hoops, S. (2020). *Ein Bild sagt mehr als tausend Worte ?! – Logische Modelle als Voraussetzung für eine gelingende Kommunikation in Evaluationen*. *September*.

Young, H. F., Holsappel, J., & Zwenk Magda Rooze, F. M. (n.d.). *A Review of Literature on Radicalisation; and What it Means for TERRA*.

Young, H. F., Rooze, M., & Holsappel, J. (2014). Peace and Conflict : Journal of Peace Psychology Translating Conceptualizations Into Practical Suggestions : What the Literature on Radicalization Can Offer to Practitioners Translating Conceptualizations Into Practical Suggestions. *Journal of Peace Psychology Translating*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000065

Young, H., Holsappel, J., Rooze, M., de Wolf, A., Russel, J., & Hasan, U. (2014). *TerRa Toolkit: Community approach to radicalisation*. http://terratoolkit.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/TERRATOOLKIT_FULL_PRINT_web_27.pdf

Zetter, R., Sigona, N., Flynn, D., & Pasha, T. (2006). Immigration , social cohesion and social capital What are the links ? *Oxford Brookes University*.

About the JD Journal for Deradicalization

The JD Journal for Deradicalization is the world's only peer reviewed periodical for the theory and practice of deradicalization with a wide international audience. Named an "essential journal of our times" (Cheryl LaGuardia, Harvard University) the JD's editorial board of expert advisors includes some of the most renowned scholars in the field of deradicalization studies, such as Prof. Dr. John G. Horgan (Georgia State University); Prof. Dr. Tore Bjørgo (Norwegian Police University College); Prof. Dr. Mark Dechesne (Leiden University); Prof. Dr. Cynthia Miller-Idriss (American University Washington D.C.); Prof. Dr. Julie Chernov Hwang (Goucher College); Prof. Dr. Marco Lombardi, (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano); Dr. Paul Jackson (University of Northampton); Professor Michael Freeden, (University of Nottingham); Professor Hamed El-Sa'id (Manchester Metropolitan University); Prof. Sadeq Rahimi (University of Saskatchewan, Harvard Medical School), Dr. Omar Ashour (University of Exeter), Prof. Neil Ferguson (Liverpool Hope University), Prof. Sarah Marsden (Lancaster University), Prof. Maura Conway (Dublin City University), Dr. Kurt Braddock (American University Washington D.C.), Dr. Michael J. Williams (The Science of P/CVE), Dr. Mary Beth Altier (New York University) and Dr. Aaron Y. Zelin (Washington Institute for Near East Policy), Prof. Dr. Adrian Cherney (University of Queensland), and Dr. Wesley S. McCann (RTI International).

For more information please see: www.journal-derad.com

Twitter: @JD_JournalDerad
Facebook: www.facebook.com/deradicalisation

The JD Journal for Deradicalization is a proud member of the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ).

ISSN: 2363-9849

Editor in Chief: Daniel Koehler

Abdulsalam, Theeboom & Coalter: A Theory of Change for football-based prevention of Radicalisation