Preventing Violent Extremism through Education

International and German Approaches

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General

ACSRT	African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism
AfD	Alternative for Germany
APO	Außerparlamentarische Opposition
BfV	Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution
BMBF	Federal Ministry of Education and Research
bpb	Federal Agency for Civic Education
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CMI	Center for Mediterranean Integration
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
CVE-E	Countering Violent Extremism through Education
EC	European Commission
Efus	European Forum for Urban Security
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
EU	European Union
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
GCTF	Global Counterterrorism Forum
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GEI	Georg Eckert Institute
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
ICAN	International Civil Society Action Network
ISD	Institute for Strategic Dialogue
ISESCO	Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
IOs	International Organisations
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
KPD	Communist Party of Germany
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPD	National Democratic Party of Germany

NS	National Socialism
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party
NSU	National Socialist Underground
OIF	International Organisation of the Francophonie
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PEGIDA	Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
PVE-E	Preventing Violent Extremism through Education
PRIF	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
RAN	Radicalisation Awareness Network
RAF	Red Army Faction
SA	Sturmabteilung
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SED	Socialist Unity Party of Germany
SS	Schutzstaffel
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNESCO MGIEP	UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VE	Violent Extremism
WLA	World Leadership Alliance

German Federal States

BW	Baden-Württemberg
BY	Bayern/Bavaria
BE	Berlin
BB	Brandenburg
HB	Bremen
HH	Hamburg
HE	Hessen/Hesse
MV	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
NI	Niedersachsen/Lower Saxony
NW	Nordrhein-Westfalen/North Rhine-Westphalia
RP	Rheinland Pfalz/Rhineland-Palatinate
SL	Saarland
SN	Sachsen/Saxony
ST	Sachsen-Anhalt/Saxony-Anhalt
SH	Schleswig-Holstein
TH	Thüringen/Thuringia

School types in Germany

Gy	Gymnasium
Rs	Realschule
Hs	Hauptschule
Mbg	Schulart mit mehreren Bildungsgängen

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter One

1. 1. The rise of violent extremism: a global challenge in a new age of extremes

We are living in an unprecedented age in which representative democracy, after more than a century of being practised in different parts of the world, is being put under enormous strain by a variety of political and religious extremist ideologies that encourage or practise the use of violence to achieve their goals. Phenomena that would have been unthinkable in everyday life two decades ago - with the optimism that followed the end of the Cold War - are now in the process of being not only normalised but also legitimised through reference to aspects of democracy itself, such as the fundamental right to freedom of speech. In this arguably new digital age of extremes we have witnessed the spread of hate speech and of populist and racist rhetoric with unprecedented speed, a rise in conspiracy theories, and increased support for parties with extremist ideologies. Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has also been a marked increase in violent extremism across the globe, spanning various political elements ranging from radical religious movements to white supremacist groups. According to the Global Terrorism Index (GTI), 2014 was the deadliest year so far, with over a nine-fold increase in the number of deaths from terrorism, from 3,329 in 2000 to 32,685 in 2014.[1]

Violent extremism has been defined as 'advocating, engaging in, preparing, or otherwise supporting ideologically motivated or justified violence to further social, economic and political objectives.'[2] It endangers peoples' lives, security and safety, dignity but also their emotional well-being, as individuals are left with a feeling of overwhelming fear and anxiety of the impending future or 'next attack'. Millions of refugees have been forced to flee their countries in what is an unprecedented humanitarian crisis, whilst migratory flows towards the conflict zones have also increased as individuals - especially young people - have been lured there to fight as terrorists. According to the UN, over 30,000 foreign terrorist fighters have been recruited from over 100 member states so far, travelling to the Syrian Arab Republic, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Yemen.[3]

Violent extremism not only contravenes the fundamental principles of human rights that form the cornerstone of a just, peaceful and sustainable society. It also has disastrous and often irreversible effects on cultural heritage, for example the destruction of the mausoleums in Timbuktu in 2012 or of the Palmyra ruins in 2015-6[4] but also on the environment, as in the case of the so-called 'weaponisation' of water in Iraq and Syria.[5] In the interconnected and interdependent world in which we live, violent extremism sees no borders; it is a global, transnational problem and international organisations argue that only a global approach to countering and preventing it will be effective.

BOX 1.1: Zooming in: the rise of violent extremism in Germany

In line with global trends, violent extremism has also seen a rise in Germany, with an increase in attacks from the extreme right and the far-left, as well as Islamist groups. According to recent research from the Counter Extremism Project, 48% of German citizens view Islamist-based extremism as the greatest threat to the country's national security.[6] The fact that Germany has experienced an influx of refugees and asylum seekers (890,000 in 2015 and 280,000 in 2016) has heightened tensions and fears, reflected in the anti-immigrant rhetoric of extreme right-wing parties but also - though to a lesser extent - across society. The increased numbers of refugees and the threat of terrorism are closely related, according to German public opinion in line with their European counterparts. A 2016 survey from the Pew Research Centre revealed that 61% of Germans believe that greater numbers of refugees would increase the likelihood of terrorism in Germany.[7]

Extremist rhetoric has also been translated into extremist attacks. Hate crimes against asylum seekers occurred at least 10 times a day in 2016 according to the interior ministry, with a total of 2,545 reported attacks on individual immigrants.[8] According to a report by Germany's federal domestic intelligence agency, the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, BfV), the number of violent crimes committed by right-wing extremists rose by 42% from 2014 to 2015.[9] The rise of far right-wing sentiment has also been reflected, to some extent, in popular support or sympathy for groups such as PEGIDA or the political party *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany, AfD). On the other side of the political spectrum, the same report reveals that violence motivated by left-wing extremism saw an increase of 62%. At the same time, German authorities have consistently expressed fears that asylum seekers are at risk of radicalisation by some 7,900 domestic Salafist jihadists, and since March 2017 over 900 foreign fighters have left Germany to join extremist groups in Syria and Iraq. Domestic attacks in Germany have also increased with ISIL claiming responsibility for most of the Islamist-based ones, including the stabbing in Hamburg in October 2016 and the truck attack at a Christmas market in Berlin in December 2016.

Despite these disturbing trends, preventing violent extremism has until recently primarily been seen through the lens of 'hard power', i.e. military and security responses, with governments responding to the grave threat mostly by increasing government spending on improving and increasing military measures, security operations and intelligence facilities. Linked to this is the misrepresentation, in some contexts, of violent extremism as coming only from particular religious-based terrorist groups like ISIL, al-Qaeda or Boko Haram, and a corresponding underestimation of other sources of violent extremism such as neo-Nazis and other white supremacist groups.[10] In fact, figures from the UK show that almost 30% of individuals who were referred to an anti-extremism programme were people feared to have potentially violent extreme right-wing views.[11] The attack in Char-

lottesville, Virginia, USA in August 2017 is another example of home-grown terror on the right and political analysts have argued that it is constantly rising.[12] Related to this is a misconception, especially in conventional media, that right-wing extremism is of local, national concern and that most right-wing parties do not operate or cooperate through global networks or across national borders, in contrast to Islamist extremism where the global links and corresponding global security threats are always emphasised by the media. There is a tendency to perceive violent extremism in these cases as something imported from 'outside' a country's borders, and therefore there is an ignorance regarding the dynamics and implications of domestic or home-grown terrorism, and thus of ways to prevent it through local institutions and processes.

1.2. Recognising the role of education in preventing violent extremism: a wind of change

Over the past two years, however, there has been a change of direction towards a more comprehensive and holistic response to preventing violent extremism: which can be seen as a move towards 'soft power'. Firstly, increased attention has been given to the argument that preventing violent extremism may be more effective than attempts at countering or mitigating violent extremism and its drivers.[13] Secondly, as Chapter Two shows, there is international recognition that prevention should play a stronger role as part of a long-term holistic process that involves a plethora of stakeholders and sections of society such as education, community organisations, media, justice, religion, social services, the private sector, etc. Within this emphasis on local institutions, schools are seen to play a key role especially as home-grown radicalisation is on the rise. Thirdly, there is increased appreciation of the role of young people, not only in being radicalised and perceived as particularly 'vulnerable' but also as agents of PVE-E and in terms of the effects that both VE and PVE have on their everyday lives (see Chapter Two). For example, a 2017 survey by the Varkey Foundation investigating the attitudes, behaviours and experiences of young people across 20 countries found that, for 83% of them, extremism and global terrorism 'are thought to be the greatest threat for the future' and the largest cause of fear.[14] Islamophobia is also on the rise, especially incidents in which Muslim students suffered harassment: in a survey conducted in Washington by the Council on American-Islamic Relations more than 60% of Muslim students have said that they have felt unsafe in public since 2016.[15]

Another wind of change is a rise in more critical scholarship that looks at the dangers of PVE when not practised with caution and is aware of the possibility of causing more harm.[16] This is where we locate our report, considering these new PVE-E initiatives from a critical approach that is cognisant of the complexities and existing misrepresentations as well as the possibilities of certain policies being problematic and counter-productive. Before we look into more detail on what exactly this report offers, it is important to offer some definitions to set the context for understanding our research.

1.3. What is PVE-E?

PVE-E refers to a variety of educational initiatives, efforts and activities, on both the formal and non-formal level, to prevent young people from becoming violent extremists. It is promoted and enacted by different actors on international, national and local levels such as international organisations, NGOs, ministries of education (policy-makers), and teachers and producers of educational material (curricula, textbooks, teacher guides, additional material).

Violent extremism refers to a behaviour and attitude in which the use of violence to pursue the key goals of a religious or political ideology is considered justified, legitimate and even necessary. It may or may not lead to actual acts of violence but condones and encourages such behaviour. Engagement with the specific ideology also ranges from a deep to a more shallow level.[17]

BOX 1.2: **Our position on the PVE-CVE debate**

> We view PVE as being about *prevention* (before VE) and CVE about *intervention* i.e. countering something that has already started to happen (after VE). Some organisations and scholars view PVE as part of CVE and group the former under the umbrella of the latter. In this report we position PVE as separate to CVE and argue that, despite the strong overlaps in some of the policies, a distinction is useful in identifying the particularities and potential of each approach as well as their differences, e.g. in terms of timing and method used.

Education is undoubtedly not a panacea for preventing violent extremism. Even if all the necessary structural conditions were implemented in schools, there would still be no guarantee that young people will never be lured by extremist propaganda. The agency of the individual and factors outside the school, including both individuals and groups, but also structural injustices, family conditions and parental values, etc., must be taken into account. One recent study, for example, found that parents were perceived by young people as 'the most significant influencing factor on the[ir] values'.[18]

Nevertheless, education has a key role to play in contributing towards the deconstruction of the breeding ground that leads to a violent extremist mindset. This mindset is one of religious, cultural, social and political intolerance; of exclusionary attitudes with no room for diversity or dialogue; of a 'black and white' worldview that rejects pluralism; and, more importantly, a mindset that resorts to brutal violence to achieve its agenda. Exemplary of this is one of the world's deadliest terrorist groups, Boko Haram, in Nigeria, whose name can be translated as 'Western education is forbidden' which shows the central role of education in these violent extremist groups.

According to the Global Terrorism Index, 2016, ISIL foreign fighters that have gone to Syria 'generally have high levels of education but low incomes, with many fighters joining in

part due to a feeling of exclusion in their home countries'.[19] One can argue, therefore, that it is not so much a lack of education but rather the type of education that needs to be addressed on the one hand, and attitudes and behaviours on the other, both of those who 'perform' the exclusionary practice and those who are on the receiving end. Analysis of ISIL-leaked documents also revealed that 'the average ISIL fighter is male, 26, has a relatively high level of education and a relatively low level of knowledge of Islam'.[20] This age corresponds to other estimates of foreign fighter ages, such as those fighting for al-Qaeda, with the average being 24-25 years of age, with 400 of prospective foreign fighters being under 18 years old when they were recruited.

Education has the potential to nurture students with the necessary knowledge, socio-emotional and behavioural skills to empower them and build their capacity to resist violent behaviour (or what is routinely and not unproblematically referred to as 'resilience' in existing PVE-E literature; see more on this in Chapter Two). Education also has a role - albeit a limited one - in ensuring that there are no push-factors present in the school environment and educational media that can fuel tensions and exacerbate grievances. There is a great deal of everyday discussion on how people are not born violent extremists but are 'made' into one or become one and that education plays a role. However, only very little research exists on the content of curricula and textbooks, or some basic research on the status quo regarding the practices of international organisations in order to give a picture or an indication as to what exists. Our study attempts to fill this gap.

1.4. What does this report do and why is it important?
Filling this gap is important and useful for three reasons: first to have a concrete and not merely an abstract understanding as to what exists. Secondly, it enables an analysis as to what are the good practices that should continue to exist and how they can be strengthened. Thirdly, it gives us an opportunity to identify problematic practices that might be counterproductive. In other words, with our work we also hope to offer a broader diagnostic contribution and constructive recommendations for improving existing practices. Our work can be seen as a response to the international community's calls for reviewing existing curricula and textbooks in order to potentially address aspects that contribute to stigmatisation, marginalisation, inequality and feelings of exclusion.[21]

However, it is important to mention two caveats here. On the one hand, there are unresolved dilemmas that are open to debate and further research and one cannot offer a 'right' or 'wrong' answer: for example, how much space should be given to empathy with the violent extremist? How much is too much? One the other hand, the related issue of evaluation raises a number of questions and it is important to clarify here that we are not conducting a systematic evaluation nor do we believe this is actually always possible in the case of PVE (due to its preventative nature and the difficulty of singling out what might have caused desired outcomes that may be the results of a range of factors). Rather, we are offering and building on the insights that emerged from a critical reading and analysis of texts and practices.

Our primary focus in this report is on international and German PVE discourses and practices when it comes to formal education.[22]

We believe formal education is a good entry point for research as it is mandatory for children and young people. The school is a crucial socialisation agent and a place where students spend a substantial amount of their time, for many years and at a crucial age where norms and values are formed, making it an important field of action for PVE. The institutional structure of the school further lends itself to longer-term research, as a source of learning not just of knowledge but also of the competencies that will empower learners to become critical thinkers and empathetic, peaceful citizens that express disagreement through democratic means rather than resorting to acts of violent extremism.

Surprisingly, very little research is available on formal education with regards to preventing violent extremism. So far, PVE-E research has mostly revolved around non-formal education, extra-curricular material and community-reach programmes, or problematic approaches at a policy level, and often is part of studies focusing on wider issues such as promoting peace, tolerance, religious diversity and coexistence.[23] Yet it is important to also focus on the institutionalised school setting and the educational material used in this space through a specifically PVE-E lens. Research that does exist on schools has unveiled some problematic and controversial policies that risk, for example, essentialising or securitising a particular religion as 'dangerous' and thus missing the specific attributes that lead to radicalisation and violent extremism, or stigmatising and discriminating against students, escalating their feelings of exclusion and disillusionment.[24] The picture becomes even bleaker in the German context, where we found no systematic research analysing current curricula and textbooks for PVE-E content.[25]

Curricula and textbooks can include content, aims and methodologies specifically designed to prevent the emergence of extremism that may lead to violence. They are valuable and powerful indicators of what students may learn but also of what policymakers consider *desirable* for them to learn, reflecting normative and political assumptions and agendas at a certain point in time (what has been termed the 'intended curriculum'[26]). Curricula prescribe contents, aims and methodologies which are then implemented differently by different publishers in the actual textbooks.[27] Textbooks are, in this sense, examples of how the official curriculum comes to life. Textbooks, just like the discourses about them,[28] are important elements of analysis for understanding whether and how PVE discourses have reached the formal educational realm. Textbooks are not only 'weapons of mass instruction' – a medium reaching a wide range of the population and thus with the power to legitimise political agendas,[29] but also 'seismographs' of when and how certain topics and discourses become relevant in a given society and how these may change.[30]

Firstly, this study fills a gap by providing a detailed mapping of the discourses and practices of international organisations involved in PVE-E, as well as a critical engagement with the existing strategies. It illustrates both their strengths and weaknesses, exposing certain normative assumptions that underlie them. Secondly, this study offers the first systematic overview of the PVE landscape in both curricula and textbooks of history and social science of a particular country. In addition, it not only looks at one German federal state but includes all 16 states making it the most comprehensive study to date in terms of its PVE-E focus, the large sample of curricular documents (87) and textbooks (137), and its geographical coverage. Furthermore, the study accounts for the variety of the schooling landscape in Germany (by covering *Gymnasium*, *Realschule* and *Hauptschule*, as well as schools combining these under one roof), and for the complexity of the textbook publishing market (including textbooks from all major publishers).

1.5. Intended readership and structure of the report

This report is intended for education policymakers and stakeholders, such as education ministries, curriculum authorities, textbook authors and publishers as well as researchers and educators. We also hope it will be useful for national and international inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations with a mandate for PVE-E (Chapter Two). The report seeks to provide a sense of how PVE-E plays out at different levels and in various institutional spaces: on the international and national levels as well as in organisations, textbooks and curricula, illuminating both good and problematic practices. The report may also be interesting for journalists and other media professionals who share a concern for the prevention of violent extremism – and for a sensationalism-free media coverage–[31] with an interest in how education can best contribute to this.

The first part of the report provides a mapping of the role of international organisations currently involved in PVE-E. It begins with an examination of how they are engaged in supporting, promoting and enacting PVE-E through their practices. It then proceeds to examine how they understand and define PVE-E in their discourses before offering a problematisation of these discourses and practices. Finally it shifts the focus to the German formal education context, which is addressed in Part II of the report (Chapters Three and Four). Here, we present our findings from an analysis of history and social science curricula and textbooks from all 16 federal states of Germany. The report ends with a reflection on the international-national nexus and recommendations for policymakers and further research.

PVE-E ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Part I

INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES AND DISCOURSES OF PVE-E

Chapter Two

2.1. Aims and research questions

The aim of this chapter is to provide a mapping of the practices, i.e. initiatives, activities and core outputs, of international organisations (IOs) working on PVE-E. A crucial aspect of these practices is the meaning(s) that are associated with the enactment of PVE-E; in other words, how PVE-E is understood and represented in the IOs' various activities, the underlying ideological or pedagogical assumptions and the normative positions in terms of what should be done and why. Although two recent studies have looked at the response of international organisations, one of them takes a broader approach without a focus on education and is concerned with CVE practices[32] rather than PVE specifically.[33] The study that does focus on education is a much-needed review of educational initiatives, examining both CVE and PVE, with an emphasis, however, on the national level, i.e. what educational institutions in 23 countries are doing in terms of countering violent extremism.[34] What is still missing is a mapping of the status quo of the work of international organisations on PVE, a gap which this chapter seeks to fill.

Exposing, disentangling and analysing these discourses[35] and practices is a necessary task if we are to gain a more nuanced, deeper and more critical understanding of the role of IOs in PVE-E. Given the power of IOs in shaping educational policy at a global and national level, it is pertinent to reflect on the normative values, ideological assumptions and pedagogical guidance and strategies that they adopt and promote.[36] This task assumes even more urgency when, firstly, IOs are involved that enjoy a certain legitimacy in the public domain as centres of expertise or authority due to their historical, political, socio-economic or legal context and status, and secondly, when this power involves the crystallisation and canonisation of a field at an embryonic stage, in this case PVE-E. There is, of course, no guarantee that their output will be adopted by, for instance, ministries of education, NGOs or teachers, which is why such output does not necessarily reflect the 'enacted curriculum'. However, IOs hold significant normative and discursive power, and their guiding principles often constitute points of reference for practitioners (of both formal and non-formal education), rendering them important actors for serious consideration. Crucially, a critical mapping of the discourses and practices of IOs can highlight good practices as well as gaps, contradictions and problematic practices that might be counterproductive.

In order to provide a comprehensive mapping of the practices of international organisations, this chapter addresses the following three **research questions**:

- How are IOs involved in supporting, promoting and enacting PVE-E?
- How do they understand and define PVE-E?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of these discourses and practices?

The structure of this chapter follows the order of these questions. The chapter begins with an overview of the main IOs involved with PVE-E and their activities, initiatives and core outputs. It then proceeds to examine more closely how they understand and define PVE-E at a discursive level, before offering a problematisation of these discourses and practices. It ends by shifting the focus to some national examples, in particular the German context.

2.2. Background context: recognising the role of education in PVE

As already mentioned in Chapter One, despite the rise of violent extremism over the past two decades – and with it an increased focus on countering violent extremism through a vast array of coercive, military and security-based approaches – it is only over the past few years that IOs have 'caught up' and that we have seen a wind of change when it comes to the role of 'soft power', particularly the role of education and young people in prevention efforts. Whereas academic scholarship had started investigating the education-extremism nexus earlier,[37] it was only around 2013 that we began to see more concerted action on the part of international organisations, reaching a peak in 2015-16 with PVE-E formally entering the global arena and becoming a priority (either as part of or as distinct to CVE-E).

One important shift took place in 2015 with the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) recognising the role of young people not just as perpetrators or victims of violent extremism – as 'vulnerable' or 'at risk' – but as agents of positive change. This took place both in terms of the UNSC meeting in April 2015[38] but also in terms of the UNSC Resolution 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security.[39] The latter has been viewed as a landmark resolution and the 'first international policy framework that recognises the positive role young people play in preventing and resolving conflict, countering violent extremism and building peace'.[40] UNSCR 2250 emphasises the significance of the representation and participation of youth in decision-making processes involving global security concerns.

A second important shift reflected a sharper focus on the specific role of prevention, particularly through a holistic – or what can be referred to as a 'whole-society' – approach (resembling the whole-school approach usually used to refer to Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)[41]). Both of these aspects were strongly echoed and exemplified in the UN *Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism*, a global framework presented to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General on the 15th January 2016. The Plan called for:

> a more *comprehensive* approach which encompasses not only ongoing, essential security-based counter-terrorism measures, but also systematic preventive measures which directly address the drivers of violent extremism.[42]

It also called for Member States to develop 'national plans of action' involving a plethora of stakeholders and sections of society, both governmental and non-governmental, which went beyond the typical law enforcement agencies to include ministries of education and religious affairs, religious leaders, youth, families, civil society organisations, the media and the private sector.[43]

The Plan had a section on 'empowering youth' as well as one on education as a priority area for taking action, reflecting a deeper appreciation of the need to engage in educational measures aimed at preventing violent extremism in young people. It is interesting to note, however, that despite this recognition, the section on education fails to provide a clear or explicit definition of PVE-E but rather promotes 'teaching respect for human rights and diversity, fostering critical thinking, promoting media and digital literacy, and developing the behavioural and socioemotional skills that can contribute to peaceful coexistence and tolerance'.[44] It is therefore up to the reader to discern whether these are elements that education should include in general or if they comprise all together a specific definition of what constitutes PVE-E. Nor does it offer much in terms of how to translate its recommendations into action. Another noteworthy aspect is the presentation of the section on education in conjunction with employment, with the full title being: 'Education, skills development and employment facilitation'. Here, three of the six points on education relate to job creation and employment opportunities.[45] Finally, the plan has been criticised for framing the issue as (an irreconcilable) one between states and violent extremists, for failing to define violent extremism and therefore trying to prevent an undefined problem, for conflating PVE with CVE, and for an all-encompassing agenda that 'risks offering everything but nothing'.[46]

Notwithstanding its flaws and criticisms, former Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon's 2015 Plan of Action was a turning point in that it represented a fundamental step in institutionalising and internationalising PVE. It embedded PVE both within UN discourses and practices, its principal organs and specialised agencies (such as UNESCO) and its member states, as well as outside of the UN, among donors, policy-makers, researchers and practitioners. Both of these international developments meant a formal and global recognition of the role of education in preventing violent extremism, and of young people as both subjects and agents of PVE-E. Against this backdrop, what emerged was the proliferation of, and funding for, hundreds of programmes, conferences, expert meetings and workshops, documents and guides related to the role of education in PVE. It is to these activities that we now turn.

2.3. Methodology

Mapping PVE-E activities on an international level is part of a wider study that involved an in-depth qualitative discourse analysis of key documents, combined with ethnographic observations of various PVE-E events and practices. One of the authors of this study attended the latter as a 'participant-observer', and conducted interviews with UK- and US-based authors of some of the key documents produced by these IOs. There were also informative visits to organisations whose activities may have reached across different countries and which may be using the 'international/global' label in their own self-descriptions (e.g. on their websites)[47] but are not classed here as IOs as they were based mainly in one country.

For the purposes of this chapter, the methodology focuses on mapping and problematising the discourses and practices of the main IOs involved in PVE-E.[48] This involved collecting and analysing a diverse array of outputs such as manifestos, policy papers, conference reports, guides, videos, etc. The insights gained from the wider research study are mentioned when relevant. For example, the interviews with the authors of various texts were primarily concerned with the politics of production of these texts (who the authors are, how certain decisions are made, what is included/excluded from the final product, etc.), which is not the focus of this chapter and is therefore not systematically referred to. Certain insights, however, have informed and substantiated arguments included in this chapter.

Although this chapter does not claim to be an exhaustive list of all IOs that have ever worked on PVE-E, the next section offers a comprehensive overview of the main IOs identified via **Table 2.1**. As mentioned above, we understand the term 'IOs' here to refer to intergovernmental organisations. Research institutes, national think-tanks, and networks or organisations operating by and large through a single country but with international projects were not included (e.g. ISD or ICAN). A list of some of the more well-known and active IOs, however, can be found in **Table 2.2** on page 45.

2.4. Which are the main IOs involved in PVE-E?

According to the criteria outlined above, the following 12 organisations were identified and analysed:

Name
African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT)
Center for Mediterranean Integration (CMI)/ World Bank
Club de Madrid - World Leadership Alliance (WLA)
Council of Europe
European Forum for Urban Security (Efus)
Hedayah/GCTF

Name
Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE)
Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO)
Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF)
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)
Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)
UNESCO including Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (UNESCO MGIEP)

Location

Most of these IOs are based in Europe or what would be seen as a primarily Western region: Western Europe and North America. In certain parts of the world PVE-E activities are underway, without, however, always being referred to as such, e.g. in Indonesia, the Philippines and former Yugoslavian countries. Other regions are notable for their lack of PVE-E activities, e.g. Latin America and the Caribbean, where peace education and Global Citizenship Education (GCED) play a more prominent role as do disarmament, mobilisation and reintegration programmes. In the Regional Roadmap for the implementation of SDG 4 in Latin America and the Caribbean there was not a single reference to PVE-E.[49] The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) signed its 'Counter-Terrorism' plan only in February 2018, and here education is only mentioned twice in passing, with no further information given and no association made with prevention.[50] It is also possible that organisations are active, yet without a digital presence, and therefore were not identified. We may assume, however, that if they are missing from the top-level meetings and are lacking both an online presence and evidence of cooperation with relevant stakeholders, that they are unlikely to have significant influence.

Nature and activity periods

The nature of these organisations is intergovernmental with both a regional and global outreach. It is not always possible to pinpoint an exact date when the organisation began work more explicitly on PVE-E, some organisations having been established more than half a century before PVE-E existed (e.g. UNESCO) whilst others were founded with the sole purpose of CVE/PVE (e.g. Hedayah). However, useful indicators here are the dates of their kick-off activities and in particular their outputs. One of the earlier organisations to start working on the role of education in PVE/CVE was Hedayah in 2013, with RAN-EDU Working Group as well as UNESCO starting more consistent work at the end of 2015 and beginning of 2016. As we can see from Table 2.1, most organisations' outputs were produced after 2015, reflecting the 'wind of change' referred to above.

Table 2.1: Overview of the main IOs involved in PVE-E

Name	Location	Membership	PVE-E Mandate/Mission
ACSRT	Algiers, Algeria	55 African Union Member States	Not explicit; supporting Member States in preventing and combating terrorism
Club de Madrid - WLA	Madrid, Spain	102 democratic former Presidents and Prime Ministers from 70 different countries	Education an explicit aspect of P/CVE efforts
CMI/World Bank	Marseille, France/ Washington, D.C., USA	13 members and over 60 partner institutions/189 Member Countries	Explicit on PVE but in association with development and link to education not always made explicit; employment seen as a way to prevent VE and radicalisation; all CMI programs and activities are youth-focused or youth-sensitive
Council of Europe	Strasbourg, France	47 Member States	Education an explicit aspect of Action Plan as part of PVE/CVE efforts; emphasis on democratic citizenship competencies

Outreach	Practices/Activities	Output	Type
Regional	Infrequent; conferences (including one youth conference in 2018); workshops offering policy recommendations	None	Tertiary
Global	Increasingly more frequent; annual 'Policy dialogue' events; high-level conferences & workshops; policy recommendations	*Conclusions Madrid +10 Preventing and Countering VE* (2015); *Towards a Global Consensus* (2016); *PVE: Leaders Telling a Different Story* (2017) - Outcome Document; *PVE in Nigeria: Effective Narratives and Messaging* (2017) - National Workshop Report; *Education for Shared Societies* (2018) - Booklet	Secondary
Regional (Mediterranean and MENA)/ Global	Infrequent activities; capacity-building workshops & conferences; awareness-building through dissemination of research	*Role of Education in Prevention of Violent Extremism* (2017); *Building Resilience to Radicalisation in MENA: Educating and Skilling a New Generation in MENA* (2017); *Violent Extremism and Development* (2017)	Tertiary
Regional	Increasingly more frequent but in practice less focus on PVE-E; conferences of Ministers of Education; workshops with experts; developing tools & guidelines for practitioners; share expertise through the Education Policy Advisors Network (EPAN); support of members to achieve SDG 4.7; education campaigns e.g. 'Free to speak, Safe to Learn' and 'No Hate Speech'	*The Fight against Violent Extremism and Radicalisation Leading to Terrorism* (2015)- Action Plan; *Competences for Democratic Culture: Living together* (2016)- Report; *Students as suspects?*- Report *(2018); Taking Action against Hate Speech through Counter and Alternative Narratives* (2017); *Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture* - 3 Volumes (2018); *Council of Europe Counter Terrorism Strategy* (2018-2022) (2018)	Secondary

Name	Location	Membership	PVE-E Mandate/Mission
Efus	Paris, France	250 Members (cities, local elected governments, institutions, partners) from 16 countries	Mission to prevent and combat radicalisation that leads to violent extremism on a local and regional level but education is not always made explicit; wider context on crime prevention and urban security
Hedayah/ GCTF	Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates	30 Members (GCTF)	Explicit mission on 'CVE and Education' and PVE seen as a part of this
INEE	New York, USA	130 member organisations	Explicit thematic area on PVE-E; to understand the link between education and VE and to help promote PVE
ISESCO	Rabat, Morocco	54 Member States	Not explicit; strengthening Member States' educational systems to ensure coexistence and peace; emphasis on intrafaith and interreligious dialogue

Outreach	Practices/Activities	Output	Type
Regional	Consistent on PVE on a local level and increasingly more frequent participation & coordination of projects on PVE-E together with local partners; support local authorities; offer trainings & policy recommendations	None focused solely on the role of education; *Preventing and Fighting Radicalisation at the Local Level* (2016); *Prevention of Radicalisation Leading to Violent Extremism: Methodological Guide for the Implementation of a Local Strategy* (2018)	Secondary
Global	Consistent and frequent; annual conferences; shares good practices and offers policy recommendations; conducts workshops, trainings and research	*The Role of Education in CVE* (2013); *Education and CVE* (2014); *Abu Dhabi Memorandum on Good Practices for Education and Countering Violent Extremism* (2014); *Abu Dhabi Plan of Action for Education and Countering Violent Extremism* (2015); *Prevening Violent Extremism through Education in Uganda* (2018); Conference reports	Primary
Global	Consistent but mostly limited to gathering together and producing resources; provide guidance for eduaction stakeholders; convened one roundtable (2015)	*Round Table Report* (2015); *Catalogue of Resources on Education and PVE* (2016); *Preventing Violent Extremism - Thematic Paper* (2017); *Preventing Violent Extremism - Video* (2017)	Secondary
Regional (MENA; Europe; Central and South East Asia); referred to as Islamic world	Infrequent events with emphasis mostly on Islamic education and interreligous dialogue; one Ministers of Education Conference (2016); regional conferences and training sessions for educators	None	Tertiary

Name	Location	Membership	PVE-E Mandate/Mission
OIF	Paris, France	58 Francophone Member States	Not explicit but increasingly closer to PVE-E than to CVE-E; promotion of peace, diversity, solidarity, freedom and intercultural dialogue
OSCE	Vienna, Austria	57 Participating States	Explicit focus on CVE-E and only intermittently on PVE-E; emphasis is on youth community engagement in CVE rather than formal education
Radicalisation Awareness Network	Amsterdam, Netherlands	28 EU Member States and partner networks	Explicit mandate on preventing and countering radicalisation and VE through education; Working Group on Education (RAN EDU) and on Youth (RAN YF&C); guided by the RAN Centre of Excellence (CoE)

Outreach	Practices/Activities	Output	Type
Regional (mostly Sub-Saharan Africa and other Francophone areas)	Infrequent events; capacity building workshops on PVE-E in cooperation with UNESCO; seminar on PVE with limited focus on education (2016); educational initiatives e.g. 'Free together'/'Libres Ensemble'	Learning resources *Fiches Pédagogiques* (not explicitly linked to VE) (2016); *Capacity Building Workshop on PVE-E in West-Africa and the Sahel: Final Report* (2017)	Tertiary
Regional (Europe, Central Asia and North America)	Consistent social media campaigns (e.g. raising awareness through #UnitedCVE) but infrequent events; capacity-building and expert meetings; guidelines and recommendations	*Addressing Islamophobia through Education* (2011); *Youth Engagement to Counter Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism* - Report (2013); *Working with Youth for Youth: Protection against Radicalization* (2015); *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policymakers* (2018); *The Role of Civil Society in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: A Focus on South-Eastern Europe* (2018); several videos under #UnitedCVE	Secondary
Regional	Consistent and frequent activities; raise awareness; share expertise; equip teachers; engage youth and build capacity; offer trainings and workshops; connect front-line practitioners; link practitioners and policy-makers with researchers	Manifesto for Education - *Empowering Educators and Schools* (2015); Several papers e.g. *The role of education in preventing radicalisation* (2016), *School leaders and prevention of radicalisation* (2016), *Building resilience in the classroom using testimonials from victims and formers* (2018); *Transforming schools into labs for democracy* (2018); Videos e.g. *Holding difficult conversations: the classroom* (2018)	Primary

Name	Location	Membership	PVE-E Mandate/Mission
UNESCO (& MGIEP)	Paris, France	195 Members and 11 Associate Members	Explicit mandate; seeks to strengthen the capacities of national education systems; within context of GCED and SDG 4.7

Outreach	Practices/Activities	Output	Type
Global	Consistent and frequent since 2016; global advocacy, guidance and capacity-building for key education stakeholders; workshops and expert meetings; collection of PVE-E resources in Clearinghouse on GCED; cooperation with other UN & non-UN entities on PVE-E events & projects	Guides: *A Teachers Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism* (2016); *Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: A Guide for Policy-makers* (2017); *Youth Led Guide on Prevention of Violent Extremism through Education* (2017/18) *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policymakers* (2018); *Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: Effective Activities and Impact* (2018); Videos, e.g. *Preventing Violent Extremism through Education* (2016)	Primary

Type
The colour coding of the last column of **Table 2.1** refers to the three types that emerged from the data collection: primary, secondary and tertiary IOs involved in PVE-E. *Type* does not refer to a specific category of PVE-E activities carried out by IOs, but rather refers to the extent of the IOs' involvement in or enactment of PVE-E activities based on specific criteria (explicit mandate; extensive and consistent activities; and significant output).

Primary organisations are those with arguably the most significant and extensive involvement in terms of a) having an explicit PVE-E mandate or mission, b) undertaking and implementing a significant number of activities and projects in the long-term, and c) having significant output. All this, it is argued, renders these IOs discourse-shaping actors with agenda-setting power, allowing them to occupy prominent roles on the PVE-E international stage. In terms of their mandate, some organisations do not mention education explicitly in their mission/mandate, rather focusing on youth employment (e.g. ACSRT), which we did not include as PVE-E. If they mention education only in passing, for instance, as one of many recommendations without further information and as part of 'efficient counter radicalization action',[51] this was categorised as countering (CVE), rather than prevention efforts (PVE). In terms of their practices, if the focus was on civil society activities and youth community projects rather than on formal education (e.g. OSCE), this excluded the IO from being categorised as 'primary'. The same was valid with regards to output: we focused on searching for output with a clearly formulated, substantial focus on education in the context of prevention. So, for instance, when the 2017 issue of the *African Journal for Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*, published by the ACSRT, was found to feature one reference to the importance of peace education and of 'efforts at disabusing the minds of the youth about misconceptions through strengthening mainstream values in the society', this was not regarded as sufficient engagement with PVE-E to constitute a 'PVE-E output'.[52] Outputs usually referred to policy briefs or outcome documents, guidebooks, research publications, manifestos, videos, etc. A news item or blog post describing an event (included in the previous column under 'practices/activities') was not considered as output.

2.5. How are the IOs involved in supporting, promoting and enacting PVE-E?
Table 2.1 provides a comprehensive overview of the different types of activities and core outputs of the IOs, giving an indication of how they are engaging with PVE-E. The practices adopted by various organisations, while similar in their main aims of preventing violent extremism through education, range in their levels (formal or non-formal education), target groups (e.g. teachers, students, practitioners, policymakers), theories, methods and implementation strategies, as well as outputs.

The majority of outputs were prescriptive rather than operational, for instance manifestos or memoranda describing normative positions of what education and relevant stakeholders should be doing, with those offering operational and specific guidance in the minority. On many occasions these IOs have cooperated with each other or partnered with other national organisations, co-funding or co-organising activities and projects, for in-

stance UNESCO with OSCE, or OIF with UNESCO, Efus with RAN, etc. There was also a strong focus on developing inter-sectoral partnerships, following the whole-society approach discussed earlier.

Some of the IOs developed learning resources, either explicitly on PVE-E or on related areas such as learning to live together, promoting democracy, tackling Islamophobia and developing GCED competencies. Guidebooks were also developed, usually for policy-makers, NGOs or teachers, and in their vast majority were top-down with the notable exception of a youth-led guide by UNESCO MGIEP (2017/18).

Practices differed in terms of their frequency, duration and consistency. The Council of Europe, for instance, had more consistent and long-term educational campaigns and the output seemed to follow a more purposeful target in comparison to others that had fragmented or more ad-hoc activities and outputs.

Another differentiation was in terms of the target group's sub-level; some projects had a general target aiming to potentially engage all youth, in contrast to others that targeted specific young individuals seen as 'vulnerable' or 'at risk' members of the population. This often reflected their definitions of PVE/CVE and whether their emphasis was on countering or preventing radicalisation and VE.

In order to answer the research questions more thoroughly, we have chosen the three primary organisations as case studies for a deeper analysis. These offer illustrative examples of the most significant practices and discourses. They are significant organisations in terms of their visibility and outreach, their legitimacy, and with regards to their agenda-setting and discourse-shaping power.

2.5.1. UNESCO

Since 2016, and following the UN Secretary-General's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism, UNESCO's actions have been rapidly expanding with not just formal board decisions to promote PVE-E (e.g. UNESCO Executive Board Decision 197EX/46), but also global conferences and the creation of policy guides for stakeholders and educational resources. According to UNESCO, its main aim is to 'strengthen the capacities of national education systems (e.g. policies, teachers, educational contents) to appropriately and effectively contribute to national prevention efforts',[53] and it operates on three levels.[54]

The first is the level of global advocacy, where the aim is to build 'an international consensus' about how education can contribute to PVE-E. Such a consensus is sought mostly via international conferences as well as through inter-institutional cooperation, both with other UN-entities and with external organisations. In April 2018 it convened a 'Preliminary Consultation on Inter-Institutional Cooperation' on PVE-E at its headquarters in Paris, gathering over 22 stakeholders in order to identify areas for collaboration and to develop a common advocacy strategy. During this meeting there was a strong emphasis

on finding ways to 'sensitise' Member States on the significance of prevention as well as on providing 'evidence of effectiveness' in order to convince stakeholders (e.g. funders and donors) to invest in programs.[55]

The second level on which UNESCO operates is that of developing guidelines for teachers and policy-makers in order to support their national efforts both in formal and non-formal settings. UNESCO's first resource on PVE-E was the *Teachers' Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism*.[56] There has also been a *Guide for Policy-makers* of Member States in order to assist countries in implementing PVE-E policies in schools, teacher training, educational media and non-formal education. This guide offers technical guidance for various stakeholders on 'how to address the concrete challenges posed by violent extremism' and how to design and implement PVE-E, and is aimed primarily at policy-makers within ministries of education.[57] All of UNESCO's efforts in the area of PVE-E are taking place within the framework of GCED (Target 4.7 of Agenda 2030), which emphasises a sense of belonging to a common humanity with a global community of active, responsible and empathetic citizens.

UNESCO MGIEP also produced a youth-led guide in 2017 (and an abridged version in 2018) with guidelines for PVE-E aimed at teachers, school administrators, guardians, religious leaders and policymakers. Whereas the main authors of the previous two guides had been based either in the US or Western Europe, the lead authors of the MGIEP guide were young people from diverse backgrounds (including Russia, South Sudan and Bolivia), and in total the contributions represented youth from 58 different countries across the world.

The third level on which UNESCO operates is that of capacity-building initiatives for teachers and policymakers through various workshops and 'by providing them with information on effective and appropriate interventions that can help prevent violence and promote global citizenship'.[58] Reflecting UNESCO's aforementioned recent emphasis on the need to identify effective PVE-E interventions, a policy brief was released in November 2018 that claimed to provide evidence of the types of PVE-E practices that have proved to have an impact.[59]

2.5.2. Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)

RAN is an organisation set up by the European Commission (EC) in 2011, comprising a network of frontline practitioners in Europe operating through nine working groups.[60] The aim of the working groups is to bring together these practitioners (such as law enforcement authorities, teachers, youth workers, civil society representatives and academics) to address 'specific issues related to violent extremism, and exchange with experts on new insights into tackling radicalisation'.[61] The rationale is that these people meet together and share expertise on 'best practices', and build new and long-term relationships. The working group on education, called RAN EDU, had its kick-off meeting in November 2015 in Prague, and it:

focuses on better equipping teachers and the school system so they can play a crucial role in preventing radicalisation. The aim is to raise awareness of the topic, but also to empower and build capacity to prevent and deal with radicalisation in educational settings.[62]

Since 2015, RAN EDU has had consistent and frequent activities in order to support and promote PVE-E following its *Manifesto for Education – Educators and Schools*, that was published after a large meeting with 90 educators in Manchester in 2015.[63] Its activities include an annual RAN high-level conference, trainings and workshops, and bringing together practitioners and policy-makers as well as researchers. Usually after their activities and working-group meetings, an ex-post paper is produced which summarises the event, consolidates expertise, and offers recommendations (see **Table 2.1**). The RAN Centre of Excellence (which supports and coordinates RAN) also produced two videos in 2018, one on conducting difficult conversations in the classroom[64] and one on building resilience among young children.[65] RAN also cooperates with other organisations such as the Council of Europe and Efus.

RAN also produces an evolving *Collection of Approaches and Practices - Preventing Radicalisation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism*. In the chapter on education, 35 practices (different projects) are presented; however, it remains ambiguous which of these RAN EDU perceives as examples of 'best practices' and what actually constitutes such practice.[66] The only relevant information given in the selection criteria is that for the practices to be included they must have been previously presented at a RAN meeting and approved by the Steering Committee, followed by a brief caveat that paradoxically goes against RAN's stated aims of sharing 'best practices':

> The practices in the RAN Collection do not have an 'approved by European Commission/RAN' label but have the aim to be informative and inspiring.[67]

It is also noteworthy that the EC, which funds RAN, does so in the context of the EU's prevention policies and in particular the European Commission's Communication on Preventing Radicalisation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism (2014 and 2016) as well as the European Agenda on Security. In this context the EC is also involved in other activities related to PVE-E; however, these largely revolve around non-formal education, for instance funding projects under the EU Work Plan for Youth 2016-2018. One of the outputs of this project was a toolbox for youth workers that included recommendations for policymakers, developed in 2017 and entitled *The Contribution of Youth Work to Preventing Marginalisation and Violent Radicalisation*. In addition, within the framework of the European Commission's Erasmus+ youth programme, SALTO-YOUTH[68] – a network of six resource centres working on youth matters – provides resource packs for youth workers

as a way of responding 'to the risk of young people becoming involved' in violent extremism.[69] The rationale here is to help support those who work with young people so that they can better understand the challenges that the latter face. Their suggestions also involve action research of a bottom-up nature, actively involving the young people themselves.

2.5.3. Hedayah

Hedayah is an organisation launched in December 2012 under the auspices of the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), the latter having being launched a year earlier and comprising 30 founding members (29 countries and the EU). Its headquarters are in Abu Dhabi, UAE. The exact members of Hedayah remain unclear and its nature remains ambiguous.[70] Hedayah's website states that the organisation is guided by its Steering Board, composed 'of the twelve Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) Working Group co-chairs': Algeria, Australia, Canada, Egypt, the European Union (EU), Indonesia, Morocco, The Netherlands, Turkey, the UAE, the UK and the USA. It receives funding from various governments and international or regional organisations such as the UAE, the US State Department, and the EU and has recently been criticised by the Strasbourg Strategy and Policy Centre, a corruption watchdog, for not being transparent in terms of its income and operations.[71]

According to Hedayah itself it is 'the first-ever International Center of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)' and it was created:

> in response to the growing desire from GCTF members and the wider international community for the establishment of an independent, multilateral center devoted to capacity building programs, dialogue and communications, in addition to research and analysis to counter violent extremism in all of its forms and manifestations.[72]

GCTF liaised with Hedayah to establish their framework on good practices, producing the *Abu Dhabi Memorandum on Good Practices for Education and Countering Violent Extremism* in 2014, followed by the *Abu Dhabi Plan of Action for Education and Countering Violent Extremism* in 2016. The latter offers a list of recommendations and programmes that can help in the implementation of the Memorandum's good practices.

'CVE and Education' is one of the six thematic priorities of Hedayah; PVE-E is viewed as part of the wider CVE-E cycle. It holds annual conferences, usually followed by a report, and aims to share good practices and offer trainings and policy recommendations. In September 2017 Hedayah co-convened a 'Youth Circle on Youth, Peace and Security: Empowering Youth to Prevent & Counter Violent Extremism (P/CVE)' as a side event during the 72nd Session of the UN General Assembly, stressing the importance of involving youth in efforts to prevent and counter VE. In January 2018 it co-operated with UNESCO on a capacity-building workshop in Kampala, Uganda to support PVE-E programmes for teacher trainers.

2.6. How do IOs understand and define PVE-E?

As can be seen from **Table 2.1** the IOs differ in the language and ideological framework they use when it comes to their mandate and mission on dealing with violent extremism. Some organisations, like UNESCO, have a clearer focus on PVE and education, whereas others such as Hedayah view PVE as part of the CVE cycle.[73] RAN on the other hand often uses the two terms interchangeably, while the focus of its practices and outputs is on prevention. This variation of course also reflects the ideological positions of the organisations regarding the nature of the threat in question as well as their preferred way in which to address it. This ideology inevitably shapes the pedagogical guidance and strategies that they adopt and promote. In turn, the IOs' preferred way in which to address VE includes assumptions about what causes a particular individual to become radicalised. The underlying rationale is that certain extremist ideologies lead to radicalisation. Whereas CVE-E is more of a 'reactive' response, PVE-E involves a proactive discourse that assumes a certain conditionality, i.e. that if certain educational interventions are put in place, then a cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural change will occur. This change will then in turn build 'resilience' to extremist narratives, thus preventing extremist violence. As will be discussed later, this underlying rationale is problematic in that it assumes a theory of causation and linearity that in reality does not exist, further based on the premise that this would be replicable across individuals and contexts.[74]

UNESCO, like the UN, does not to date state a clear or universally accepted definition of what PVE-E is. None of its three guides, for instance, offers a definition of PVE or PVE-E; its definitions are limited to related terms like VE and radicalisation. Nor do the manifestos of either RAN or Hedayah offer an explicit definition before moving directly to a set of normative recommendations and guidelines of good practices. Further, most of the recommendations are not based on systematic evidence-based research but rather on discussions held during conferences or workshops. In several cases, there was no clear statement of the rationale or evidence on which their recommendations were based. Nevertheless, a set of common normative and pedagogical standpoints can be discerned:

- That the so-called 'push' and 'pull' factors[75] to radicalisation can be identified and education can be used to mitigate these
- That resilience is something that can be built through the help of educators and that it is a successful way to prevent radicalisation
- That resilience operates the same way for different types of VE (given that IOs rarely, if ever, differentiate between types)
- That critical thinking prevents learners from becoming attracted to VE (pull factor)
- That certain students are 'at risk' and more 'vulnerable' than others, and that it is possible to identify these individuals
- That it is part of the tasks of the educator and the school to identify and help prevent their potential radicalisation
- That education strategies always need to be supplemented by wider society approaches and in partnership with other sectors, e.g. religious leaders, family and civil society

- That religious education, when taught 'properly', can prevent VE
- That if students are empowered and equipped with certain competencies and skills, this will help them find employment and that this experience by itself helps to build resilience against radicalisation and VE
- That these competencies involve promoting human rights, dialogue, democratic citizenship and tolerance, as well as GCED (e.g. embracing diversity and a sense of belonging to a common humanity) – a 'PVE-E related' approach (see **Chapter Three**)
- That certain 'PVE-E specific' approaches are successful, e.g. teaching about VE and its disastrous implications, inviting former extremists to speak in the classroom, etc.

The 'PVE-E related' approaches seem to dominate the discourses of PVE-E in IOs, as does the focus on creating safe spaces for dialogue and controversial issues. In other words, there is a preference to build on existing educational approaches and not to 're-invent the wheel'.[76] Thus, when it comes to 'PVE-E specific' guidance, there is little in the way of operational advice and rather more on what teachers *should* do. The situation is bleaker when it comes to the content of curricula and textbooks, which are merely referred to in passing and not developed or researched further.[77]

The dominance of the 'PVE-E related' approach is problematic and unhelpful; as a result, definitions of PVE-E are often so all-encompassing that it is difficult to differentiate between PVE-E and peace education or GCED. In other words, despite the connections between them, when the agenda is so expansive, it is difficult to understand what is *not* PVE-E, and the term loses its analytical and empirical rigour. The mentality of 'if almost anything can cause [violent] extremism, almost anything can prevent it' risks being counterproductive, creates conceptual confusion and 'throws more mud into already murky waters' as one commentator put it.[78]

2.7. Problematising PVE-E practices and discourses

Strengths
Before delving deeper into a problematisation of current PVE-E practices and discourses, it is important to recognise certain characteristics that are identified here as strengths and should arguably continue to be implemented. Firstly, as demonstrated above, there are many instances whereby the various IOs (especially the primary ones) cooperate with each other as well as with other national or local organisations across different levels. These networks and collaborations are fruitful in that they enable the exchange of experiences and insights and ensure more concerted and consistent practices. They also help to avoid a potentially counter-productive situation of competitiveness between the various organisations, in which each seeks to establish its own discursive understanding of what PVE-E is or should be. Naturally, IOs will and do try to transfer their own normative understandings, but the argument here is that, overall, the picture is one of cooperation rather than competition. Further, the holistic approach taken regarding in-

ter-sectoral partnerships reflects an appreciation of the complexity of both the structural and individual factors that can drive people to become violent extremists rather than focusing on education and schooling as if these operate in a vacuum.

Secondly, although this varies both within and across the organisations identified, there seems to be a slow but gradual increase in evidence of self-reflectiveness and of a critical awareness of the potential for some pedagogical practices to do more harm than good. Notwithstanding their weaknesses, it is important to note that organisations are concerned with feedback and evaluation mechanisms, progressively recognising the need to be cautious and avoid stereotypes that can backfire. Related to this is the recognition that a focus on Islamist extremism leaves other forms of violent extremism (e.g. right-wing extremism) dangerously ignored. Thirdly, following UNSC Resolution 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security, it seems that a shift is currently taking place in terms of how IOs perceive the role of young people. Practices point towards a recognition of the role of young people as not merely victims or perpetrators of VE, but also of the need to engage with them and listen to their voices when formulating policies that will inevitably have an impact on them.

Weaknesses
However, while this shift towards recognising the role of young people as agents of positive change has been enticing, especially to the young people themselves, it has also come under criticism by scholars who have voiced concern over recruiting youth to promote or be the voices of global security strategies.[79] This instrumentalisation of young people has moral and political implications as well as the danger of a 'PVE-E fatigue' on account of youth feeling 'bombarded' with these discourses by various actors of both formal and non-formal education. Besides, alongside this shift there still remains the tendency of many organisations to present young people in a less empowering light. For example, in several outputs of IOs, youth are presented as 'particularly vulnerable', 'at risk' and as requiring the urgent instilment of 'fundamental values' in order to 'raise defences'.[80]

This latter point on 'raising defences' is strongly linked to the concept of 'resilience' prevalent in almost all the IOs identified. This concept has become a buzzword and is used uncritically. Originating in the discipline of psychology, 'resilience' refers to the ability of an individual to recover after experiencing adversity, and both the definition of the term and its use by IOs have a strong element of inevitability, i.e. that the threat of extremism will inevitably endanger young people, and that they therefore need to shield themselves from it. In other words, it is like a set of vitamins that, once taken, will strengthen the immune system to resist an inescapable disease. Yet this aspect of inevitability can be criticised as actually empowering and exaggerating the danger itself. Another issue with resilience is that it focuses on the 'recipient' end of VE, rather than on the actors who instigate it or structures or processes which (re)produce it.

Furthermore, the pervasive use of concepts like 'tolerance' and 'critical thinking' as fundamental ingredients of PVE-E should be questioned. Tolerance is not a convincingly positive concept (as it does not exclude the possibility of hating the tolerated), and there is no substantial evidence to show that violent extremists lack critical thinking skills, or that having critical thinking skills automatically means that one does not lean towards extremist views.

It also remains problematic that despite their lack of clear definition – and in the case of UNESCO this is seen as a prerogative of the Member States – the IOs do offer action plans and guidelines that are at once too abstract to mean anything different to other transformative educations like peace education, and on the other hand so specific that one may well assume that there has been strong evidence-based research behind these strategies. For example, UNESCO and, to a lesser extent, Hedayah have a strong emphasis on the development of GCED as the antidote, but the assumption that a global identity or global citizenship prevents VE needs to be further researched. This definitional ambiguity further tempts many organisations to take advantage of the funding streams available for PVE-E, without essentially doing PVE-E work, but rather doing for example co-existence, or democratic citizenship education. On the other hand some organisations are seeking to engage in PVE-E but intentionally call it 'co-existence education' out of fear of the sensitivity of the issue. In one case, research was conducted on PVE-E and textbooks by one organisation but remained unpublished due to the sensitivity of the findings.

Neo-liberal assumptions are also prevalent in the discourses and practices of IOs (we have already seen above the positioning of education together with employment opportunities in the UN Plan of Action). The assumption that giving young people jobs prevents them from becoming violent extremists is problematic in various ways, not least in reflecting a linear but also simplistic understanding of the structural drivers of VE and of the socio-economic injustices and constraints that young people face in their everyday lives. In one UNESCO publication young people are presented as if they 'can make a difference if they make the right choices'[81] and that they should 'acquire the social-emotional skills they need to *overcome their doubts* … without having to resort to violence' as if it were merely a lack of confidence that leads an individual to VE.[82] Furthermore, the pervasive instrumentalisation of education as preparing students with the adequate skills to be able to compete in society and on the job market reflects a narrow and strictly utilitarian and human capital approach that characterises much of educational discourse and has even been criticised by the same IOs which adopt it.[83]

The role and capacity of teachers is also often exaggerated; too much pressure is put on educators without identifying the already existing pressures and limitations within which they operate. Should it be the teacher's role to focus on pedagogical issues or to act as agents of security and identify young people 'at risk' and 'early signs of radicalisation'? Another related finding was that those tasked with providing teacher-trainer workshops on PVE-E on some occasions had little or no pedagogical training or teaching experience

themselves. Yet they are labelled as 'experts' and occupy a position of authority as authors of manuals, reports and memoranda on education, which are often even used as reference documents by other IOs or NGOs.

Name of organisation	Location
Brookings Institution	Washington, D.C.
Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence (CPRLV)	Montreal
Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)	Copenhagen
Human Security Collective (HSC)	The Hague
Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD)	London
International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR)	London
International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)	Washington, D.C.
International Peace Institute (IPI)	New York
Observatory to Prevent Extreme Violence (OPEV)	Barcelona
Quilliam	London
Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)	London
Tony Blair Institute for Global Change	London
United States Institute of Peace (USIP)	Washington, D.C.
Violence Prevention Network (VPN)	Berlin

Table 2.2: PVE- related research institutes, think tanks, networks and non-intergovernmental organisations

2.8. Example of a national response: the case of Germany

After providing an overview on the international PVE-E landscape, we will now shift our attention to the national level, in particular the case of Germany. Since 2016, following the recommendations of the UN for Member States to develop national action plans, Germany has developed a formal and extensive *Federal Government Strategy to Prevent Extremism and Promote Democracy*. The strategy was spearheaded by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, which together with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, and the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media, is taking a lead on most PVE-E related projects. Reflecting international discourses and practices, the strategy also has a very strong inter-sectoral approach. It conceives prevention work as requiring collaboration between the local authority level, the regional level, the federal level and the international level, and explicitly builds on non-governmental organisations in the development and implementation of activities on the ground. As the title of the strategy

suggests, for Germany prevention of extremism and promotion of democracy go hand in hand. There is an explicit definition of PVE as the 'measures to prevent and combat a rejection of the system of values of the Basic Law and the democratic constitutional state and also, in this context, to safeguard the security of citizens.'[84]

The first of the six action areas identified relates to education: 'Political education, intercultural learning and democracy work'. This action area pursues three main aims: to further develop educational practices and support the institutionalisation of innovative and successful approaches; to promote an understanding of political issues and strengthen democratic awareness and participation; to enable people to deal with diversity and to strengthen the understanding and practice of democratic values and human rights, especially in cases of conflict. The strategy document includes a comprehensive overview of the main projects, including their budgets and target groups.

A core aspect of Germany's federal PVE-E policy is to further develop existing prevention work within the 'Demokratie leben' federal programme (translated as 'Live Democracy'):

> Preventive educational concepts are also being developed in the areas of racism, Islamophobia and hatred of Muslims, antiziganism, homophobia and transphobia and in the areas of right-wing extremism, Islamist extremism and left-wing extremism.[85]

It also aims to significantly expand on the work of the Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb) in political education across stakeholders (teachers, social workers and youth workers). Indeed, the bpb offers a wealth of educational material for the prevention of violent extremism. Other aspects include projects for strengthening intercultural and interreligious dialogue, education for the prevention of what is referred to as 'group-related hate'[86] and other forms of extremism (mentioned above), and also on what it refers to as 'historic political education'. The latter is a particular focal point and the aim of this education is:

> to allow a critical analysis of the time of National Socialism and the SED dictatorship in the GDR in order to prevent these epochs from being glorified and trivialised and to make young people aware of the dangers of anti-democratic ideologies based on contempt for their fellow human beings.[87]

Beyond the strong aspect of democracy promotion and protection of the constitution, there are also three other noteworthy aspects characteristic of or specific to the German context. Firstly, the German context stands out through its understanding of extremism (and associated prevention efforts) in a broader sense than merely in relation to extremism that translates into violent behaviour. Again evident through the title of the Strategy ('extremism' and not 'violent extremism') prevention efforts in Germany include addressing any form of extremist thinking that is anti-democratic, regardless of whether it involves violence or not. This approach is illustrated by the recently launched project 'Re-

spect Coaches' implemented in schools by the Youth Migration Services (*Jugendmigrationsdienste*), and funded by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. It is explicitly aimed, among other things, at preventing and countering 'religiously motivated bullying' through social work in schools.

Secondly, the federal system of Germany means a decentralisation of PVE-E policies. These cannot be imposed at the federal government level but fall into the remit and responsibility of the federal states, which hold the ultimate power in terms of their formal education systems. A national strategy can therefore only have an impact if the federal states choose to implement the recommendations.

Name of organisation	Location
Antworten auf Salafismus – Bayerns Netzwerk für Prävention und Deradikalisierung	Bavaria
Berghof Foundation	Berlin/Tuebingen
Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft religiös begründeter Extremismus e.V.	Berlin
cultures interactive e.V.	Berlin
Deutsches Jugendinstitut	Munich/Halle
German Institute on Radicalization and De-radicalization Studies (GIRDS)	Graal-Müritz
INSIDE OUT Fach- und Beratungsstelle Extremismus	Stuttgart
Kreuzberger Initiative gegen Antisemitismus (KIgA)	Berlin
ufuq.de	Berlin
VAJA e.V.	Bremen
Violence Prevention Network (VPN)	Berlin
Wegweiser (Signpost)	North Rhine-Westphalia
Zentrum Demokratische Kultur/Hayat	Berlin/Bonn

Table 2.3: Key PVE-related NGOs, networks and research institutes based in Germany

Thirdly, a specificity of the German case is that PVE-E is strongly related to the role of external actors and their involvement in schools and teaching. While PVE-E policies in certain countries (e.g. France) are very much confined to the formal sector, in Germany, many states collaborate with NGOs for projects and use their resources in the classroom or attend workshops and trainings. There are many non-formal educational programmes in Germany, usually run by NGOs such as ufuq.de, KIgA e.V., VAJA Bremen and the Violence Prevention Network, which aim to empower and sensitise students regarding extremism. Some examples are given in **Table 2.3**. The Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

- Member of the Leibniz Association (PRIF) has prepared a large-scale project on prevention and de-radicalisation of extremism in Germany (funded by the BMBF), which has investigated the motivations, justification narratives, tactics and transnational dimensions of Salafistic networks in Germany.[88] The Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V., a research and practice organisation specialising in youth, hosts a 'Research Unit for the Prevention of Right-Wing Extremism and Radicalization', managing research projects on extremism prevention since 2000 (most recently also including left-wing and Islamist forms). The institute is also charged with a continuous evaluation of the aforementioned government-funded programme 'Live Democracy'.

2.9. Conclusion

Violent extremism spreads fear and chaos; but it also spurs people into action and generates waves of solidarity, motivating both individuals and organisations to cooperate and work together to effect change. This chapter has provided a mapping of the practices, discourses and outputs of IOs working on PVE-E. It has illustrated the different ways in which organisations perceive and enact PVE-E and placed the significance of their actions in a comparative context. It has also demonstrated, however, that organisations and people coming together to work against a 'common enemy' does not always generate straightforward and unproblematic practices. IOs need to move beyond 'several knee-jerk reactions'[89] and normative calls for action towards carefully thought-through, well-researched and critical approaches to prevention. These should be long-term and effective but also show a nuanced understanding of the different types of VE and its causes and how these differences might require varied PVE-E approaches. Given that PVE-E actions have rapidly expanded both on an international level and in the German context addressed in this study, and that most PVE-E specific approaches are less than three years old at the time of writing, the direction of future practices remains to be seen. However, what is clear from now is that there needs to be more critical action (and not just words) taken to prevent not just VE but the reproduction of stereotypes and problematic assumptions that can be counter-productive. This is especially the case when powerful organisations seek to provide guidance and answers in regards to central issues related to the prevention of violent extremism.

PVE-E IN GERMAN FORMAL EDUCATION

Part II

Background to the Curriculum and Textbook Study

In this part we take a closer look at current PVE approaches in the German formal education sector in terms of **educational content** that (1) is prescribed in official documents and (2) makes its way into textbooks.

The **purpose of Part II** is to provide an overview of **whether**, **which** and **where** PVE-relevant contents are included in textbooks and curricula across Germany, **if** and **how** these contents are implemented into specific PVE-E activities, and **where** there might be room for improvement.[90]

To achieve this purpose, we conducted a systematic review of curricula and textbooks across states, school types and relevant disciplines in German formal education. Since education in Germany falls primarily under the responsibility of its 16 federal states, our study considered current official curricula and textbooks from the 16 different state systems.[91]

Our specific focus was on history and social studies because it is in these two major subject areas that PVE-relevant content is mostly addressed in compulsory education. Social studies disciplines include civics, politics, law and economics, and the names of these subjects vary significantly across states and school types.[92] History and social studies are sometimes taught together under a single subject called 'Learning about Society' (*Gesellschaftslehre*) or in cross-disciplinary courses combining history with civics and/or politics and/or geography (e.g. *fächerübergreifender Unterricht* in RP, BY, HB, NW). For ease of presentation, we refer to any of these combined or cross-curricular subjects (which are not exclusively history) with the umbrella term 'social studies'.

Since there are no formal disciplines directly relevant to PVE at primary level, our analyses only considered secondary education. As compulsory formal education finishes in grade 10 in most federal states, we specifically covered the lower secondary level, or ISCED 2 (*Sekundarstufe I*)[93] for students aged 10 to 16.

We included the most common types of lower secondary school in Germany i.e. *Gymnasium*, *Realschule*, *Hauptschule*, and schools offering 2 or 3 educational courses (*Schularten mit mehreren Bildungsgängen*, e.g. *integrierte Gesamtschulen*) in order to ensure a broad coverage of situations in which preoccupations with PVE make their way into the content of formal education. This strategy helped us avoid a unilateral view that considers PVE measures aimed at only certain parts of the student population.[94]

Our specific questions, methods of data collection and of data analysis, as well as the key findings from our curriculum and textbook analyses are presented in **Chapters Three** and **Four**.

CURRICULUM ANALYSIS

Chapter Three

3.1. Aims and research questions

The overall aim of the curriculum analysis was to map direct and indirect PVE approaches in official curricular prescriptions across Germany.

To achieve this aim, we proceeded in two steps: a quantitative and a qualitative phase.

In the quantitative phase, we aimed to give a sense of the extent to which current curricula engage with contents directly relevant to PVE. The analysis revealed from the early stages that extremism and terrorism are two important areas in which content directly relevant to PVE is introduced in the formal education sector in Germany. We therefore focused on how often and in what semantic contexts terms are connected to these topics as mentioned in the curricula.

The following research questions guided the quantitative part:

- How often are terms like 'extremism' and 'terrorism' mentioned in curricular texts?
- How are these terms distributed across states, school types and school subjects?
- In which general thematic and semantic contexts do they appear?

In the qualitative phase we included both direct and more indirect ways in which curricular contents may be relevant to PVE. We therefore considered curricular prescriptions directly mentioning 'extremism' and 'terrorism' as well as those that open up broader spaces for PVE in various parts of the texts (such as the statement of educational objectives, knowledge and skills prescribed, implementation or methodological suggestions). This allowed us to ascertain a preoccupation with prevention even when words such as 'extremism' or 'terrorism' were not explicitly employed, for example when aspects generally considered as key to PVE in international discourses, such as 'inclusion' and 'diversity', were mentioned. One reason for this inclusion was to identify opportunities for more explicitly adressing PVE-specific contents in the German curricula in the future.

In this phase of the analysis we were interested in finding out:

- What kinds of curricular contents prescribed in these texts are relevant for PVE?
- What PVE-relevant knowledge, topics and skills are meant to reach students in compulsory formal education in Germany?
- When, where and how are these to be taught/achieved?

3.2. Methodology and data collection

Curricula for the lower secondary level currently used and available on the website of the ministry of education of each German state were downloaded and collated in a single database with common categories.[95]

Our final collection of curricular documents consisted of 87 files published between 1997 and 2018.[96]

BOX 3.1: **Data Sources for the curriculum analysis**

☑ **87 curricular documents**

☑ **16 German states**

☑ **2 major subject areas (history and social studies, incl. combined subjects)**

☑ **4 school types (Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule, Schulen mit mehreren Bildungsgängen)**

☑ **ISCED 2 – Lower secondary education**

☑ **Published: 1997-2018**

☑ **Available on the websites of the respective ministries of education in 2018**

3.3. Quantitative study

3.3.1. Data analysis: tools and procedures

- How often are terms specific to PVE mentioned in curricular texts?
- How are these terms distributed across states, school types and school subjects?
- What are the general thematic and semantic contexts in which they appear?

To answer these questions, we used digital humanities tools developed in-house at the Georg Eckert Institute. In a first step we looked for PVE-relevant words. An initial list of terms was selected based on a literature review of research and discourses of PVE at international level. After testing this list in our corpus of curricular texts, we found the following four keywords to be most specific to PVE-E in the context of this study: extremism/extremist, terrorism/terrorist.[97]

In a second step, we checked whether the words 'extremism' and 'terrorism' appear together in the same section, and which other words appear together with them most frequently (i.e. co-occurrence analysis). As a result of these analyses, we produced a 'word-cloud' (see **Figure 3.5** below) which visualises both the frequency of and co-occurrences between our key terms.

BOX 3.2: **PVE-E specific keywords for in-depth quantitative searches**

☑ **'Extremism'**

☑ **'Extremist'**

☑ **'Terrorism'**

☑ **'Terrorist'**

3.3.2. How much 'terrorism' and 'extremism' is there in the curriculum?

The relative (un)importance of extremism and terrorism

The expressions 'violent extremism' ('gewalttätiger Extremismus') and 'prevention of violent extremism' ('Prävention von gewalttätigem Extremismus') do not appear in any of the curricular documents we analysed.[98] However, if taken individually, some relevant terms are mentioned to varying degrees: 'violence', 'extremism', 'terrorism' and 'prevention'. The tandems 'violence prevention' ('Gewaltprävention') and 'conflict prevention' ('Konfliktprävention') are sometimes mentioned (e.g. in MV, BE/BB, SH and NI, RP, respectively) but without any explicit association with 'extremism', 'terrorism' or similar, thus indicating more of a preoccupation with peace education than with PVE. Whenever mentioned, 'Gewaltprävention' and 'Konfliktprävention' are linked to aspects of inclusion in the school and the prevention of violence between peers (e.g. bullying) while 'prevention' is often linked to health-related topics and not 'violent extremism'. A word that indicates a potentially closer engagement with PVE topics is 'combatting' ('Bekämpfung') in expressions such as 'Bekämpfung des internationalen Terrorismus' and 'Terrorismusbekämpfung' (BY), 'Bekämpfung des globalen Terrorismus' (NW), 'Transnationaler Terrorismus als globale Friedensbedrohung und Strategien seiner Bekämpfung' (SH), 'Bekämpfung von Fremdenfeindlichkeit' (ST). We note, however, that (1) these are more linked to 'terrorism' than 'extremism', (2) that they belong more to the vocabulary of CVE than PVE (see **Box 1.2**, page 16 for the distinction between these), and (3) they are insignificant in coverage (the five instances mentioned here are the only ones in the full corpus of 87 curricular documents).

The keywords that emerged as the most significant, i.e. 'extremism', 'terrorism' – and their derivate terms (see **Box 3.2**, page 55) appear infrequently in these texts, indicating their low level of importance in the curricula. To give an illustrative example of the relative (un)importance of these terms, the highest frequency of the term 'extremism' found in a single curricular text was 7 occurrences in a document of 157 pages (NW), and of the word 'terrorism' was 6 occurrences in a document of 62 pages (SN). In the entire corpus of curricular documents (3078 pages in total), the word 'extremism' appears 60 times (in 26 of 87 documents in total), and the word 'terrorism' 60 times (in 29 of 87 documents in total). In comparison to the most frequently mentioned concepts in these texts ('democracy' – mentioned 788 times, 'revolution' – 607 times, and 'rule' (*Herrschaft*) - 514 times in the full corpus of 87 documents), our keywords are thus insignificant in frequency.

Subject areas, states and school types

In terms of how the frequency of the words 'extremism'/'extremist' and 'terrorism'/'terrorist' compares across relevant categories, we note that:

- Our keywords are mentioned more in **school subjects** of social studies than history; this is most pronounced in the case of 'extremism' (see **Figure 3.1**). The only terms addressed more in history than in social studies are 'extremist'

and 'terrorist', i.e. adjectives that could be linked to specific organisations or individuals. This makes sense given the specificity of history to engage with concrete events, persons, or actions rather than discuss broader themes in abstract terms (see **Figure 3.1**).

- The distribution across federal **states** reveals some differences: the states where we find the highest frequencies for our search terms are Saxony (current curricular texts published between 2004 and 2016), Saarland (2012-2015), Thuringia (2012-2016), Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (2001-2004), North Rhine-Westphalia (2007-2011) and Lower Saxony (2013-2018); Berlin/Brandenburg (2015) exhibit the lowest frequencies (see **Figure 3.2**). The texts from Bremen and Hesse[99] – which are much less prescriptive than those of other states, do not mention our terms at all.[100] There is a difference between 'old' states and 'new' states after 1989 (see **Figure 3.3**), with generally more mentions of all terms in the states of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR).[101]

- In terms of **school type** (see **Figure 3.4**), we note that 'terrorism' is more frequently mentioned in exclusively Gymnasium schooling than in all other types of schools, i.e. Realschule, Hauptschule and 'Schularten mit mehreren Bildungsgängen' (MBg), but the same does not hold for 'extremism', where frequencies are comparable – with the exception of MBgs whose curricula cover two or three educational courses (and thus could include Gymnasium).
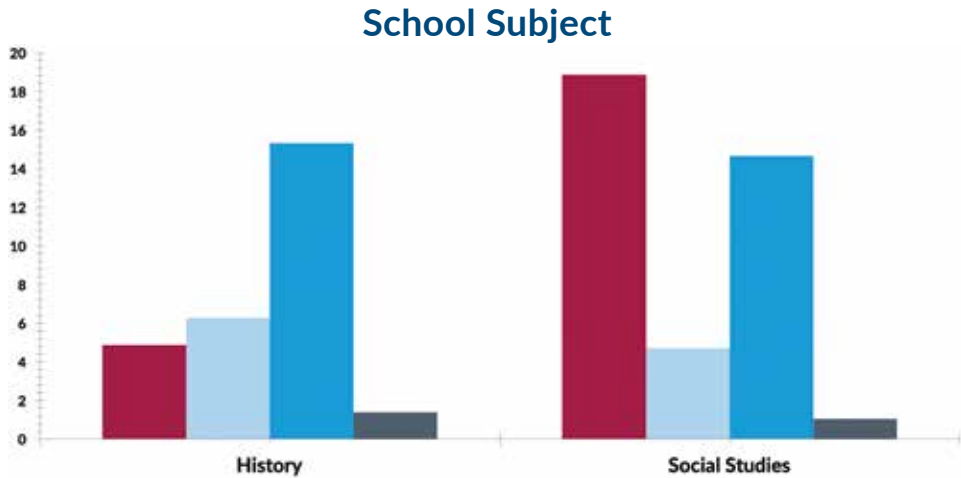
School Subject

Figure 3.1: Frequency of search terms according to school subject (per 1,000 pages)
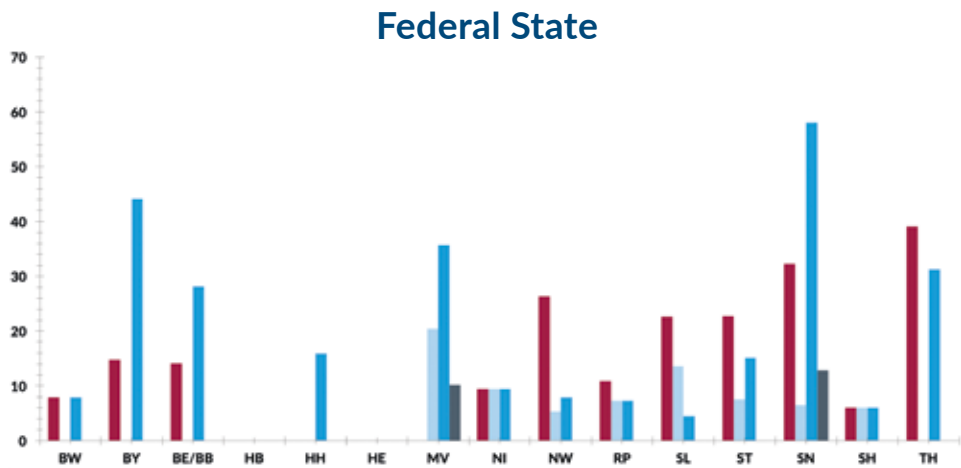
Federal State

Figure 3.2: Frequency of search terms according to state (per 1,000 pages)

'Extremism'   'Extremist'   'Terrorism'   'Terrorist'

'Old' vs. 'New' federal states
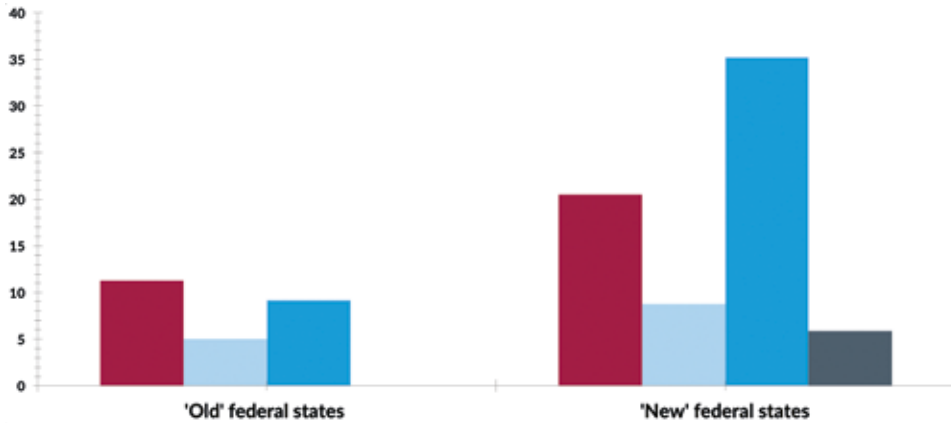
Figure 3.3: Frequency of search terms according to 'new' vs. 'old' federal state (per 1,000 pages)

School Type
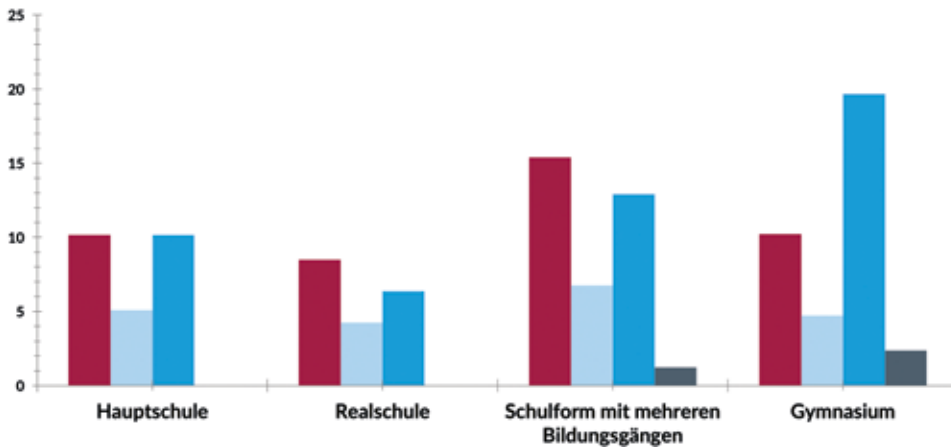
Figure 3.4: Frequency of search terms according to school type (per 1,000 pages)

■ 'Extremism' ■ 'Extremist' ■ 'Terrorism' ■ 'Terrorist'

Word Associations: A Tale of Two Worlds

The co-occurrence analysis of our keywords reveals patterns that can be visualised in a word cloud (see **Figure 3.5**) and are summarised in **Tables 3.1** and **3.2** below.

Figure 3.5: Word cloud based on associations between our **4** keywords ('extremism', 'extremist', 'terrorism', 'terrorist') and the first 15 other words most frequently appearing in the same line, across 87 curricular documents[102]

How to interpret the word cloud

The patterns of association between words visualised in the word cloud reveal 'two worlds' of PVE-E. These 'two worlds' are indicated by the clustering of words around our key terms and the fact that there are hardly any connecting lines between them, or where there are, these are rather weak.

The first 'world' is represented by a grouping around the terms **'extremism'** and **'extremist'**; these terms seem more associated with topics relating to politics/political order, democracy, National Socialism, world war and right-wing extremism.

The second 'world' is represented by a grouping around the terms 'terrorism' and 'terrorist', which appear to be more connected to topics such as globalisation, security, conflict, threats, dangers and peace.

A further difference is that 'extremism' and 'extremist' seem closer to Germany and topics directly relating to Germany, whereas 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' are more strongly associated with the international/global space. In terms of time-frame, 'extremism' and 'extremist' seem more connected to past, historical events or processes and are more strongly associated with 'causes', whereas 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' are more related to present-day or future developments and show visibly fewer associations with 'causes' and 'effects'.

The words most frequently mentioned together with our **4** keywords can be alternatively visualised in a table showing only the top 5 co-occurrences.

PVE-keyword	1st most frequent	2nd most frequent	3rd most frequent	4th most frequent	5th most frequent
'Extremism'	Causes (12)	Right-wing extremism (12)	Content field (11)	Xenophobia (11)	Political (10)
'Extremist'	Content field (8)	Students (8)	Politics (7)	Democracy (7)	National Socialism (7)
'Terrorism'	Conflicts (12)	Migration (9)	Causes (7)	Example (7)	Climate change (7)
'Terrorist'	Economic (4)	Question (4)	System (4)	Elective (4)	Use of violence (4)

Table 3.1: The top **5** words co-occurring with PVE-keywords, excluding the terms themselves (numbers in brackets indicate how many times a word appeared together with the keyword)

The 'two worlds' of PVE-E emerging from the most frequent word associations can be analytically categorised into three semantic dimensions in terms of themes, spaces and times evoked, as in the table below.

	'extremism'/'extremist'	'terrorism'/'terrorist'
Thematic dimension	Political order; Democracy; National Socialism; right-wing Xenophobia	Globalisation; Conflict; Security; Threat; Migration; Climate change
Spatial dimension	Germany	Global/International
Temporal dimension	Past/historical; Causes; Effects	Present/Future; Effects; Causes

Table 3.2: The 'two worlds' of PVE-E in curricular texts

The following **conclusions** can be drawn:

- **Disconnection between 'extremism'/'extremist' and 'terrorism'/'terrorist':** The key terms appear in different thematic contexts (national vs. international), resulting in two seemingly distinct 'groupings' of topics – or what we have referred to as the 'two worlds' of PVE-E. There are connections between the two word groupings, but these appear to be weak. The weakness of these connections indicates that the two groups of words are rarely mentioned together on the same line but rather in different parts of the curricular texts. The implication of this disconnection is that 'terrorism' may not be discussed as possible effect of 'extremism' or 'extremist thinking' and vice-versa: discussions of 'extremism' or 'extremist thinking' may not directly refer to the use of 'violence' and/or may not include 'terrorism' among possible effects. This semantic disconnection could imply to students that the topics are not closely related, given that they are most often treated in separate sections.

- **Spatial effects:** On the spatial dimension the frequency of occurrence connects 'extremism' mostly with Germany, and 'terrorism' mostly with 'outside Germany'. 'Extremism' is thus portrayed in these official documents as something 'we' need to address 'here', whereas 'terrorism' is primarily conveyed as something located 'out there', in the abstract 'international arena'.

- **Temporal effects and causality:** Not only does 'Extremism' seem more strongly associated with 'us' and 'here' but also with the past (and by extension, an arch is drawn into the present and future). The emphasis on causes of 'extremism' and the explicit mention of 'right-wing extremism' and 'xenophobia' (*Fremdenfeindlichkeit*) indicates that a deeper and more self-reflective engagement with the topic of 'extremism' in connection to the past may be possible.

'Terrorism', however, is projected into a more abstract, unknown 'future', as there are more associations with effects (or 'reactions') than with causes. The possible implications of this are fewer opportunities embedded in the curriculum for self-reflective and critical engagements with the topic of 'terrorism'.

3.4. Qualitative study

3.4.1. Data analysis: tools and procedures

- What kinds of curricular contents are relevant for PVE?
- What PVE-E relevant knowledge and skills should students learn?
- When, where, and how are these to be taught/achieved?

To answer these specific questions, we analysed curricular documents individually instead of together as a data corpus. This took into account the diversity of approaches to curriculum design across the 16 states, ranging from detailed syllabi, including suggestions of how particular themes should be taught, to minimally prescriptive curricula indicating just a general framework with key compulsory themes. The curricula were coded by two coders using a list of topics and categories defined in advance based on the previous stages of the research. The coded text extracts were analysed for patterns and differences across the 16 states.

The coding procedure involved:

- Close reading of the curricular documents
- Identifying curricular content directly or indirectly relevant to PVE-E
- Categorising the PVE-E relevant curricular content into:
  1. **Educational aims and skills**[103] (i.e. general or specific goals, including competencies and skills meant to be achieved by students in connection to these goals)
  2. **Content themes** (i.e. knowledge that students should learn via certain prescribed topics to be addressed in class)
  3. **Implementation suggestions** (i.e. approaches, methods or examples given to teachers of how content themes could be taught)

We focused our analysis on *if*, *where* and *how* themes such as the following were mentioned anywhere in the documents:

- extremism and extremist thought/ideologies
- terror and terrorism; acts of terrorism
- radical ideologies and radicalisation; methods of preventing radicalisation
- ideologically (politically or religiously) motivated violence

Any mention of methods of addressing such topics in class was noted.

3.4.2. The what, where, when and how of PVE-E in the curriculum

What kinds of curricular contents are relevant for PVE-E?
We distinguish between **two types of curricular contents relevant for PVE-E**[104]:

- 'PVE-E specific': curricular content engaging directly with PVE; for example mentioning the goal of tackling violent extremism (VE) in the description of educational aims, prescribing contents/knowledge about VE that students must learn (such as examples of VE, types mentioned, persons or specific events), or suggesting explicit strategies to implement PVE-E in actual lessons, such as inviting a former violent extremist to speak to the class or asking students to express themselves against extremism.
- 'PVE-E related': curricular content (aims, content themes, implementation suggestions) meant to empower them to act, encourage active participation, or inspire critical thinking as a means of preventing violent extremism, even when extremism and/or VE are not explicitly mentioned as the target. Examples of such indirect, yet important engagements with PVE-E include the promotion of intercultural education, education for democracy, or peace education in the formal curriculum.

In our data corpus:
'PVE-E specific' contents were most often found in **content themes** about VE: e.g. specific acts of violence, acts of terrorism, types of extremist ideologies that may be conducive to violence and, sometimes, implementation strategies suggesting how students are expected to deal with these ideologies.

'PVE-E related' contents were often found in statements of **educational aims and skills** (e.g. multiperspectivity, understanding 'the other', teaching democracy). PVE-E related content themes reflecting these broader goals were sometimes connected to these educational aims and skills, but not explicitly linked to PVE-E. PVE-E related aims and content themes were, however, rarely translated into concrete **implementation suggestions** and were only loosely linked to 'PVE-E specific' topics (such as specific knowledge about VE), which carry the potential to advance a PVE-E agenda.

Overall, 'PVE-E specific' curricular content occurred less frequently than 'PVE-E related' content:

- We did not find any **educational aims or skills** directly mentioning the prevention of violent extremism, but we found PVE-E related aims (e.g. social competencies for living peacefully together)
- We found PVE-E specific **content themes** (knowledge) dealing with violent extremist acts (e.g. terrorism) but these occurred less frequently than PVE-E related knowledge

- We did not find **implementation/methodological suggestions** directly engaging with the prevention of violent extremism which could be categorised as 'PVE-E specific' (e.g. testimonials from former violent extremists or explicit engagement with both 'push' and 'pull' factors leading to VE). Instead, we found implementation suggestions for dealing with extremism more generally, and thus PVE-E related.

What PVE-E knowledge is prescribed and in which thematic units/areas?
In **history**, content themes that we found relevant for PVE-E are:

- PVE-E related
    - Ancient societies: Greece, Rome, Egypt
    - Moorish Spain
    - The Crusades
    - Colonialism

- PVE-E specific
    - German Peasants' War (1524-1526), Thirty Years' War
    - French Revolution and the Reign of Terror
    - Regimes of terror: Stalin, Hitler
    - National Socialism
    - Divided/Cold War Germany (e.g. Rote Armee Fraktion/Red Army Faction)
    - The world in post-Cold War times/contemporary times (e.g. 9/11)

Of these, the only ubiquitous and comprehensively approached theme where the topics of violence and extremism are explicitly brought together is National Socialism (NS), usually introduced within the 9th and 10th grade throughout all school forms. The theme is addressed in a complex manner, by mentioning, for example: NS-ideology with an emphasis on its racist and inhuman character, the causes for the rise of NS-ideology, and the Holocaust demonstrating the singularity and inhumanity of the crime.

More importantly, addressing National Socialism in the curriculum is often translated into PVE-E action, by linking it explicitly to current manifestations of right-wing extremism (e.g. ST,[105] NI,[106] HH,[107] NW[108] and SL[109]). Following these examples, a clear agenda emerges, seeking to provide students with counter-narratives and arguments against right-wing extremism as well as the opportunity to engage in its prevention.

Some of the content themes we found in the curricula lend themselves particularly well to the exemplification of different types of ideologically motivated violent acts, without, however, necessarily linking these to specific PVE-E activities. Examples are:

- The theme of Cold-War/divided Germany, where the Rote Armee Fraktion/Red Army Faction (RAF) is sometimes mentioned either as an optional or compulsory module, **mostly for Gymnasium and Realschule** (e.g. BY,[110] NI,[111] SL,[112] SN[113]);

- The theme of international terrorism in the post-Cold War world where the 9/11 attacks are often mentioned **across all school types** (e.g. BW,[114] BY,[115] SN[116]).

Other curricular content themes are even less explicitly related to acts of violent extremism and/or its prevention; however, they provide opportunities to link with PVE-E related aims such as interculturality/transculturality, multiperspectivity, critical thinking or education for tolerance (mostly in non-Gymnasium school tracks, wherever such a differentiation is made, with the exception of Bavaria and Saxony):

- The coverage of ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt or Moorish Spain is sometimes used to emphasise encounters (*Begegnungen*) between religions and cultures (e.g. NI[117]);
- The Crusades are sometimes presented as conflicts or contacts between cultures (BE/BB,[118] BY,[119] NW,[120] RP,[121] SN,[122] SH[123]);
- Colonialism is rarely offered as opportunity for students to engage with the different perspectives of colonisers and colonised (e.g. NI[124]).

Yet other themes provide largely untapped opportunities to link with more PVE-E specific topics that may bring violence and extremism together. An example is the coverage of various ideologically driven acts of violence in history – which very few curricula problematise in a way that reflects PVE-E goals (mostly in non-Gymnasium tracks, wherever such a differentiation is made). Among these, we can mention:

- The Thirty Years' War used as an opportunity to discuss the instrumentalisation of religion to pursue political goals (NI[125]);
- The Reign of Terror to discuss the use of violence to accomplish political goals (e.g. NI,[126] MV[127]);
- Stalin's rule of terror as an exemplification of anti-democratic, dictatorial tendencies and sometimes explicitly connected to mass violence (e.g. BE/BB[128]).

In contrast to history, **social studies** curricula do not prescribe a list of events, historical periods, processes or personalities, but rather several thematic fields that are relevant for PVE-E:

- **Democracy, human rights** and the **basic constitutional order** in connection to the German context;
- **Conflict resolution, peace** and **security** in relation to the international context.

The topics most often covered in the thematic field of **democracy, human rights and the basic constitutional order** are political extremism (most frequently right-wing, but sometimes also left-wing) – especially racism and xenophobic tendencies ('hostility to foreigners') followed by the much less explicitly mentioned religious fundamentalism (e.g. BY[129]), the curricula do not require students to learn about the distinctions generally made between political and religious or between

left- and right-wing extremism. No explicit differentiation is made between extremist ideologies and violent extremism (i.e. extremist ideologies which accept and promote the use of violence for the achievement of their goals).

In relation to **conflict resolution**, **peace** and **security**, international terrorism is the most frequent PVE-E specific theme mentioned, followed by the PVE-E related and quite frequent topic of international conflict resolution in the international arena.

The thematic split observed in the quantitative analysis between (1) the German context mostly engaging with the topic of extremism as a threat to the democratic order – without necessarily mentioning 'violence', and (2) the international (global) context mostly engaging with the threat of international terrorism, is confirmed by the qualitative analysis of curricula across Germany.

What PVE-E aims and skills are prescribed?
A strikingly common trend is the declared aim of forming **social competences**, including **tolerance**, **empathy**, **solidarity**, **respect** or **peaceful conflict resolution**. Such skills are often considered key to successful PVE-E in the international arena (see Chapter Two). A special emphasis in many states is placed on the need for value-bound education and the very frequent mentioning of intercultural understanding is meant to enable pupils to live in a plural society. Developing media literacy (another key PVE-E skill emphasised in international documents where it is known as Media and Information Literacy[130]) is also ubiquitous, but remains at an abstract level as a general educational goal and is not explicitly linked to the prevention of violent extremism.

But there are also discipline-bound curricular aims that relate to PVE, even in the absence of explicit links with 'violent extremism'. In **history**, for example, we note the mentioning in some states[131] of an understanding of self and other ('Selbst- und Fremd-verstehen'), which is sometimes subsumed under the concept of multiperspectivity ('Multiperspektivität'), an approach promoting sensitivity to multiple perspectives or narratives in understanding historical events. The aim is to provide students with a more (self-)reflexive history education. Indirectly, this fosters critical thinking, which is another key skill in PVE-E emphasised at the international level (see Chapter Two). The concept of multiperspectivity further aims to promote students' ability to get along in a plural society and thus contribute actively to its pluralism. A connected concept is 'transculturality', mentioned in the Lower Saxony curriculum as a key competence with which to foster tolerance in a plural society, but only for Gymnasium students.[132]

In **social studies** disciplines (including *fächerübergreifender Unterricht*) we observed a tendency to emphasise constitutionally bound values and norms often portrayed as the antidote to extremism.

A core PVE-relevant skill permeating social studies curricula is that of 'Mündigkeit'.[133] 'Mündigkeit' can be understood as a key competence of a 'good citizen' or the compass required for responsibly navigating a plural, democratic political life. The concept entails sub-competences such as power of judgement, responsibility and political agency which individuals are expected to use in order to successfully participate in the life of the *polis*. It can also be understood as a range of tools enabling individuals to voice their demands and make their opinions heard democratically. This concept constitutes a crucial aspect in the field of PVE-E since it aims to offer an empowering, rational, responsible, and inherently democratic participation tool, often presented as an alternative to the exercise of 'agency' via violent extremism.

Finally, the principles inherent in 'Mündigkeit' appear to be connected – although rarely explicitly – to a core concept of PVE-E in the international arena, i.e. that of resilience (see also Chapter Two). Although resilience is mentioned directly only in one text,[134] its central tenets are encapsulated in the inherently democratic nature of 'Mündigkeit'. It provides, according to some texts, protection from possible anti-democratic, manipulative, or radical tendencies. For example:

- in Thuringia: by developing political 'Mündigkeit' students are expected to 'exercise their civic role as citizens in a self-determined, *non-indoctrinated* and socially responsible fashion'[135]
- in Lower Saxony: educating 'mündige' citizens to participate in societal and political processes also implies the need for continuous and patient democratic engagement; only such an approach 'can counteract indifference to political issues and the simplification of dealing with them and *prevent a possible disenchantment with democracy or radicalisation*'[136].

A different approach is put forward in the Bavarian curriculum which mentions in its statement of **value education goals** a particularistic *Christian* image of humanity as 'the basis for respect of human dignity'[137] rather than a universalistic democratic rationality as most other curricular texts do.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern is unique with its explicit mentioning of 'violence prevention' (*Gewaltprävention*) as a curricular goal both in **history** and **social studies**. By fostering democratic mind-sets and behaviours, the school is meant to promote the ability of peaceful conflict resolution among pupils. History as a subject is expected to provide counter-narratives to falsifications of history and extremist propaganda.[138] In social studies, students are expected to learn possibilities for intervention in the case of anti-democratic behaviour and violence among their midst.[139] In grades 5 and 6 they are meant to learn peaceful conflict resolution and engage in different projects to prevent

violence, such as sport against violence, violence prevention on the playground, anti-violence week, the campaign 'violence-free school', pupil moderators, conflict mediation groups, and crime-prevention education.[140] While certainly relevant to PVE-E, prevention refers here to peer-to-peer violence rather than wider societal violence, and the link to extremism is missing (i.e. there is no explicit mention of how to deal with extreme ideologies and anti-democratic, radical thought which may lead to violence).

Berlin/Brandenburg, however, does mention 'violence prevention' as general curricular aim of political education (*Politische Bildung*) and links it with education for democracy (*Demokratiebildung*) in developing social and intercultural competences more broadly. These competences are meant to promote 'cooperative and compromise-oriented resolution', not only on the playground but also in relation to broader societal and political conflicts.[141] While not specifically mentioned as the target of this specific aim, a content theme covering extremism and violence appears in the same text as fostering a 'critical examination of anti-democratic ideas and threats to the free-democratic basic order'.[142] The link between violence prevention and non-extremist, democratic thinking is thus made implicitly, revealing an important concern with PVE-E.

In sum, while none of these points explicitly mention the 'prevention of violent extremism', they are highly relevant to it. The engagement with the prevention of violence (via peaceful conflict resolution) and the engagement with the prevention of extremism (via fostering democratic values) are largely disconnected. However, they both offer important opportunities for PVE-E.

When, where & how are PVE-E knowledge or skills to be implemented in class?
The age **when**, as well as the disciplines **where**, students are to start encountering topics relevant to PVE-E are remarkably similar across all states: most states start introducing PVE-relevant themes in grades 7 or 8 for history and grades 8 or 9 for social studies disciplines. There is no state in Germany whose curricula do *not* engage with at least one PVE-E relevant aspect (aim, skill, or knowledge/content theme as outlined in the sections above) in 9th/10th grade in either history or social studies or both across all types of schools considered. We can therefore ascertain that all students in Germany between the ages of 14 and 15 who are enrolled in formal education should engage with *some* PVE-E relevant topic – some of them earlier (12-13 years of age), although with different degrees of complexity and relevance.

Exceptions to this general observation include, for example, Bremen, which introduces PVE-E related thematic fields on 'living together' and 'conflict-resolution' as early as at age 10-11 in 5th/6th grade in *fächerübergreifender Unterricht*, combining history, politics and geography. Hesse formulates PVE-E relevant topics in its cross-curricular educational aims and knowledge/thematic contents for 5th-10th graders irrespective of grade or school type.

While some texts offer extensive suggestions as to **how** the curriculum could be implemented to achieve specific goals, others do not prescribe specific activities and leave it up to teachers to engage their students with the respective topics. As, however, the implementation methods are hardly separable from the knowledge and skills already summarised in the sections above, we will merely provide some illustrative examples of activities explicitly mentioned in relation to PVE-E relevant topics. These could be used by teachers in prevention work, for instance.

In terms of what the curricula suggest students could 'do' with extremist ideologies (i.e. what 'action' they are expected to implement) we can distinguish between two approaches:

1. **Minimal/descriptive approach** = recognise or know something about (the threat of) extremism, e.g. name and discuss types of extremism, causes and responses to it (e.g. MV,[143] BY,[144] BW,[145] NI,[146] TH[147]);
2. **Analytical/engaging approach** = analyse and engage against extremism to safeguard democracy, e.g. how to position oneself against anti-democratic narratives and develop strategies to counter those narratives (e.g. BE/BB,[148] SN,[149] ST,[150] HH[151]).

While the first approach is PVE-E relevant insofar as it prescribes the expectation that students should *know* about extremist ideologies and be able to *discuss* or *describe* their consequences, only the second approach can be considered as PVE-E specific, because it translates knowledge and description into *engagement* by students in class and, by extension, possibly into their lives outside school.

However, it is important to note here that these approaches do not make the link to violence explicit. They are about preventing extremism and extremist ideologies in general. Given that violence can be a manifestation of extremism, these approaches to preventing extremism carry the potential for engagement with, and hence prevention of, violent extremism, even though this is not explicitly stated.

Differences in these approaches between federal states but also between school types within the same state – notably between Gymnasium and non-Gymnasium forms –can be observed, although they are not necessarily consistent. Analytical/engaging approaches to dealing with extremist ideologies seem more prominent in school types leading to a more general or academic qualification (e.g. Gymnasium; Realschule), while minimal and descriptive approaches seem more common in schools with non-academic or strongly vocational expectations (e.g. Mittelschule, Hauptschule). Bavaria demonstrates a good example of this pattern with prescriptions for Mittelschule being closer to a descriptive approach and Realschule to an analytical/engaging one.

However, PVE-E relevant implementation suggestions or methodologies may also vary not only in terms of the two approaches mentioned above but also in extent and complexity. The curriculum in North Rhine-Westphalia is an illustration of differentiation

between school types in this sense. It mentions more extensive, personally relevant, and partially critical implementation methods for *Gesellschaftslehre*[152] at Hauptschule than for other school types. It is suggested that in grades 7-8, Hauptschule students should 'assess the effects of colonialism in the present day and consider threats to peace, e.g. ensuing wars, terrorism'.[153] In grades 9-10 they should 'explain the manipulative influence of right-wing and left-wing extremism on the population in times of economic crises and relate it to their own experience'.[154] Moreover, they are expected to 'explain current neo-Nazi occurrences' in relation to the NS past, 'contrast their own understanding of humanity and democracy against the backdrop of the NS past' and discuss 'ideas for countering neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic and racist movements'.[155]

In contrast, there are fewer and less differentiated expectations for students of Realschule in the same state. Students in grades 7-10 here should 'explain constitutional principles [...] and the role of the law as an instrument of societal order', 'explain causes and manifestations of, as well as the potential to counter, political extremism and hostility against foreigners'[156] and 'assess elements of the rule of law, goals of extremist and xenophobic groups, and the resulting consequences for individuals and the system'.[157] For Gymnasium only one activity is mentioned, for grades 7-9: to 'explain causes and manifestations of, as well as the potential to counter, political extremism and hostility against foreigners'.[158] We notice that Hauptschule students are to 'assess', 'discuss' and 'explain' PVE-E relevant issues (such as neo-Nazism, threats to peace) as well as touch on more PVE-E specific topics (such as ideas for countering different extremist ideologies) while applying their observations to their own experiences and bringing the topics to life in a personally relevant manner. In contrast, Realschule students are expected to 'explain' and 'assess' PVE topics in more abstract terms, referring to 'individuals and the system' rather than their personal lives. The Gymnasium students are asked to 'explain' PVE-E relevant and PVE-E specific strategies in general, without any specific connection to their lives.

In sum, in some states we observe differences between the various school types in terms of (1) how extensively PVE-E activities were suggested and (2) what types of PVE-E activities expected from students were explicitly formulated in the curricula. These differences raise the question as to whether the more academically oriented Gymnasium curriculum is meant to be less prescriptive, more flexible and more abstract because of its very raison d'etre, and/or whether distinctions (which vary across states) are made between the needs of the students in different school types in terms of how PVE-E should be implemented.

A possible implication of these differentiations (regardless of their explanation or origin) could be that approaches to PVE-E in the formal education sector may mirror, in some states, the persisting 3- or 2-tiered (ability-streamed) education system in Germany more generally, which has been criticised for (re)producing socio-economic inequalities and hindering social mobility.

Chapter Four

4.1. Aims and research questions

Our overall aim in this chapter is to offer a general mapping of **representations of violent extremism (VE)** in lower secondary history and social studies textbooks across Germany, to show **how these representations contribute to PVE-E**, and indicate where we see **problematic practices** as well as **potential for improvement**. Unlike the curriculum analysis, which mapped both direct and indirect PVE-E approaches in the intended curriculum, due to the extensive material available our textbook analysis focuses exclusively on 'PVE-specific' content themes, such as coverage of 'extremism' or 'terrorism' and related themes.[159]

The following research questions guided our analysis:

- What **definitions** of VE,[160] if any, are offered to students?
- What **types** of VE are represented, where and how?
- What **actors** and **events** are linked to these representations?
- Are these representations **linked to PVE-E**? If so, how? Whether they are linked or not, how could they be used to promote or improve PVE-E in the future?

4.2. Methodology and data collection

Our approach is qualitative, exploratory and synchronic. What we do not offer is a comparison over time between states, school types, publishers or disciplines. Instead of an exhaustive approach based on quantitative data, we inquire as to which representations of violent extremism exist in German textbooks today, with the help of illustrative examples to serve as a basis for more in-depth analyses in the future.

A balanced textbook sample in terms of states, disciplines, school types and publishers was generated in order to ensure the mapping exercise covered an adequately varied constellation of possible cases. Given the complexity and diversity of textbook approval, curricular structures and school typologies in the German federal context[161], our balancing act was not always without challenges. The location of our study at the Georg Eckert Institute, which hosts the largest textbook collection of its kind as well as expertise on the German textbook landscape and digital tools designed for the purpose of textbook selection, was key in overcoming these difficulties.

In our sampling strategy, every effort was made to select:

- At least one textbook series (consisting, depending on each case, of 1 to 5 books for grades 5 to 10) for each German state and for each discipline (history and social studies – incl. cross-curricular courses)

- At least one series for a gymnasium track and one for a non-exclusively gymnasium track[162]
- At least two different publishing houses per state, regardless of other criteria.[163]

The only temporal requirement was that textbooks had to be in use or likely to have been in use in the last two years across Germany.[164]

To select textbooks for analysis, we drew on the textbook research tools 'DZS – List of Approved textbooks for Germany'[165] and the 'International Textbook Cat'.[166] For states no longer requiring formal approval for history/social studies textbooks (i.e. BE/BB, HH, SL, SH), we selected from the most recently updated/published textbooks available.

The resulting sample of textbooks included 137 titles (see Appendix 1). Given that some of the textbooks selected were approved in more than one state and/or for more than one school form, our sample covers 152 possible cases of envisaged textbook use in the different states.

The sample contains textbooks published between 2003 and 2018, which were officially approved or updated/developed for use in 2016-2018 and beyond.

BOX 4.1: Data Sources for the textbook analysis

☑ **137 textbooks**

☑ **16 German states**

☑ **2 subject areas (history and social studies – incl. combined subjects)**

☑ **4 school types (Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule, Schulen mit mehreren Bildungsgängen)**

☑ **ISCED 2 – Lower secondary education**

☑ **Approved/intended for use: 2016 – 2018 and beyond**

☑ **Published: 2003 – 2018**

4.3. Data analysis: tools and procedures

The textbook analysis was undertaken by 3 coders. The procedure involved scanning and reading through each book with the aim to identify texts and images that engage explicitly and significantly with VE. This was considered the case if: (1) terrorism, terrorist groups/individuals, or terrorist acts were mentioned and were explicitly linked to political or religious ideologies defined as radical or extreme, e.g. the RAF was included if described as a terrorist organisation basing its acts on a radical ideology, or the IRA if their ideology was deemed 'extreme' or 'radical' (see also **endnote 175** below); (2) extremism and extremist groups/individuals were mentioned in relation to violence and/or criminal acts. These engagements were considered significant if they were discussed in at least one section of a lesson or chapter, or were combined with at least one source, image or activity.

Once relevant images and text were identified, we scanned, coded and qualitatively analysed these extracts. The identification and categorisation of relevant content in the textbooks was conducted in several steps, by:

- Checking the table of contents and glossary/indexes for separate topics directly relevant to violent extremism (e.g. mentioning of words 'terrorism'; 'extremism');
- Reading through each textbook looking for any other relevant representations outside the main chapters/glossary/index (identifying any treatment of violent extremism not given a specific chapter or section);
- Recording any relevant occurrences (separate chapter or inside the text) in a data table following a predefined set of categories.

In the thematic analysis phase, we reviewed the recorded occurrences by paying attention to prominent representations. The purpose was not only to understand what is actually covered (i.e. what representations of VE can the students find in the textbook pages?) but also to identify dominant narratives or stereotypes in relation to our coding categories, and to ascertain whether and how these are (or can potentially be) connected to the promotion of PVE in education.

4.4. How is violent extremism represented in textbooks?

Here we describe the main **definitions**, **types**, **actors** and **events** discussed in the text-books in relation to violent extremism.

Definitions

Although 'violent extremism' is not defined anywhere in the textbooks, definitions of terms that are relevant to understanding it, or its various manifestations, are sometimes included, both in history and social studies. For example, it is not unusual for students to find definitions of terms such as 'terror', 'terrorism', or 'extremism'. Less frequently defined or explicitly differentiated in relation to VE are 'right-wing extremism', 'left-wing extremism', 'fundamentalism', 'Jihadism' and 'Islamism'.[167] Whenever present, specific definitions vary in terms of their abstraction level, of what they include or exclude (e.g. what forms, victims/perpetrators or motives are mentioned) and how they are linked to specific thematic contents relevant to PVE-E.

Given space constraints, we use only one set of concepts, among the most often defined in our sample, to illustrate this point and indicate some notable differentiations.

'Terror' is more often defined **in history books.**[168] It is portrayed as a violent manifestation of *political* struggles and the binary opposite of democracy (i.e. totalitarianism). While some definitions mention non-state actors, it is, however, mostly state-led regimes that are given as typical examples of 'terror' perpetrators. Such examples are anchored in specific national contexts and periods, such as 18th-century France, 1930s Germany, or 1930s USSR:

> Terror (Lat.= fear) Violent form of political power struggle to stifle any resistance through fear. It can be exercised by the state (state-led terrorism) or by extreme organisations to overthrow the state or social order. Typical examples are the Reign of Terror of the Jacobins during the French Revolution of 1793-94 or the terror under Fascism, National Socialism and Communism.[169]

In contrast, 'terrorism' is mostly found in **social studies books** and more broadly defined. Many definitions include the pursuit of *religious*, not just *political* aims – while the contrast with democracy as a legitimate political order is not emphasised. Unlike the case of 'terror', a differentiation between types of perpetrators (e.g. 'state-led' vs. non-state actors) is rarely made, apart from mentioning that perpetrators can be individuals or groups.[170] Instead, the focus falls on victims, often portrayed as one collective entity ('innocent people', 'population', etc.). These definitions also appear to apply universally, or to cover a wider range of national and temporal contexts. For example:

> Terrorism is the deliberate killing of innocent people with the intention of creating fear. It is politically or religiously motivated[171] (definition offered in a lesson within a chapter on peace and security in an international context).

Terrorism = Planned use of violence by individual perpetrators or groups to pursue political or religious goals. Terrorism seeks to spread fear, terror and insecurity among the population through targeted attacks[172] (definition offered in 'Glossary').

We observe that definitions of 'terrorism' are offered in chapters covering world security and peace, and the examples given in these contexts almost exclusively draw on terror that uses Islam to legitimise the use of violence. International terrorism (sometimes also referred to as global or transnational terrorism) is defined in chapters on world security and is thematically linked to sources and images showing the 9/11 terror attacks.[173]

Finally, 'terrorism' can also be identified as one of the most important aspects to be remembered from a chapter or lesson, thus solidifying the knowledge thought to be most relevant for students in relation to this topic, as in the following example:

Terrorism: Since the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001, international terrorism has been considered one of the greatest security challenges of the present (...) An example of a global terrorist network is al-Qaeda[174] (definition offered at the end of a chapter, in summary of key aspects to remember).

This is another example of how the universally applicable term 'terrorism' is used in relation only to a particular form of violence justified by its perpetrators through a specific interpretation of Islamist ideology.

We can conclude from these examples that, even when definitions are broad enough to encompass several aspects of terror or terrorism, they often link to imagery, knowledge or content themes that are unilateral or anchored only in specific spatial-temporal contexts.

The coexistence of several (broader, unilateral, overlapping or sometimes contradictory), definitions of terrorism indicates that PVE-E specific terms could be a source of confusion to students in the absence of adequate and critical teacher guidance in class, which we consider to be of chief importance. Nevertheless, the fact that definitions vary from series to series, from textbook to textbook and sometimes from section to section within the same book is not surprising. This reflects not only the existence of different types of VE, but also the specificities of the textbook as a genre (selecting and reproducing knowledge in particular ways based on certain didactic principles and according to the specific aims of various textbook sections) and the wider lack of consensus regarding these terms in societal and academic debates. Finally, it reflects the fact that textbooks often need a certain period of time to incorporate a consensus once it has been reached (i.e. there is always a time-lag between the institutionalisation of discourses within the wider society and their incorporation in textbooks, due to the time necessary for the design, writing, approval and production of a textbook).

Types of violent extremism

Our study revealed that different types of violent extremism and extremism that could lead to violence are covered by the textbooks, but to varying degrees. Students should learn about right-wing, left-wing and Islamist forms of extremism.[175] Examples of these, as well as their manifestations (e.g. terrorist acts claimed in the name of these ideologies) appear in different contexts and widely match curriculum prescriptions for the different states.

In **history**, students encounter specific treatments of **right-wing extremism** in textbook chapters about the National Socialist dictatorship, its ideology, and its state-organised systematic violence against specific groups of people; students are presented with arguments about what made the rise of an extreme right-wing party possible, how it was elected, and how its terror regime gradually took power; separate follow-up lessons draw explicit links with the present-day, indicating a profound commitment to making the topic relevant to students and embedding a PVE-E agenda (e.g. 'Learning from history',[176] 'Never again, or will we perhaps after all?',[177] 'Have we learnt nothing?',[178] 'To the present day: "Truth" and "Manipulation": Holocaust Denial'[179]).

Left-wing extremism and violence perpetrated by left-wing radicals are evoked in chapters about the Weimar Republic (e.g. in relation to the street clashes between communists and Nazis[180]) and the Cold War period – particularly the terrorism of the RAF. The RAF is sometimes treated with a high level of detail, sources, photographs, and activities, suggesting to students a link to the present day (e.g. 'RAF – Change through terror?',[181] 'The terrorism of the RAF'[182]).

Islamist extremism and terrorism are covered extensively in chapters about the Cold War (e.g. the war in Afghanistan) or the post-Cold War and post-9/11 world, sometimes in terms of globalisation and new challenges (e.g. 'Global Challenges - Islamism and Terrorism'[183]).

What is striking about these instances is that right-wing and left-wing forms are almost exclusively treated in a national German context,[184] whereas Islamist forms appear in an international framework – a point we shall return to in the conclusion of this chapter.

In **social studies textbooks**, more content tackling violent extremism directly is found overall. Differentiation into types is also more explicit. The three prevalent types of violent extremism are sometimes addressed in connection with each other as part of a larger theme or issue. For example, **right-wing**, **left-wing** and **Islamist extremism** may be treated together in the same unit referring to the 'democratic order' in Germany.[185] Some social studies textbooks incorporate lessons that address the three forms of extremism separately and extensively (e.g. in the umbrella chapter 'Extremism and defensible democracy', three equally long lessons titled in parallel fashion: 'Right-wing extremism in Germany – a problem?', 'Left-wing extremism in Germany – a problem?', 'Islamism in Germany – a problem?'[186] or in the chapter 'Endangered democracy: Extremism', sections on

'Left-wing extremism' and 'Right-wing extremism'[187]). The lessons covering these forms of extremism in Germany are similarly structured. For instance, in all three lessons we find photographs of violent crimes or perpetrators, statistics or other sources, as well as exercises for students to work out ways of dealing with them (although to varying degrees). Such structural juxtaposition may suggest a functional equivalence between forms of extremism, despite their vastly different histories, motivations, and characteristics.[188]

The general framing of social studies lessons, making explicit distinctions between types of extremism, often echoes the approach to extremist-motivated crime employed by the *Verfassungsschutz* and includes references to the latter's work, statistics or publications. In some books Islamist forms are less prominent and right-wing and left-wing forms are instead accompanied by what the BfV calls 'foreign extremism-excluding Islamism' (e.g. the Kurdish PKK).[189] Following the same logic of juxtaposing types of extremism following the legal framework, the discussion is sometimes set in terms of similarities between the different types of extremism,[190] or of both similarities and differences that students are asked to draw and discuss.[191]

Finally, most social studies textbooks also cover different types of extremism in chapters not connected to each other. In this sense, **right-wing extremism** is often treated as a topic in its own right in chapters on the German political order, or (in combined history/ social studies courses) on the NS dictatorship. Sometimes, right-wing extremism serves as an example in lessons which do not directly tackle this topic (for instance in a section on jurisprudence: 'Right-wing extremism - challenge to the rule of law?'[192]) reflecting the importance of preventing right-wing extremism in the overall curriculum. I**slamist terrorism** is covered most often in chapters separated from the German context, in thematic chapters related to security, peace, or conflict in the world. Because it is not linked with other forms of extremism, the topic is not necessarily presented as a particular type of VE in contrast with other types, but rather as a threat that stands for itself, potentially opening the topic up for more unilateral approaches.[193]

Actors and events
While various actors and events are mentioned in relation to these types of violent extremism, we can observe a line-up of 'usual suspects' most often referred to as 'extremists' or 'terrorists' **both in history and social studies**, thus offering to students a (stereo) typical answer to the question 'who is the terrorist/extremist?'.

Unsurprisingly, **groups or individuals** most often mentioned in textbooks in relation to **right-wing extremist** violence are rooted in the German context[194]: Nazis and neo-Nazis, their leaders (Hitler, Himmler, Hess), SS and SA troops. Organisations mentioned include political parties such as the NSDAP and NPD (with leaders Udo Voigt and Holger Apfel), whose legal status – and current controversies on this topic - is often discussed in units on extremism and the democratic order.[195]

Newer books also include references to the National Socialist Underground (NSU) terrorist cell and sometimes to its individual members (e.g. Uwe Mundlos, Beate Zschäpe, Uwe Bönhardt),[196] and treat the topic either extensively as a lesson on right-wing terror in its own right[197] or just as an example in lessons that do not actually focus on extremism.[198]

Individual **left-wing extremists** most frequently mentioned in textbooks are the members of the RAF: Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin. Apart from the RAF, other organisations or movements mentioned in connection to left-wing extremism are the KPD (Communist Party of Germany), the APO (Außerparlamentarische Opposition[199]), and more recently (and less frequently) 'Schwarzer Block'[200] and 'Block-upy'.[201] Pictures from violent protests are included. Chapters covering left-wing extremism often refer to actors involved in generic terms (Marxist-Leninists, anarchists, etc.) rather than specifying the names of particular organisations. The image of the left-wing extremist/terrorist is thus much more diffuse, faceless and abstract. Interestingly, the portrayal of these actors is also anchored in the German national context.

In relation to **Islamist extremism and terrorism**, in textbooks we most often find references to al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and their iconic leaders (particularly Osama bin Laden and Al Zawahiri). The 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York are by far the most represented event (in both text and imagery). Rarely do we find lists or maps locating other terrorist attacks around the world, and when they are these are depicted as originating with groups claiming Islamist ideologies, even when the topic/rubric is about 'global' or 'international' terrorism more generally.[202] Boko Haram is rarely mentioned.[203]

Newer textbooks seem to keep up with recent priorities, as al-Qaeda fades in importance while ISIL gains increasingly more coverage[204] along with the appearance in chapters on terrorism of 'home-grown' IS-terrorists in Germany and a concern with radicalisation processes. An example given is the story of Denis Cuspert, a German rapper who turned into an ISIL-fighter,[205] or of Arid Uka who shot two US-American soldiers at Frankfurt airport in 2011 and was dubbed the 'first Islamist-motivated attack in Germany'.[206] Other locally relevant events such as the terrorist attack at a Berlin Christmas market in 2016 (and the associated figure of Anis Amri) are also starting to be included in these books.[207] While still marginal in comparison to the dominant image of Islamist extremism as something 'far away' and located in the abstract international arena (via imagery of 9/11, al-Qaeda, the Taliban and Afghanistan) this as yet small shift in attention to the German space is noteworthy. If the only 'German' engagement with international terrorism was overwhelmingly in terms of something happening 'elsewhere' (e.g. the army interventions in Afghanistan or Iraq, including questions about whether or not these are justified), the inclusion of these newer topics in chapters on international relations starts to bring terrorism and its dangers much closer to home.

We also find that voices of former violent extremists are rarely included. An exception is an example of an interview with a former member of the RAF, who emphasises why she joined but also how she realised it was morally wrong to 'save the world by using violence'.[208] Another example in the same book is an interview with a former right-wing extremist, also a woman, who explains how she became involved in, and left, the extremist scene.[209] Equally rare is the inclusion of the faces, or voices, of individual victims. Most often, victims appear as unnamed, faceless, masses, which emphasises the inhumanity of the crimes. An individual victim often portrayed in history textbooks is Hanns Martin Schleyer, shown holding a banner as kidnapped by the RAF.

The question of whether, and if so to what extent and how, including these voices can be useful PVE-E strategies remains an open one for practitioners to engage with, and is, again, very much dependent on how teachers make use of these examples.

4.5. Problematising PVE-E practices

In this section we consider possible links with PVE-E afforded by prevalent representations of violent extremism in textbooks. In other words, we ask how specific contents we found in textbooks are – or could better be - connected with practices of PVE-E, whether there are any dangers or counter-productive practices, and how these insights can serve to improve current approaches in textbooks.

We do so in three steps, by looking at PVE-E practices related, firstly, to specific **knowledge** about VE, secondly to **activities** suggested to students in relation to this knowledge, and thirdly to **skills** that can be connected to a PVE-E agenda.

We ultimately argue that both deeper clarification and a wider diversification of existing approaches are necessary to avoid dangerous unilateral perspectives, uniformisation and polarisation if PVE-E is to be developed fruitfully in the future.

4.5.1. Knowledge: Understanding VE

Effective PVE-E practices start from an understanding of VE in its full complexity and not from a reduction of the phenomenon to single ideological contexts, historical periods or spaces. The latter may result in a dangerous essentialisation of some forms of VE and the concurrent stigmatisation of certain groups stereotypically associated with these forms. While the curricula and textbooks reviewed here engage with VE in some unilateral ways (as our analysis has shown), more nuanced portrayals indicating the many facets and contexts of VE are possible and should be encouraged, while others should be avoided. The instances listed below, which we consider 'good' or 'problematic', can provide insights into how PVE-specific knowledge in textbooks could be improved.[210]

Good practices	Problematic practices
• Presenting violent extremism in its historical context[211]	• Anchoring the phenomenon exclusively in connection to the present day and/or in relation to specific current events[212]
• Including discussions of the root causes of radicalisation possibly leading to violent extremism[213]	• Focusing only on the content of different ideologies invoked or the effects of their acts (e.g. number of victims)
• Including discussions of 'pull-factors' such as tools and recruitment strategies used by extremists and the appeal of various forms of extremism,[214] including in the digital world, and connecting these with 'push-factors', such as socio-economic conditions	• Focusing on 'push-factors' which tend to disregard the agency of individual persons • Not discussing the 'push-' and 'pull-factors' together
• Showing the internal heterogeneity of major types of VE by critically examining, for example, Islamophobia in the context of right-wing extremism, or Jihadism in the context of Islamist thinking[215]	• Approaching types of VE as internally uniform or equal to each other[216]
• Diversifying the range of individuals or groups that have pursued or are pursuing a variety of VE agendas worldwide (e.g. Boko Haram, present-day state-led terrorism, Ku Klux Klan etc.)	• Presenting only the 'usual suspects' (e.g. al-Qaida, ISIL, neo-Nazis); this may contribute to stereotyping and essentialisation that could fuel resentment between groups and thus be counterproductive to PVE-E

4.5.2. Activities: Engaging students in PVE-E

PVE-E may be more effective if embedded in activities, exercises and methodologies that connect topic themes or knowledge about various forms of VE with specific opportunities to act against it. Some examples of how this can be achieved in the activities, exercises, or methods sections of textbooks are:

Good practices	Problematic practices
• Engaging in debates about VE and finding arguments to counteract VE ideologies;[217] this can be a useful PVE practice because it forces students to argue from a PVE standpoint as well as to develop their critical thinking skills	• Embedding of exercises in a dominant position from which arguments to counteract or combat VE are to be developed; this can limit the possibilities for critical thinking[218]
• Collecting material and creating a product, such as an exhibition or a poster, meant to engage students against specific forms of VE;[219] this is a useful PVE practice because it translates knowledge and research about VE into a physical engagement, or PVE activity	• Providing PVE-tasks, exercises or activities in relation to only particular types of VE • Treating VE as internally uniform rather than contextual and differentiated in the exercises assigned
• Finding opportunities in the curriculum to link PVE-relevant content themes with the everyday reality of the students by drawing connections with the present time (particularly in history) or contemporary spaces (particularly in social studies); a connection with the present time works well, for example, in relation to problematising the use of violence to pursue political goals or religious goals;[220] a connection with present spaces can localise the topic of extremism to the federal state for which the book is intended[221]	• Formulating tasks that are too abstract or difficult to imagine in relation to the realities of students' lives[222]
• Engaging students in developing actual PVE strategies, starting from hypothetical scenarios that are made relevant to students' lives and linked to the topics and sources covered in a lesson[223]	• Failure to link the tasks (e.g. methods training) substantially with the topics covered in a chapter;[224] in other words, using chapter content on VE as an opportunity to exercise a particular skill that is unrelated to PVE instead of the other way around, i.e. using chapter content unrelated to VE as an opportunity to exercise a PVE-skill

Without falling into the trap of relativising forms of violent extremism by equalising them and minimising their individual differences, it is crucial that as many forms of VE as possible are engaged with in terms of actual activities suggested to students to put their knowledge of PVE into action.

4.5.3. Skills: Promoting sustainable PVE-E

Specific, nuanced and differentiated knowledge about VE and the opportunities offered to students to counter its different forms can only be sustainable in the long-run if specific PVE-skills and competences are built at the same time. Among the key PVE skills emphasised by the curricula we found **intercultural competence, critical thinking** and the related concepts of **multiperspectivity** and *Mündigkeit* to be the most prominent (see also **Chapter Three**).

Textbooks exhibit, to varying degrees, an effort to promote these skills. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to investigate how inclusive textbook contents are or how well their tasks foster critical thinking or multiperspectivity, we point here to some practices which could undermine the sustainable promotion of these important PVE skills in textbooks. We also offer positive alternatives.

Good practices	Problematic practices
• Aiming to diversify the sources used to discuss terrorism or extremism - from at least two sides of a conflict; this fosters multiperspectivity and critical thinking[225]	• Relying mostly on texts by the textbook authors or offering sources speaking from a single perspective, usually from an organisation or author located in the dominant paradigm
• Promoting a nuanced and interculturally sensitive coverage of contemporary themes in which cultural differences are usually emphasised, such as the arrival of refugees or migrants from war-torn countries in Germany or Europe; the emphasis should fall not on differences between 'us' and 'them' but on commonalities; for example, human rights could be emphasised more, as well as the benefits of migration	• Presenting cultures and/or religions as mutually incompatible 'entities' in today's context, both nationally and internationally; doing so may undermine other efforts at promoting intercultural understanding which are, however, anchored in distant times and places (e.g. tolerant coexistence in Moorish Spain/ Cordoba between Muslims, Christians and Jews; 'encounters' between cultures/ religions[226])
• Using illustrations, imagery and sources that reveal complexities and challenge stereotypes that could be used to promote tensions between groups	• Painting over-simplified, caricaturised pictures of any particular groups, but especially of those who can become the targets of various types of VE[227]

Improvement of PVE-E practices in textbooks can be achieved if three efforts - as described in the three sections above – are combined: Firstly, a complex and nuanced understanding of violent extremism (drivers, individual and socio-economic causes and effects, various contexts, manifestations, actors, etc.) should be promoted while avoiding stereotyping and stigmatisation of particular groups. Secondly, this knowledge should be effectively translated into action strategies and methods that are both relevant to students' everyday lives and connected to the topic (PVE-E specific tasks). Thirdly, more

general PVE skills should be promoted coherently and consistently throughout the texts offered to students, not just in places where VE is specifically addressed, in order to build a sustainable prevention agenda.

Conclusions of the Curriculum and Textbook Study

Definitions and the German context

The expression 'violent extremism' is not defined or used as a standalone descriptor of ideologies, actors, events or themes; rather, we only find the term 'extremism'. In this context, PVE-E appears to take the shape of local specificities. Violent extremism and extremism per se are implicitly treated as one and are strongly linked to normative conceptions of democracy embedded in the German constitutional order. This finding reflects the wider German context whereby the focus falls on dealing with extremism generally, rather than specifically violent extremism. This might be explained by a concern with cognitive extremism (as opposed to behavioural or 'violent-ready'), which was the lesson taken from the non-violent rise of Nazi ideology in the 1930s[228]. Extremism is presented in textbooks and curricula as a serious threat to the domestic democratic order (in the international arena, violent extremism, particularly terrorism, is presented as a threat to the international order and security as sanctioned by the UN). Violence by the state is – with few exceptions – assumed legitimate if the state is deemed democratic. Textbooks thus portray extremists as those located at the extremes of the democratic order. This points to the understanding of extremism as anti-democratic in nature, as portrayed by most textbooks. All extremism defined as contrary to the legitimate order then carries the potential of illegitimate violence. This idea fits with the dominant conception of democracy as a middle point between different forms of extremism,[229] as well as the argument that extremism is democracy's greatest enemy against whom it must be constantly defended.[230]

Representations of violent extremism: split into 'two worlds' of PVE-E

Analysis of the curricula and textbooks suggested that representations of VE in textbooks were most frequently found either in coverage of 'terrorism' (or terrorist acts) or 'extremism' (or extremist ideologies which condone violence). However, the way in which the topics were addressed was split between 'two worlds'.

If the topic was about **terrorism**, then:
- The space in which the topic was anchored was mostly **international** (e.g. USA, Middle East), and only sporadically national (e.g. RAF; Berlin Christmas market attacks; NSU murders);
- The terms in which the terrorism was mostly discussed were as a threat to global and sometimes internal **security** (e.g. in relation to activities of NATO, UN, the German federal army or, less frequently, the German legal system), in ways that were often abstract and distant to the students;

- The most frequent form evoked was **Islamist** (however, its contested terminology, its complexities and different forms were not discussed or problematised).

If the topic was about **extremism**, then:
- The space in which the topic was anchored was mostly **national** (German-based) and exceptionally even local (state-level);
- The terms in which extremism was discussed were always as a threat to the internal **democratic order**, often by drawing links between history and the present day and by making the topic relevant to students;
- The most frequent form evoked was **right-wing** (however, specific forms such as Islamophobia, which may be crucial for understanding the dynamics of VE in relation, for instance, to Islamism, were largely missing).

Of these, we note that only extremism is linked with prevention-specific educational goals and methodologies of implementation. On the contrary, terrorism is linked to countering measures. One conclusion to be drawn, then, is that a PVE discourse finds resonance in the German formal education sector where **extremism as threat to democracy** is concerned (and thus only by extension with regards specifically to *violent* extremism). Violent extremism (of which terrorism is one form), on the other hand, is tackled in German education mainly through CVE discourses.[231]

A possible consequence of the split between 'extremism' and 'terrorism' is a de-linking of the two topics from the more general concern with prevention of violent extremism in whatever form it is manifest. A key insight from international work on PVE is the danger of unilateral discourses, stigmatisation and marginalisation of particular groups in society and the importance of holistic, coherent approaches that engage with a diversified range of examples of VE beyond specific religious, ethnic, gender-related or political fractions. Where only particular manifestations of violent extremism are highlighted in relation to specific ideologies (e.g. terrorism linked predominantly to Islamist extremism and local violence to right-wing extremism), then simplified, bipolar versions of reality may be fostered (in terms of 'good' vs. 'bad', 'us' vs. 'them'), and a polarisation in attitudes between specific groups becomes increasingly possible. The combined effects of such polarisation (i.e. the effects of one over the other, of a rise in right-wing extremism on Islamism, and vice versa), and consequently, the complexity of dealing with violent extremism more generally could be ignored. If these mutual influences are not acknowledged and efforts are not concerted, prevention activities or countering efforts embedded in separate parts of the curriculum could, then, work against each other, resulting in counter-productive PVE-E practices.

PVE-E in textbooks and curricula
Neither the German curricula nor the textbooks analysed in this study include separate chapters or themes directly referring to, or mentioning, 'prevention of violent extremism', for various reasons as outlined above.

However, contents that are relevant for, or could be used to advance a specifically PVE-E agenda are certainly in evidence. There is extensive separate or combined coverage of various forms of extremism that could lead to violence and of terrorism. In fewer cases, both curricula and textbooks open up possibilities for students to engage with means of countering terrorism or challenging extremist views. While indicating more of a CVE- than a PVE-approach (as explained in **Chapter One**), both of these findings carry important potential for teaching to prevent VE. This is especially the case if the three strategies are combined, with a deeper engagement with what we have identified in **Chapter Three** as PVE-E related curricular intentions or educational goals, such as intercultural sensitivity, multiperspectivity, development of critical thinking, and *Mündigkeit*.[232] These are, in our view, more sustainable approaches aiming at fostering PVE-E skills, and should be reflected in textbooks and curricula more generally rather than only in specific PVE-E knowledge themes. This is a key finding of this study because it indicates the PVE-E opportunities afforded by current curricular intentions and the directions in which this relatively new concept could be developed in the future within the German educational landscape.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter Five

5.1. Rethinking schooling and violent extremism

Not every extremist becomes violent, but usually every violent extremist has attended school, however briefly. Schooling is not the only potential space for teaching about or against violent extremism, nor is it the only factor contributing to its rise. There are many factors, individual and societal, that can increase propensity towards violent extremism: family values, media depictions, peers and many grievance-causing issues such as economic deprivation, feelings of exclusion and mental illnesses, to name but a few. Yet despite the myriad of differences, schooling is what almost all (especially homegrown) perpetrators of violent extremism have in common. Of course there are cases of two students of the same age, attending the same school, reading the same textbooks and taught by the same teacher, yet one becomes a violent extremist and the other does not. So the school cannot be singled out as the only factor, and there is a consensus in the literature that numerous factors can explain radicalisation. However, we must not forget that each student has their own personal experiences and responses (including to textbooks) and what might trigger a sensitive reaction, anger, frustration and feelings of exclusion in one student may leave another completely indifferent. We must not, therefore, underestimate the significant role that educational policies can play in terms of both content and pedagogy, nationally and internationally.

Schooling is not only an important agent of socialisation but is also one that lends itself to empirical research in that it is an institutional arena that can be investigated both in depth but also in a comparative context. It is important, therefore, for researchers and organisations to invest more in projects that offer an in-depth analysis of curricula and textbooks and how they treat the issue of violent extremism. More research is needed on what is happening in the classroom, e.g. on the appropriation of these textbooks by the teachers, how students receive and react to them, but also on interaction between the international and national levels, e.g. how are these policies – if at all – translated into national contexts and vice versa, and how are national contexts, policies and experiences shaping the international arena? More in-depth comparative research is also required within specific countries. It would be instructive, for instance, to compare the textbooks of the federal state in Germany with the lowest levels of VE with those of the state with the highest, but also between countries, e.g. comparing the representations of VE in textbooks of the UK with Germany. There are forces in play and practices in PVE-E that we have yet to identify, let alone understand, resist and improve.

It is also important to focus on the role of international organisations, which often have a powerful influence on discursive norms and on the legitimisation, promotion and proliferation of certain policies and practices. Before doing so, organisations need to exercise care and caution regarding the language and approaches used, in order to prevent harsh criticism and resistance to particular policies.

5.2. Reflections on the international-national nexus

Although we do not repeat our findings, we highlight here some observations regarding the international and national levels, offering some recommendations for improvement. We argue that, at an international level, there seems to be a shift in the discourse whereby education is being recognised as a crucial part of the PVE puzzle but also that education matters cannot be separated from security concerns, both at a local and national but also global level. While there is also a growing recognition that efforts should be collective and involve different stakeholders, there is, however, a lack of a clear understanding as to how that might be possible, given the different education systems of each country, their different curricula and processes of textbook production and approval.

On the level of German textbooks and curricula, there seems to be more of a dual system emerging whereby the local/national features more when it comes to right-wing extremism, while prominence is given to the threat of Islamist extremism in the international context. This 'tale of two worlds', as we call it, is illuminating as it reveals inaccurate assumptions about both types of violent extremism and their prevention, which may be problematic. It is important to note that this finding reflects wider societal discourses rather than being specific to textbooks or the German context.[233] What does stand out in terms of our findings from the German context is a strong focus on extremism rather than on violent extremism and a deep sense of the need to adress extremist ideologies. This could be partly explained with reference to both the historical and legal context of Germany, i.e. the rise to power of totalitarian regimes through democratic means and an institutionalised effort to prevent and counter any attempt to challenge the constitutional order through the BfV.

There also seems to be a disconnection between the international and German education discourses on PVE-E. Firstly, German textbooks do not refer to the concept of resilience, whereas this is highly prominent in the international discourse as we have seen in Chapter Two. Secondly, German textbooks and curricula do not even mention the phrase 'PVE-E', thus indicating that this discourse has not yet entered the formal educational context. Nor do they, thirdly, engage with recruitment tactics in the digital age.[234] Fourth, as we saw in both **Chapters Three** and **Four**, curricula and textbooks exhibit a prevalence of preventative efforts when it comes to extremism, particularly right-wing (e.g. aiming to equip students with the competencies to resist it), whereas this is not the case with Islamist extremism, often discussed in terms of abstract countering measures (CVE) and, even so, without a focus on educating students against it (CVE-E).

5.3. Recommendations

We recommend more communication and sharing of expertise between international and national actors; our interactions with different actors suggest that they are not always aware of each other's policies. Whereas international actors seem to cooperate well, the picture is not the same between international and national actors. For example, when UNESCO publishes its reports, it is not clear whether and how these reach the national ministries of education and, from there, the relevant actors and institutions (teach-

ers, curriculum developers, textbook authors, teacher educators, schools, etc.). We would suggest that the Federal Ministry of Education and Research adopt a more proactive role in seeking to learn from experiences outside Germany. Violent extremism is a transnational phenomenon and, despite contextual specificities, drawing parallels and commonalities in a comparative perspective could be of benefit to national institutions.

Another recommendation would be to engage in more nuanced and differentiated approaches to PVE-E in both international and national discourses and practices. Failing to do so risks losing sight of the idiosyncrasies of each type of VE, their different causes, and therefore the need to adapt prevention approaches. As our findings on both levels show, there is a tendency to oversimplify and generalise prevention efforts, or solely focus on one type of extremism (even if this at times is done implicitly) which may be due to the lack of systematic research on their different approaches but also the stereotypical assumptions of who a violent extremist is or could be.

Given that there are very few signs of an explicit PVE-E approach in the German formal education system, and in the context of a rise in violent extremism in Germany from different sides of the political spectrum, policymakers may see fit to rethink the role of schooling and the implications of a more intentional, explicit and carefully considered strategy. Firstly, curricula and textbooks would benefit from more nuanced and contextualised definitions of violent extremism as well as of related concepts such as radicalisation and terrorism. Understanding the connections between them, their differences, but also how one type of extremism might fuel the rise of another (e.g. far-right Islamophobia might fuel Islamist extremism), is more likely to develop systems-thinking competencies in students, raising awareness of these important dynamics. As this study has shown, an in-depth discussion of the causes or push and pull factors of radicalisation and VE (including socio-economic injustice) is largely missing from textbooks in contrast to the nuanced approach that exists in their analysis of different conflicts, e.g. Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan. The rationale is to deepen students' understandings of VE in general and to explain how and why these acts occur today, their devastating impact on humans, heritage and the environment, but also the responsibilities of active and democratic citizens to prevent and resist these acts.

Secondly, importance must be attached to a discussion of the dangers of black-and-white thinking in our digital age, a phenomenon characterising the propaganda and recruitment strategies of violent extremist groups. Recent studies have unveiled the significance of iconography, symbols, commercialised products and clothing laced with racist, anti-Semitic and nationalist references in enabling extremist ideologies to enter mainstream German youth subculture.[235]

Thirdly, a more critical and multi-perspectival approach could include sources from and perspectives of non-Western authors and even the perpetrators of violent extremism themselves. One approach, already practised in various countries,[236] is to use the voices of former extremists in the classroom in order to rehumanise them and better under-

stand the causes that led them to this violence, at the same time warning students of the harsh and disappointing realities of life in an extremist movement. This pedagogical intervention could also be applied to textbooks and curricula.[237] A critical approach could also problematise existing practices of preventing and countering violent extremism and the potential counter-productive stigmatisation and discrimination of certain groups which these might entail.

Fourth, greater efforts could be made by textbook authors to include PVE-E classroom activities and homework exercises, further contextualising and developing students' empathy, multiperspectivity and critical thinking skills. In other words, teachers and students could benefit from more PVE-E specific activities embedded within the existing content that is present in the curriculum.[238]

ENDNOTES

1 Institute for Economics and Peace, 'Global Terrorism Index 2015 (GTI)', report (IEP, 2015), 2, http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/04/2015-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report.pdf. Although the more recent GTI 2017 report shows a global decline in the number of deaths (25,673) when compared to the 2014 peak, the numbers are rising when it comes to the number of countries now experiencing deaths from terrorism, lone actor terror attacks and attacks against civilians. See Institute for Economics and Peace, 'Global Terrorism Index (GTI)', report (GTI, 2017), http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2017.pdf. Also note that the GTI reports omit some forms of violent extremism (e.g. state terror).

2 USAID, 'The Development Response to Violent Extremism and Insurgency', report (USAID, 2011), 2, https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pdacs400.pdf.

3 United Nations, 'Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism', report (UN, 2015), 2, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674.

4 See also Kristy Campion, 'Blast through the Past: Terrorist Attacks on Art and Antiquities as a Reconquest of the Modern Jihadi Identity', *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11, no. 1 (2017): 1-15 for an analysis of terrorist attacks on art and antiquities and why this targeting of cultural heritage is of strategic appeal to terrorists.

5 Marcus DuBois King, 'The Weaponization of Water in Syria and Iraq', *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (2016): 153–169.

6 Counter Extremism Project, 'Germany: Extremism & Counter-Extremism', https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/germany.

7 Richard Wike, Bruce Stokes and Katie Simmons, 'Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs', report (Pew Research Centre, 2016), http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/.

8 BBC, 'Germany hate crime: Nearly 10 attacks a day on migrants in 2016', BBC, 26 February 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39096833.

9 Federal Ministry of the Interior, '2015 Annual Report on the Protection of the Constitution', https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/embed/annual-report-2015-summary.pdf.

10 Scholars have also argued that there is an imbalance in the literature on terrorism and violent extremism whereby right-wing violent extremism remains under-researched with this neglect having serious implications on policy (See Pete Simi, 'Why Study White Supremacist Terror? A Research Note' *Deviant Behavior* 31, no. 3 (2010): 251–273 and Daniel Koehler, *Right-Wing Terrorism in the 21st Century: The 'National Socialist Underground' and the History of Terror from the Far-Right in Germany* (London: Routledge, 2017).

11 Vikram Dodd, Alexandra Topping and Jessica Elgot, 'Rightwing extremists involved in nearly a third of terror referrals', *The Guardian*, 20 June 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/20/rightwing-extremists-make-up-nearly-third-of-prevent-referrals. There is also an increase in right-wing violent extremism in the United States: Arie Perliger, 'Homegrown Terrorism and why the threat of right-wing extremism is rising in America', 6 April 2017, *Newsweek*, http://www.newsweek.com/homegrown-terrorism-rising-threat-right-wing-extremism-619724.

12 Arie Perliger, 'Charlottesville attack shows homegrown terror on the right is on the rise', *The Conversation*, 14 August 2017, https://theconversation.com/charlottesville-attack-shows-homegrown-terror-on-the-right-is-on-the-rise-78242.

13 United Nations, 'Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism', 2.

14 Emma Broadbent et al., 'Generation Z: Global Citizenship Survey', report (Varkey Foundation, 2017), 9, https://www.varkeyfoundation.org/media/4487/global-young-people-report-single-pages-new.pdf.

15 Eric Tegethoff, 'How Do WA Schools Counter Anti-Muslim Bullying?', *Public News Service*, 23 August 2017, http://www.publicnewsservice.org/2017-08-23/human-rights-racial-justice/how-do-wa-schools-counter-anti-muslim-bullying/a59102-1.

16 See, for example, Nicole Nguyen, 'Education as Warfare? Mapping Securitised Education Interventions as War on Terror Strategy', *Geopolitics* 19, no. 1 (2014): 109-139; Bill Durodie, 'Securitising education to prevent terrorism or losing direction?', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 64, no. 1 (2016): 21–25; Lynn Davies, 'Security, Extremism and Education: Safeguarding or Surveillance?', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 64, no. 1 (2016): 1-19; Aislinn O'Donnell, 'Securitisation, Counterterrorism and the Silencing of Dissent: The Educational Implications of Prevent', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 64, no. 1 (2016): 53–76; Mario Novelli, ' Education and countering violent extremism: Western logics from south to north?', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 47, no. 6 (2017): 835-851; Valery Perry, 'Countering the Cultivation of Extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Case for Comprehensive Education Reform, *DPC Policy Note: New Series* #10 (Sarajevo 2015), http://www.academia.edu/15969761/Countering_the_Cultivation_of_Extremism_in_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina_The_Case_for_Comprehensive_Education_Reform; Arun Kundnani and Ben Hayes, 'The Globalisation of Countering Violent Extremism policies: Undermining Human Rights, Instrumentalising Civil Society' (2018), https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/cve_web.pdf.

17 Peter R. Neumann, 'The Trouble with Radicalization', *International Affairs* 89, no. 4 (2013): 873–893.

18 Emma Broadbent et al., 'Generation Z: Global Citizenship Survey', 8.

19 Institute for Economics and Peace, 'Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2016', report (IEP, 2016), 4, http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf.

20 Ibid., 48.

21 UNESCO, 'Textbooks pave the way to sustainable development', Global education monitoring report policy paper 28 (UNESCO, 2016), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002467/246777e.pdf; UNESCO MGIEP, 'Textbooks for Sustainable Development: A Guide to Embedding', report (UNESCO, 2017), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002599/259932e.pdf; UNESCO MGIEP *Rethinking Schooling for the 21st Century: The State of Education for Peace, Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship in Asia*, India, UNESCO MGIEP (2017), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002605/260568e.pdf.

22 We focus on formal education in Chapters Three and Four (curricula and textbooks), not because we believe that non-formal and informal educational media and practices are less important, but due to limitations of time and space. In fact, there are arguably more specific PVE-E initiatives on the community level in Germany than in the formal school setting. Chapter Two has a core focus on international practices in relation to formal schooling, but also mentions instances of non-formal practices when these are the focus of a particular organisation. We also focus on the German context for pragmatic and research reasons; our study is based in Germany where the curricula and textbooks are available, and is funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Secondly, it was impossible to include more countries within the short-time frame of the project given the analysis covered 16 federal states. The German context is both under-researched and one that deserves more attention given the current rise in extremist tendencies and violent extremism in this country.

23 Anne Aly, Elisabeth Taylor and Saul Karnovsky, 'Moral Disengagement and Building Resilience to Violent Extremism: An Education Intervention', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 4 (2014): 369-385; Dana Burde et al., 'What works to promote children's educational access, quality of learning, and wellbeing in conflict-affected contexts' (New York: INEE, 2015): 29, 39; Jonathan Doney and Rupert Wegerif, 'Measuring Open-Mindedness. An evaluation of the impact of our school dialogue programme on students' openmindedness and attitudes to others' (London: Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, 2017); Robert Jackson, 'Inclusive Study of Religions and World Views in Schools: Signposts from the Council of Europe', *Social Inclusion* 4, no. 2 (2016): 14-25.

24 See Burde et al., 'What works'; Jackson, 'Inclusive Study of Religions'; Kate Botterill, Peter Hopkins and Gurchathen Singh Sanghera, 'Young People's Everyday Securities: Pre-emptive and Pro-active Strategies towards Ontological Security in Scotland', *Social & Cultural Geography* (Taylor & Francis online, 2017); Christer Mattsson and Roger Säljö, 'Violent Extremism, National Security and Prevention. Institutional Discourses and their Implications for Schooling', *British Journal of Educational Studies* (Taylor & Francis online, 2017); Bill Durodie, 'Securitising Education to Prevent Terrorism or Losing Direction?', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 64, no. 1 (2016): 21–25.

25 A recent study considering PVE-E relevant content in textbooks includes Germany as one among four countries. However, given its particular comparative purpose, the study has a narrower focus: it does not look at curricula but includes only social studies textbooks from one state in Germany (Hesse) and considers only representations of terrorism rather than violent extremism more broadly; see Tobias Ide, 'Terrorism in the Textbook: A Comparative Analysis of Terrorism Discourses in Germany, India, Kenya and the United States Based on School Textbooks', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 30, no. 1 (2017): 44–66.

26 How teachers use and appropriate this material in class in interaction with students, or what some refer to as the 'enacted curriculum', may or may not align with the 'intended curriculum' and is not investigated in this study.

27 Of course, the teacher may choose to teach about VE within a PVE framework without using textbooks at all, or using additional material, online teaching resources or media articles.

28 These discourses are important as textbooks themselves often become objects of controversy in society. See Eleni Christodoulou, 'Deconstructing Resistance towards Textbook Revisions: The Securitisation of History Textbooks and the Cyprus Conflict', *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30, no. 3 (2018): 373-393.

29 Charles Ingrao, 'Weapons of Mass Instruction: Schoolbooks and Democratization in Multiethnic Central Europe', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2009): 180–89.

30 Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe and Kathrin Zehr, 'Schulbücher als Seismographen Für diskursive Brüche. Ein neuer Ansatz in der kulturwissenschaftlichen Schulbuchforschung dargestellt am Beispiel der Analyse von Schulbucherzählungen über den Kalten Krieg', *Eckert. Working Papers* 4 (2014).

31 There has recently been an increased awareness of the important relationship between terrorism/VE and its media coverage. See for example the handbook for journalists launched by UNESCO in 2017 that encourages critical reflection about the journalistic and ethical challenges concerning media coverage of terrorism. UNESCO, 'Terrorism

and the Media: A Handbook for Journalists', report (UNESCO, 2017), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002470/247074E.pdf. A conference was also organised by the OSCE in 2018 entitled 'Media and Terrorism' which sought to avoid 'unintentionally fostering hatred and division in society'. See https://www.osce.org/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/390128.

32 See Chapter One, Box 1.2. for our position on the CVE-PVE spectrum.

33 Kundnani and Hayes, 'The Globalisation of Countering Violent Extremism policies'.

34 See Davies, 'Review of Educational Initiatives', 34-35. This is the first large-scale review examining educational counter-extremism initiatives in different countries around the globe and categorising them through various (albeit overlapping) entry points in education. The ultimate aim of this study, commissioned by the Segerstedt Institute of the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, was to ascertain whether there is any evidence of the impact of these country-level activities. For a brief overview of CVE and PVE resources developed by international organisations see pages 5-6; noting that some of these do not relate specifically to education.

35 We view discourse as a form of practice; for a deeper analytical understanding of discursive practices we devote a separate section to discourses.

36 Fazal Rizvi and Bob Lingard, eds, *Globalizing Education Policy* (London: Routledge, 2010). See also Elena VanderDussen Toukan, 'Educating Citizens of "The Global": Mapping Textual Constructs of UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education 2012–2015', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 13, no. 1 (2018): 51–64.

37 See for example Lynn Davies, *Educating against Extremism* (Stoke on Trent: Trentham, 2008).

38 See Security Council UN, '7432nd meeting', meeting coverage (UN, 2015), https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7b65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7d/spv_7432.pdf.

39 See Security Council UN, '7573rd meeting', meeting coverage (UN, 2015), https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc12149.doc.htm.

40 See Youth4Peace, 'About the Youth, Peace & Security Agenda', https://www.youth4peace.info/About_YPS_Agenda.

41 Global Education Monitoring Report, 'What is the 'whole school approach' to environmental education?', blog (Global Education Monitoring Report, 2016), https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com/2016/11/15/what-is-the-whole-school-approach-to-environmental-education/.

42 UN, 'Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism', action plan (UN, 2015), 2 (emphasis added), http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674.

43 Ibid., 12.

44 Ibid., 18-19.

45 Ibid., 18-19. This narrow utilitarian and human capital approach to education will be discussed later in the chapter.

46 Naz Modirzadeh, 'If It's Broke, Don't Make it Worse: A Critique of the U.N. Secretary-General's Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism,' *Lawfare*, 23 January 2016, https://www.lawfareblog.com/if-its-broke-dont-make-it-worse-critique-un-secretary-generals-plan-action-prevent-violent-extremism; Richard Atwood, 'The dangers lurking in the U.N.'s new plan to prevent violent extremism,' Reuters, 8 February 2016, http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2016/02/07/why-is-the-wolf-so-big-and-bad/.

47 For example, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, International Civil Society Action Network, and the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change both state that they work internationally and have a global outreach and impact. Overall this research study involved data collection in Germany, UK, France, Italy and India, but the desk-based research had a global focus. The authors would like to take this opportunity to thank their interviewees as well as the staff of the various organisations for their time and insights.

48 Due to the nature of this publication we do not provide an academic literature review, an engagement with related theories or in-depth findings from the discourse analysis; these results will be published in academic outlets (see forthcoming articles). However, references to relevant literature are made when necessary, for instance, for the epistemological context of the study. See also endnote no. 16 in Chapter One.

49 UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, 'SDG4 – E2030 Implementation Roadmap for Latin America and the Caribbean' (UNESCO, 2018), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002658/265870e.pdf.

50 See 'CARICOM Counter-Terrorism Strategy', adopted at the Twenty-Ninth Inter-Sessional Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, on 26-27 February 2018, https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/285295.pdf.

51 See African Centre for the Study & Research on Terrorism, Workshop on "Radicalization, Violent Extremism, Deradicalization, Counter radicalization, Counter Violent Extremism In ECCAS Region", http://caert.org.dz/?p=1471.

52 Emmanuel Kotia, 'Combating Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa: Some Critical Reflections', *African Journal for Prevention and Combating of Terrorism* 6, no. 1 (2017): 170-185, here: 180, http://caert.org.dz/Publications/Journal/ACSRT%20Journal%20-2017%20Issue.pdf.

53 UNESCO, 'Education as a tool to prevent violen extremism', https://en.unesco.org/preventing-violent-extremism/education.

54 UNESCO, 'Preventing Violent Extremism World-wide', http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002594/259485e.pdf.

55 See here: https://en.unesco.org/news/unesco-global-networking-education-prevent-violent-extremism and also first author´s field notes.

56 UNESCO, 'A Teacher's Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism', guide (UNESCO, 2016), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002446/244676e.pdf.

57 UNESCO, 'Preventing violent extremism through education. A guide for policy-makers', guide (UNESCO, 2017), 2, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002477/247764e.pdf.

58 UNESCO, 'Preventing Violent Extremism World-wide'.

59 UNESCO, 'Preventing Violent Extremism through education: Effective activities and impacts', policy brief (UNESCO, 2018), http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0026/002661/266105e.pdf.

60 European Commission, 'The Radicalisation Awareness Network', https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/docs/ran_leaflet_en.pdf.

61 Ibid.

62 Steven Lenos and Marjolein Keltjens Ran Coe, 'RAN EDU kick-off meeting', ex post paper (RAN, 2015), https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-edu/docs/ran_edu_ex_post_paper_25-26_november_prague_en.pdf.

63 Available here: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/docs/manifesto-for-education-empowering-educators-and-schools_en.pdf.

64 RAN, 'Holding difficult conversations: the classroom', video (RAN, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnH7DY3uMlk.

65 RAN, 'RAN Policy and Practice (Warsaw): Building resilience among young children', video (RAN, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=DggONFHVA_w.

66 The most recent (2018) version of the Collection's chapter on 'Educating Young People' is available here: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-best-practices/docs/educating_young_people_en.pdf.

67 RAN, Preventing Radicalisation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism', report (RAN, 2017), https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-best-practices/docs/introduction_en.pdf.

68 SALTO-YOUTH stands for Support, Advanced Learning and Training Opportunities for Youth.

69 For an example of a resource pack see: https://www.salto-youth.net/downloads/4-17-3550/Young%20people%20and%20extremism%20resource%20pack%20for%20youth%20workers.pdf.

70 For example, it is referred to as an 'independent international organisation', as a non-governmental organisation but then it is guided by a strongly intergovernmental board. Also its strong (and often indiscernible) links to GCTF strengthen the latter aspect. In addition, the 'governance and leadership' section on its website praises the significant role 'the governments from various countries in terms of secondments, program funding and "in kind" resourcing…in developing the center to its current level of international recognition and in support of its future programs.' See here: http://www.hedayahcenter.org/about-us/219/governance-and-leadership/225/chairmans-message.

71 The 2018 report is available here: http://strasbourgcentre.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/released-a-comprehensive-report-which-demonstrated.pdf.

72 Hedayah, 'About Us', http://www.hedayahcenter.org/about-us/177/history.

73 For the Hedayah CVE cycle see: http://www.hedayahcenter.org/Admin/Content/File-11620189412.pdf.

74 See Davies, 'Review of Educational Initiatives'.

75 Push factors are seen as the processes and structures, e.g. socio-economic injustices, that can alienate an individual and push them away from the mainstream. Pull factors are aspects that attract an individual to VE ideologies and groups.

76 See, for example, the RAN paper available here: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-papers/docs/role_education_preventing_radicalisation_12122016_en.pdf.

77 The UNESCO Youth-led guide mentions textbooks as important tools of PVE-E and refers to them in a special section but the recommendations are general, not based on any research on textbooks and are not PVE-specific.

78 Richard Atwood, 'The dangers lurking in the U.N.'s new plan to prevent violent extremism', The International Crisis Group Commentary, 8 February, 2016 http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2016/02/07/why-is-the-wolf-so-big-and-bad/.

79 Mayssoun Sukarieh and Stuart Tannock, 'The Global Securitisation of Youth', *Third World Quarterly* 39, no. 5 (2018): 854-870.

80 See, for example, UNESCO, *A Teachers' Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism* (Paris: UNESCO, 2016): 15, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002446/244676e.pdf.

81 UNESCO, *Teachers Guide*,16.

82 Ibid., 15 (emphasis added).

83 UNESCO, *Rethinking Education: Towards a Global Common Good?* (Paris: UNESCO, 2015), available

here: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002325/232555e.pdf; UNESCO MGIEP, 'Rethinking Schooling'.

84 The Federal Government, 'Federal Government Strategy to Prevent Extremism and Promote Democracy', action plan (The Federal Government, 2017), 9, https://www.bmfsfj.de/blob/115448/cc142d640b37b7dd76e48b8fd9178cc5/strategie-der-bundesregierung-zur-extremismuspraevention-und-demokratiefoerderung-englisch-data.pdf.

85 Ibid, 17.

86 'Group-related hate' (German: *gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit*/GMF) refers to 'hostile attitudes and the associated denigration of particular groups in society on the basis of an unequal view of people of different social, religious or ethnic origin, sexual or gender identity or other characteristics. Group-related hate can be expressed in opinions and prejudice, in discrimination, marginalisation or violence (definition given in the Federal Government Strategy, 9).

87 Ibid, 18.

88 'Salafismus in Deutschland: Forschungsstand und Wissenstransfer', see: https://salafismus.hsfk.de/.

89 Perry, 'Countering the Cultivation of Extremism', I.

90 Rather than adopting an all-encompassing approach to PVE which would include comprehensive analyses of broader PVE-E-related concepts (e.g. coexistence, diversity, multiculturalism, anti-racism etc.), this study focuses on PVE-specific contents that are more explicitly related to our research aims (in particular, coverage of 'extremism' and 'terrorism').

91 Acronyms used henceforth for the 16 German states can be found in the List of Abbreviations.

92 For example: *Gemeinschaftskunde* (BW), *Gemeinschaftskunde/Rechtserziehung* (SN), *Sozialkunde* (BY, MV, SL, ST, TH), *Sozialwesen* (BY), *Politische Bildung* (BE/BB), *Gesellschaft und Politik*, *Welt-Umweltkunde* (HB), *Gesellschaftswissenschaften* (HH, SL), *Politik/Gesellschaft/Wirtschaft* (HH), *Politik und Wirtschaft* (HE, NI, NW, SH), *Gesellschaftslehre* (NI, NW, RP), *Weltkunde* (MV, SH), *Politik* (NW).

93 An analysis of the formal education sector beyond the years of compulsory education would have exceeded the scope of this study; however, further research to cover the upper secondary level, or ISCED 3 (*Sekundarstufe II*) is in the planning phase at the time of writing.

94 A schematic overview of the current structure of the German education system, which differentiates between different school types at secondary level and differs considerably from state to state can be accessed here (in English) https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/Dateien/pdf/Dokumentation/en_2017.pdf.

95 All curricula referred to in this report were downloaded from the official websites of the ministries of education in each federal state between June and September 2018. An overview of the online curricula sources for each state is available here (German only): https://www.kmk.org/dokumentation-statistik/rechtsvorschriften-lehrplaene/uebersicht-lehrplaene.html.

96 In some states, reforms are currently underway and the new curricula are being implemented progressively. This means that some of the documents available on the ministry of education websites are older but in the course of revision while others are not yet in use but will be implemented in the next few years.

97 Some terms were not found during the test phase (e.g. 'violent extremism') or were found in insignificant numbers (e.g. 'radicalisation', 'fundamentalism', 'resilience'), while others were found but in a different thematic context (e.g. 'violence' in school but unrelated to 'extremism'). These words were thus excluded from the more in-depth quantitative data visualisations.

98 Similar words such as 'Verhinderung' or 'Verhütung' were not found in relation to extremism but to war (in one single instance, 'Verhinderung von Kriegen' was mentioned).

99 In the case of Hesse we analysed the new core-curriculum framework (*Kerncurricula*) and not the syllabi (*Lehrpläne*) which still apply only to schools that have not developed their own school curriculum in line with the new *Kerncurricula*.

100 This finding cannot not be interpreted simply as a sign that curriculum designers in these states ignore PVE topics but rather that they leave it open to textbook authors, individual schools and teachers to choose whether, how and where they address them.

101 Further research, beyond the remit of this study, would be necessary in order to explain this compelling difference.

102 The size of a term corresponds to the number of times this term was found in the documents. A search term can be recognised by a higher number of incoming lines. Lines indicate instances of co-occurrence between a search term and other words on the same line in a text. The darker the line connecting two words, the stronger their association (i.e. the more frequently they appear together). The thinner a line is, the weaker the association between those words (i.e. the fewer times the words have appeared together).

103 For the purpose of this analysis we considered aims and skills together, as often these two were inseparable in relation to PVE in our corpus.

104 Here we draw on a distinction between 'PVE-specific' and 'PVE-related', used in international discourses on PVE but explicitly applied to the field of education by UNESCO (see UNESCO, 'Preventing Violent Extremism through Education. A Guide for Policy-makers' (UNESCO, 2017), 56, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002477/247764e.pdf.

105 Sachsen-Anhalt Kultusministerium: Geschichte/Sekundarschule, 2012, 21; Sachsen-Anhalt Kultusministerium: Geschichte/Gymnasium, 2016, 35.

106 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Realschule, 2014, 30.

107 Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Geschichte 7-10, 2014, 27.

108 Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gesellschaftslehre/Hauptschule, 2011, 58.

109 Ministerium für Bildung und Kultur Saarland: Gesellschaftswissenschaften 9-10/Gemeinschaftsschule, 2014, 62-63.

110 Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte/Realschule, 2016, 675-676; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte/Gymnasium, 2016, 2.

111 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Gymnasium, 2015, 27.

112 Ministerium für Bildung und Kultur Saarland: Geschichte 9/Gymnasium, 2014, 57.

113 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus und Sport: Geschichte/Gymnasium, 2009/2011, 30.

114 Baden-Württemberg Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport: Geschichte/Real- and Hauptschule, 2016, 40.

115 Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte Politik Geographie 9/Mittelschule, 2016, 2; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte/Realschule, 2016, 334; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte 10/Gymnasium, 2016, 3.

116 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus: Geschichte/Mittelschule, 2004/2009, 18.

117 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Hauptschule, 2014, 30; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Realschule, 2014, 33.

118 Berlin/Brandenburg: Geschichte/all school forms, 2015, 30.

119 Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte/Realschule, 2016, 654; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte 7/Gymnasium, 2018, 3.

120 Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Geschichte/Realschule, 2011, 24; Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gesellschaftslehre/ Hauptschule, 2011, 48.

121 Rheinland-Pfalz Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur: Geschichte/all school forms, 2016, 83.

122 Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus und Sport: Geschichte/Mittelschule, 2004/2009, 9; Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus und Sport: Geschichte/Gymnasium, 2009/2011, 14.

123 Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur: Geschichte/all school forms, 1997, 23.

124 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Realschule, 2014, 24.

125 Ibid., 25.

126 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Hauptschule, 2014, 24.; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Realschule, 2014, 26.

127 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur, Geschichte 7-10/Real- and Hauptschule, 2002, 27.

128 Berlin/Brandenburg: Geschichte/all school forms, 2015, 34.

129 In the Bavarian history curriculum for Mittelschule, left-wing and right-wing radicalisation is mentioned in the context of the Weimar Republic (Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung Crosscurricula/Mittelschule, 2017, 2).

130 See Jagtar Singh, Paulette Kerr and Esther Hamburger, eds., *Media and Information Literacy* (UNESCO, 2016), See http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002463/246371e.pdf.

131 Such as: Lower Saxony, Hamburg, Bavaria.

132 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Geschichte 5-10/Gymnasium, 2015, 18-19.

133 While there is no truly satisfactory English translation for 'Mündigkeit', it can be rendered roughly as 'responsible maturity'.

134 The fostering of resilience is abstractly mentioned in the curricular aims for history in Baden-Württemberg. However, there is no mention of *against* what resilience must be built and no link made to extremism; instead, a loose connection is made to identity-building and 'healthy', student development.

135 Thüringer Ministerium für Bildung: Wissenschaft und Kultur: Sozialkunde/all school types, 2012, 5 (emphasis added).

136 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Politik 7-10/Hauptschule, 2015, 5 (emphasis added).

137 Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Crosscurricula/Mittelschule, 2017, 7; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Crosscurricula/Gymnasium, 2017, 7.

138 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur: Geschichte 7-10/Real- and Hauptschule, 2002, 13; Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur: Geschichte/Gymnasium, 2012, 13.

139 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur: Sozialkunde 7-10/Real- and Hauptschule, 2002, 16.

140 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – Ministerium für Bildung: Wissenschaft und Kultur: Weltkunde 5-6/Integrierte Gesamtschule, 2012, 6.

141 Berlin/Brandenburg: Politische Bildung 7-10/all school types, 2015, 3.

142 Ibid., 28.

143 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – Ministerium für

Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur: Geschichte 7-10/Gymnasium, 2002, 31.

144 Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte 10/Mittelschule 2017, 2; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Sozialkunde 10/Mittelschule, 2017, 2; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Sozialkunde/Realschule, 2016, 836; Staatsinstitut für Schulqualität und Bildungsforschung: Geschichte/Realschule, 2017, 678.

145 Baden-Württemberg Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport: Gemeinschaftskunde/Real- and Hauptschule, 2016, 35; Baden-Württemberg Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport: Gemeinschaftskunde/Gymnasium, 2016, 22-23.

146 Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Politik 7-10/Hauptschule, 2015, 23; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Politik7-10/Realschule, 2015, 23; Niedersächsisches Kultusministerium: Politik-Wirtschaft 8-10/Gymnasium, 2015, 18.

147 Thüringer Ministerium für Bildung: Wissenschaft und Kultur: Sozialkunde/Real- and Hauptschule, 2012, 15;18.

148 Berlin/Brandenburg: Politische Bildung 7-10/all school forms, 28.

149 Sächsisches Staatsinstitut für Bildung und Schulentwicklung: Geschichte/Gymnasium, 2011, 24.

150 Sachsen-Anhalt Kultusministerium: Sozialkunde/Sekundarschule, 2012, 14.

151 Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Politik Gesellschaft Wirtschaft/Gymnasium, 2011, 24; Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Politik Gesellschaft Wirtschaft 7-11/Stadtteilschule, 2014, 26; 29; Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Geschichte 7-11/Stadtteilschule, 2014, 24; 27.

152 This subject is part of the 'fächerübergreifender Unterricht', which combines both history and social studies in one discipline.

153 Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gesellschaftslehre/Hauptschule, 2011, 54.

154 Ibid., 57.

155 Ibid., 58.

156 Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Politik/Realschule, 2011, 24.

157 Ibid., 25.

158 Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Politik Wirtschaft/Gymnasium, 2007, 28.

159 The topics were included in the analysis if they were referred to or described as 'extremism' and 'terrorism' explicitly in the textbooks themselves.

160 As mentioned in Chapter One, we use 'violent extremism' here to refer to both extremism that manifests itself violently (e.g. in terrorist acts) and extremism that supports or promotes violence.

161 See Hansjörg Biener, 'Lernprozesse bei der Bildung einer Grundgesamtheit Für Schulbuchanalysen', in *Methodologie und Methoden der Schulbuch- und Lehrmittelforschung*, ed. Petr Knecht et al. (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2014), 63–73.

162 'Non-exclusively Gymnasium track' covers the variety of school types in the different German states, referring to textbooks specifically intended either for Realschule or Hauptschule, or for schools with several educational courses (which may include a Gymnasium track, but not exclusively).

163 Our sample included textbooks from the three largest publishing groups (Klett, Cornelsen and Westermann, including their subsidiaries), covering 90% of the textbook market in Germany, and from a prominent independent publisher (Buchner) specialising in books for Gymnasium (cf. Verena Brandenberg, *Rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Aspekte des Verlegens von Schulbüchern* (Erlangen: Buchwissenschaft Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2006), 52-3.

164 The year of publication was not a specific selection criterion.

165 Accessible online at http://gei-dzs.edumeres.net (last update of the database, at the time of writing: 2016).

166 Accessible online at http://itbc.gei.de/.

167 Despite increasing recognition in the German literature of its highly contested and politicised usage, the term 'Islamism' (in German: *Islamismus*) is used uncritically in the textbooks, and students are not encouraged to engage in critical debate about its relationship to VE. For an overview of the term's use in the German context, see Tilman Seidensticker, *Islamismus: Geschichte, Vordenker, Organisationen* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2014).

168 To refer to specific textbooks, we use a coding system indicating in abbreviated form the discipline, the federal state, the grade (or volume number in a series) and the school type. All codes and the corresponding full references can be found, in alphabetical order, in Appendix 2.

169 HisSH2Gy, 228; see also: HisNI7/8Gy, 266; HisNI9/10Gy, 363.

170 A notable exception here is HisHHsek1-3Gy, 199, which generally presents terrorism in a more nuanced fashion than many other books (via historical contextualisation, different aspects, etc.).

171 SocHisHH9/10-MBg, 190.

172 SocSH8/9Gy, 330.

173 Other acts of terror claimed by al-Qaeda, ISIL or other groups endorsing an Islamist ideology all over the world (e.g. Moscow, Bali) are also sometimes used in thematic contexts where definitions of 'international terrorism' are given – making an implicit, more general, connection between terrorism and Islamist extremism, regardless of location.

174 SocSN2Gy, 116.

175 We found no explicit references to other types of violent extremism legitimated by their perpetrators with religious ideologies or acts carried out in their name (such as Buddhist, Jewish or Hindu). An exception is presenting Christian fanaticism in relation to the violence of the Crusades, but this is presented in terms of 'controversy' (HisHB7/8-MBg, 83). Violence or terrorist acts grounded in ethno-national independence struggles (e.g by the IRA) appear in some textbooks, but the element of radical ideology or extremism is missing from their presentation (i.e. they are given either as example of politically motivated struggles over territorial dominance or religiously motivated violence, i.e. a war between Catholics and Protestants, but not between radicals or extremists).

176 HisBB9/10, 126.

177 FuSL3Rs, 50.

178 HisNI7/8MBg, 44.

179 HisSN6MBg, 80-81.

180 e.g. HisHB9/10-MBg, 70; HisNI7/8MBg 249.

181 HisNI9/10MBg, 157.

182 HisTH9/10Rs, 195.

183 HisBY10Rs, 188.

184 A notable exception is a history book presenting at length terror by the radical right-wing *Organisation armée secrète* (French dissident paramilitary organisation) against the potential liberation of Algeria (HisHB9/10-MBg, 224-225).

185 e.g. SocBBsek1-2MBg, 38-41.

186 SocTH9/10Gy, pp. 110-124; similar treatment in SocSN1Gy, pp. 134-147.

187 SocSN9MBg, 59-61.

188 For example, the use of 'left-wing extremism' in the same way as 'right-wing' or 'islamist extremism' is controversial in German debates, where the term 'left-wing militancy' is often preferred. What is questioned is whether 'the goals propounded by these scenes are fundamentally undemocratic and anti-constitutional' and an argument is made about the different 'quality' of the violence exercised in these scenes: unlike other manifestations of extremism, far left-wing violence is seen as not targeting primarily human beings, but rather objects or 'arises during confrontations with political opponents', cf. Michaela Glaser, 'Extremist, militant, radicalised?', *Young and radical. Political Violence during Adolescence*, DJI 2017, 8.

189 e.g. SocSH8/10Rs, 88; SocSN9MBg, 59; SocBBsek1-2MBg, 38-39.

190 e.g. SocSH8/10Rs, 88.

191 e.g. SocSN1Gy, 147; SocSN1Gy2, 219.

192 SocHisHH7/8-MBg, 302-303.

193 Notable exceptions are books giving more nuanced and historically contextualised approaches by drawing on sources from academics or organisations actively engaged in PVE-E, such as the *Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*, which frequently publishes academic debates on types of violent extremism and their specificities (e.g. SocST9/10Gy, 122-123).

194 White supremacist groups in the US, or Anders Breivik in Norway, for example, are missing from this scene.

195 e.g. SocBBsek1-2MBg, 40-41; SocMVsek1-3MBg, 68-9; HisHHsek1-3Gy, 142; SocTH9/10Gy, 18-19

196 e.g. SocBBsek1-2Gy, 26; SocHE2Rs, 310.

197 e.g. SocHE2Rs, 278-9.

198 The NSU is given as an example in a lesson on 'Jurisprudence' regarding how reports in the media can influence the law (SocSN9MBg, 114).

199 HisNI9/10MBg, 156.

200 SocSH8/10Rs, 88.

201 SocSN9MBg, 60.

202 For example: Bali, Madrid, Beslan, Kahatanja, Mumbai and Boston are listed (SocBW3Rs, 60); a map of Europe shows Islamist-motivated attacks where innocent victims lost their lives between 2004 and 2017 (SocBBsek1-2MBg, 71).

203 e.g. SocBBsek1-1MBg, 41; SocSLSek1Gy, 228.

204 e.g. HisSN5MBg, 117; SocSN2Gy2, 137, 139-145.

205 e.g. SocBBsek1-2Gy, 87; SocSN2Gy2, 142.

206 SocTH9/10Gy, 116.

207 Ibid, 85; SocBBsek1-2MBg, 70; SocSN2Gy2, 144.

208 HisHHsek1-3Gy, 269.

209 Ibid, 142.

210 Note that while most instances have been found in textbooks, some of them are hypothetical or refer to too many examples to be listed exhaustively here.

211 e.g. by highlighting that terrorism is not necessarily new and that its manifestations depend on time and space (HisTH9/10Gy, 328; HisHHsek1-3Gy, 198).

212 e.g. by only mentioning 9/11 (HisHB9/10-MBg, 264).

213 e.g. SocHE2Gy, 263-4 (here, however, only in relation to Islamist terrorism).

214 e.g. the role of music in spreading right-wing extremist ideologies (HisNW3Rs, 138; SocNI7/8Rs, 166); the role of the Internet in ISIL recruitment and radicalisation (SocSN2Gy2, 142-3), and the use of social networks to fight right-wing extremism (SocST8/9Gy, 119).

215 e.g. in SocSN2Gy2 'Islamism', 'jihadism' and 'Salafism' are defined separately in side-boxes accompanying the main text of a lesson on ISIL (140-1); however, the differences between them are not elucidated.

216 e.g. SocTH9/10Gy, 110-124.

217 e.g. by learning from academic sources how to counteract the arguments of Holocaust deniers (HisSN6MBg, 81); or by engaging in debate on developing countering strategies ('Develop in groups solutions for how to deal with left-wing

extremist attitudes. Then create a list of suggestions and explain which proposal you would personally support', SocSN1Gy2, 207).

218 e.g. by asking students to discuss how international terrorism could be 'effectively' defeated in chapters on the US or NATO response to 9/11, or on German military interventions abroad. Responses are bound to include taking positions regarding the War on Terror (particularly since the topic is far removed from students' lives and the only sources they can engage with in answering the questions are those provided in the lesson, focused on military alliances and responses); this framing stifles the option of considering non-military ways of addressing terrorism (SocSLSek1Gy, 245).

219 e.g. 'Design and present a poster for participation in a counter-demonstration against right-wing extremists' (HisNW3Rs, 137).

220 e.g. the Jacobins' Reign of Terror is used as an opportunity to discuss state-led terror and human rights violations worldwide (HisNI7/8MBg, 79); the peasant's war is similarly used to encourage students to reflect on whether the use of violence was legitimate (HisSN2MBg, 127).

221 e.g. SocTH9/10Gy, 118-119.

222 e.g. 'Imagine that you have the opportunity to interview an al-Qaeda top terrorist' (SocST8/9Gy, 283).

223 e.g. 'Suppose a classmate adopts one of the typical "radicalization" behaviors described in [source]. Develop in a group scenario how best to deal with it, and consider possible measures to prevent such development'. (SocSN2Gy2, 143).

224 e.g. in an exercise one student plays the fictional character of 'an al-Qaeda terrorist' while the other plays the interviewer. The task is focused on practicing interviewing techniques, and at the end an assessment is made as to whether 'the questions were appropriate' and 'the answers (…) realistic' (SocST8/9Gy, 283). Another example is the practising of 'presentation skills' in an exercise that asks students to hold a presentation to answer the question, hypothetically asked by a school class from Afghanistan, as to why the German army is present in their country (SocSN2Gy, 125). These exercises can lead students into an uncritical adoption of stereotypical roles of 'terrorist' and 'non-terrorist' or 'soldier' and 'civilian', whilst focusing on the 'method' rather than the 'content'.

225 e.g. by presenting two sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the two sides of the 9/11 attacks, including bin Laden's propaganda posters and speeches (HisMVSek1-4Gy, 306; 315).

226 e.g. the image of tolerance and cultural flourish as featured in the chapter 'Meeting of Religions in the European Middle Ages' (HisSN2MBg, 106).

227 For example, care should be taken not to portray neo-Nazis as simply uneducated or socio-economically marginal (FuSL3Rs, 50-51), Muslim women only as wearing a burqa (SocSN10MBg, 168), people living in Africa only in poor or war-torn situations, and/or helped by German or US army interventions (SocSN10MBg, 81, 122, 123).

228 Peter Neumann, 'Radikalisierung, Deradikalisierung und Extremismus' *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 29-31 (2013), 4-5, http://www.bpb.de/apuz/164918/radikalisierung-deradikalisierung-und-extremismus.

229 Michaela Glaser, '"Rechtsextremismus"– eine Begriffsdiskussion' (BIK Netz. Präventionsnetz gegen Rechtsextremismus, 2012), 5, https://www.vielfalt-mediathek.de/data/glaser_begriff_rex.pdf.

230 A key concept here is that of 'defensible' democracy (*wehrhafte Demokratie or streitbare Demokratie*) which is a basic understanding of democracy in Germany and is embedded in the German constitutional order; see Hans-Gerd Jaschke, 'Streitbare Demokratie' (BPB, Dossier Rechtsextremismus, 2006), http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/41891/streitbare-demokratie.

231 See Chapter One, Box 1.2 on distinction between PVE and CVE.

232 For an explanation of the German term 'Mündigkeit', please see endnote 133.

233 See for example Arun Kundnani, Keynote Talk, Islamic Human Rights Commission, July 23, 2015, Event Report available at: https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/event-reports/14738-event-report-preventing-violent-extremism-conference-2/ and also https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SRNFQKKGdek.

234 Only 2 textbooks from our sample of 137 explicitly mentioned this. See endnote 152.

235 Cynthia Miller-Idriss, *The Extreme Gone Mainstream: Commercialization and Far Right Youth Culture in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

236 For country-case examples, see Davies, 'Review of Educational Initiatives', 34-35.

237 Although we do not focus on teaching practices in this report, with every new textbook approach we would recommend teacher training, in particular how to teach controversial and sensitive issues and how to respond to students after a violent extremist attack has happened. This is also valid for when former extremist voices are included, as caution is of essence in such a delicate procedure.

238 See UNESCO MGIEP, 'Textbooks for Sustainable Development'.

APPENDIX 1

Number of textbooks analysed in the study

Textbook sample (grades 5-10)	School Subject			
Federal State / School Type	History	Social Studies	Combined Subject*	TOTAL
Baden-Württemberg	5		6	11
Gymnasium	5		3	8
Hauptschule			3	3
Bavaria	8	3		11
Gymnasium	4	2		6
Realschule	4	1		5
Berlin/Brandenburg	6	4		10
Gymnasium	4	2		6
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	2	2		4
Bremen	2		3	5
Gymnasium	2			2
Mehrere Bildungsgänge			3	3
Hamburg	3	2	3	8
Gymnasium	3	2		5
Mehrere Bildungsgänge			3	3
Hesse	8	4		12
Gymnasium	4	2		6
Realschule	4	2		6
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	6		3	9
Gymnasium	4			4
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	2		3	5
Lower Saxony	6	4		10
Gymnasium	3	2		5
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	3			3
Realschule		2		2

*for e.g. *Gesellschaftslehre* or *fächerübergreifender Unterricht*

Textbook sample (grades 5-10)	School Subject			
Federal State / School Type	History	Social Studies	Combined Subject*	TOTAL
North Rhine-Westphalia	5	5		10
Gymnasium		3		3
Realschule	5	2		7
Rhineland-Palatinate	6	2		8
Gymnasium	3	1		4
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	3	1		4
Saarland	3	1		4
Gymnasium		1		1
Realschule	3			3
Saxony	9	6		15
Gymnasium	3	4		7
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	6	2		8
Saxony-Anhalt	6	3		9
Gymnasium		2		2
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	6	1		7
Schleswig-Holstein	4	2		6
Gymnasium	4	1		5
Realschule+		1		1
Thuringia	6	3		9
Gymnasium	3	1		4
Mehrere Bildungsgänge	3	2		5
TOTAL	83	39	15	137

APPENDIX 2

List of textbooks analysed in the study

For ease of identification during the research process, each textbook analysed was assigned a unique code indicating the discipline, the federal state, the grade (or volume number in a series) and the school type.

FuBW1Hs:

Welt, Zeit, Gesellschaft: Arbeitsbuch für den Fächerverbund Welt - Zeit - Gesellschaft an Hauptschulen in Baden-Württemberg. Sek 1 Hauptschule], Peter Brokemper & Nicole Bruder, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2004.

FuBW2/3Hs:

Welt, Zeit, Gesellschaft: Arbeitsbuch für den Fächerverbund Welt - Zeit - Gesellschaft an Hauptschulen in Baden-Württemberg. Sek 1 [Hauptschule], Ute Bärnert-Fürst, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2006.

FuBW4Hs:

Welt, Zeit, Gesellschaft: Arbeitsbuch für den Fächerverbund Welt - Zeit - Gesellschaft an Hauptschulen in Baden-Württemberg. Sek 1 [Hauptschule], Thorsten Bröckel, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2007.

FuHH5/6-MBg:

Gesellschaft 5/6. Sek 1 [MBg], Ulrich Brameier, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2011.

FuHH7/8-MBg:

Gesellschaft 7/8. Sek 1 [MBg], Ulrich Brameier, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2012.

FuHH9/10-MBg:

Gesellschaft 9/10. Sek 1 [MBg], Ulrich Brameier, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2013.

FuSL1Rs:

Mitmischen Plus 1. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2008.

FuSL2Rs:

Mitmischen Plus 2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2009.

FuSL3Rs:

Mitmischen Plus 3. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2010.

HisBB7/8Gy:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Thomas Berger- von der Heide et al., Berlin: Cornelsen, 2017.

HisBB7/8Gy:

Geschichte Plus. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Brigitte Bayer, Walter Funen & Bernd Koltrowitz, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2008.

HisBB7/8MBg:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Sek 1 [MBg], Andreas Klingeberg, Hans Ebeling & Wolfgang Birkenfeld, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2017.

HisBB9/10Gy:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Thomas Berger- von der Heide et al., Berlin: Cornelsen, 2018.

HisBB9/10Gy:

Geschichte Plus. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Walter Funken & Bernd Koltrowitz, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2009.

HisBB9/10MBg:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Sek 1 [MBg], Hans Ebeling & Wolfgang Birkenfeld, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2018.

HisBW1Gy:

Horizonte – Geschichte 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2004.

HisBW2Gy:

Horizonte – Geschichte 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2005.

HisBW3Gy:

Horizonte – Geschichte 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Christopher Andres & Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2006.

HisBW4Gy:

Horizonte – Geschichte 4. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Christopher Andres & Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2007.

HisBW5Gy:

Horizonte – Geschichte 5. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Frank Bahr, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2009.

HisBY10Rs:

Horizonte 10. Sek 1 [Realschule], Elmar Geus, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2012.

HisBY1Gy:

Das waren Zeiten 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Dieter Brückner & Harald Focke, Bamberg: Buchner, 2012.

HisBY2Gy:

Das waren Zeiten 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Dieter Brückner & Harald Focke, Bamberg: Buchner, 2011.

HisBY3Gy:

Das waren Zeiten 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Dieter Brückner & Harald Focke, Bamberg: Buchner, 2013.

HisBY4Gy:

Das waren Zeiten 4. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Dieter Brückner & Harald Focke, Bamberg: Buchner, 2010.

HisBY7Rs:

Horizonte 7. Sek 1 [Realschule], Elmar Geus, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2009.

HisBY8Rs:

Horizonte 8. Sek 1 [Realschule], Elmar Geus, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2010.

HisBY9Rs:

Horizonte 9. Sek 1 [Realschule], Elmar Geus, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2011.

HisHB7/8-MBg:

Anno – Geschichte 7/8. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2008.

HisHB9/10-MBg:

Anno – Geschichte 9/10. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Christopher Andres & Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2010.

HisHE1Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ursula Fries & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2012.

HisHE1Rs:

Zeitreise 1. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer et al., Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2011.

HisHE2Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Asmut Brückmann & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2014.

HisHE2Rs:

Zeitreise 2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer et al., Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2012.

HisHE3Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Michael Epkenhans & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2014.

HisHE3Rs:

Zeitreise 3. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2013.

HisHE4Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 4. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Rolf Brütting & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2013.

HisHE4Rs:

Zeitreise 4. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2013.

HisHHsek1-1Gy:

Forum Geschichte: Von der Vorgeschichte bis zum Ende des Mittelalters. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Markus Bente & Hans-Otto Regenhardt, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

HisHHsek1-2Gy:

Forum Geschichte: Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Thomas P. Eichhorst & Hans-Otto Regenhardt, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2011.

HisHHsek1-3Gy:

Forum Geschichte: Von den Folgen des Ersten Weltkrieges bis zur Gegenwart. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Franz Hofmeier & Hans-Otto Regenhardt, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2011.

HisMV6-MBg:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit 6. Sek 1 [MBg], Hans Ebeling, Wolfgang Birkenfeld & Manfred Albrecht, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2008.

HisMV9/10-MBg:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit 9/10. Sek 1 [MBg], Annette Adam, Hans Ebeling & Wolfgang Birkenfeld, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2011.

HisMVSek1-1Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ursula Fries, Leipzig: Klett, 2003.

HisMVSek1-2Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Asmut Brückmann, Leipzig: Klett, 2005.

HisMVSek1-3Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Michael Epkenhans, Leipzig: Klett, 2004.

HisMVSek1-4Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 4. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Daniela Bender, Leipzig: Klett, 2005.

HisNI5/6Gy:

Horizonte 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2008.

HisNI5/6MBg:

Denk Mal – Geschichte 5/6. Sek 1 [MBg], Johannes Derichs, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2012.

HisNI7/8Gy:

Horizonte 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Thomas Martin Buck & Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2008.

HisNI7/8MBg:

Denk Mal – Geschichte 7/8. Sek 1 [MBg], Johannes Derichs, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2013.

HisNI9/10Gy:

Horizonte 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Michael Brabänder & Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2009.

HisNI9/10MBg:

Denk Mal – Geschichte 9/10. Sek 1 [MBg], Johannes Derichs, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2013.

HisNW1Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 1. Sek 1 [Realschule], Hans-Gert Oomen & Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2015.

HisNW2/3Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 2/3. Sek 1 [Realschule], Hans-Gert Oomen & Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2012.

HisNW2Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Hans-Gert Oomen & Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2015.

HisNW3Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 3. Sek 1 [Realschule], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2015.

HisNW4Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 4. Sek 1 [Realschule], Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Hans-Gert Oomen, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2013.

HisRP1/2Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 1/2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Hans-Gert Oomen, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2015.

HisRP10Gy:

Horizonte: Geschichte 10. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2015.

HisRP3Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 3. Sek 1 [Realschule], Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Hans-Gert Oomen, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2015.

HisRP4Rs:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 4. Sek 1 [Realschule], Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Hans-Gert Oomen, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2016.

HisRP7/8Gy:

Horizonte: Geschichte 7/8. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Verena Espach & Alexander Heim, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2015.

HisRP9Gy:

Horizonte: Geschichte 9. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2015.

HisSH1Gy:

Horizonte 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Thomas Martin Buck et al., Braunschweig: Westermann, 2010.

HisSH2Gy:

Horizonte 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner et al., Braunschweig: Westermann, 2010.

HisSH3Gy:

Horizonte 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ulrich Baumgärtner et al., Braunschweig: Westermann, 2010.

HisSH4Gy:

Horizonte 4. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Christopher Andres et al., Braunschweig: Westermann, 2011.

HisSN1Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Ursula Fries & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2014.

HisSN1MBg:

Zeitreise 1. Sek 1 [MBg], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2013.

HisSN2Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Rolf Brütting & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2015.

HisSN2MBg:

Zeitreise 2. Sek 1 [MBg], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2014.

HisSN3Gy:

Geschichte und Geschehen 3. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Asmut Brückmann & Michael Sauer, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2015.

HisSN3MBg:

Zeitreise 3. Sek 1 [MBg], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2015.

HisSN4MBg:

Zeitreise 4. Sek 1 [MBg], Sven Christoffer, Stuttgart: Klett, 2015.

HisSN5MBg:

Zeitreise 5. Sek 1 [MBg], Maria Heiter, Klaus Leinen & Lars Michalek, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2016.

HisSN6MBg:

Zeitreise 6. Sek 1 [MBg], Andreas Kötzing, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2013.

HisST10Mbg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 10. Sek 1 [MBg], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Stephan Burrichter & Hans-Gert Oomen, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

HisST5Mbg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 5. Sek 1 [MBg], Hans-Gert Oomen, Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Wolfgang Humann, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2009.

HisST6Mbg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 6. Sek 1 [MBg], Hans-Gert Oomen, Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Petra Bowien, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

HisST7Mbg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 7. Sek 1 [MBg], Hans-Gert Oomen, Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Elisabeth Herkenrath, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

HisST8Mbg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 8. Sek 1 [MBg], Hans-Gert Oomen, Thomas Berger- von der Heide & Hans-Joachim Caspart, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

HisST9Mbg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Geschichte 9. Sek 1 [MBg], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Heidrun von der Heide & Hans-Gert Oomen, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

HisTH5/6Gy:

Forum Geschichte. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Markus Bente & Hans-Otto Regenhardt, Berlin: Cornelsen: 2012.

HisTH5/6Rs:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Sek 1 [Realschule], Cathrin Schreier & Hans Ebeling, Braunschweig: Westermann, 2012.

HisTH7/8Gy:

Forum Geschichte. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Markus Bente & Hans-Otto Regenhardt, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2013.

HisTH7/8Rs:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Sek 1 [Realschule], Hans Ebeling et al., Braunschweig: Westermann, 2013.

HisTH9/10Gy:

Forum Geschichte. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Franz Hofmeier & Hans-Otto Regenhardt, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2014.

HisTH9/10Rs:

Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Sek 1 [Realschule], Hans Ebeling et al., Braunschweig: Westermann, 2015.

SocBBsek1-1Gy:

Politik & Co: Politische Bildung für die Sekundarstufe I. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Dimitrios Kalpakidis & Steffen Kludt, Bamberg: C.C. Buchner Verlag, 2016.

SocBBsek1-1MBg:

Politik Entdecken: Politische Bildung 1. Sek 1 [MBg], Thomas Berg- von der Heide, Christian-Magnus Ernst & Karl-Heinz Holstein, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2017.

SocBBsek1-2Gy:

Politik & Co: Politische Bildung für die Sekundarstufe I. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Dimitrios Kalpakidis et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner Verlag, 2017.

SocBBsek1-2MBg:

Politik Entdecken: Politische Bildung 2. Sek 1 [MBg], Benjamin Apelojg et al., Berlin: Cornelsen, 2018.

SocBW1Gy:

Mensch & Politik - Gemeinschaftskunde: GWG, Fächerverbund Geographie, Wirtschaft, Gemeinschaftskunde. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Gerhard Altmann, Braunschweig: Schrödel, 2012.

SocBW2Gy:

Mensch & Politik - Gemeinschaftskunde: GWG, Fächerverbund Geographie, Wirtschaft, Gemeinschaftskunde. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Gerhard Altmann, Braunschweig: Schrödel, 2014.

SocBW3Gy:

Mensch & Politik - Gemeinschaftskunde: GWG, Fächerverbund Geographie, Wirtschaft, Gemeinschaftskunde. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Jennifer Besinger & Gerhard Altmann, Braunschweig: Schrödel, 2014.

SocBY10Gy:

Politik aktuell: Unterrichtswerk für das Gymnasium in Bayern. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Jan Castner et al., Bamberg: Buchner, 2013.

SocBY10Gy-2:

Politik aktuell: Unterrichtswerk für das Gymnasium in Bayern. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Jan Castner, Bamberg: Buchner, 2008.

SocBY10Rs:

Politik - Nicht ohne mich! Die Grundlagen von Politik und Wirtschaft; Unterrichtswerk für Sozialkunde an Realschulen. Sek 1 [Realschule], Rainer Dörrfuß, Bamberg: Buchner, 2003.

SocHBsek1-1MBg:

Das IGL-Buch 1. Sek 1 [MBg], Christian Augustin, Stuttgart: Klett, 2009. SocHBsek1-2MBg: Das IGL-Buch 2. Sek 1 [MBg], Christian Augustin, Stuttgart: Klett, 2010.

SocHBsek1-3MBg:

Das IGL-Buch 3. Sek 1 [MBg], Christian Augustin, Stuttgart: Klett, 2011.

SocHE1Gy:

Politik & Co: Politik und Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Erik Müller & Hartwig Riedel, Bamberg: Buchner, 2015.

SocHE1Rs:

Politik Entdecken: Politik und Wirtschaft 1. Sek 1 [Realschule], Michael Berger, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2012.

SocHE2Gy:

Politik & Co: Politik und Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Erik Müller et al., Bamberg: Buchner, 2016.

SocHE2Rs:

Politik Entdecken: Politik und Wirtschaft 2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2012.

SocHHsek1-1Gy:

Anstöße – Politik-Wirtschaft 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Stefan Mattheus, Stuttgart: Klett, 2012.

SocHHsek1-2Gy:

Anstöße – Politik-Wirtschaft 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Stefan Mattheus, Stuttgart: Klett, 2013.

SocMVsek1-1MBg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Arbeitsbuch für Gesellschaftslehre/Weltkunde 1. Sek 1 [MBg], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2009.

SocMVsek1-2MBg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Arbeitsbuch für Gesellschaftslehre/Weltkunde 2. Sek 1 [MBg], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2009.

SocMVsek1-3MBg:

Entdecken und Verstehen: Arbeitsbuch für Gesellschaftslehre/Weltkunde. Sek 1 [MBg], Thomas Berger- von der Heide, Berlin: Cornelsen, 2010.

SocNI7/8Rs:

Politik.21: [Politik für Realschulen, Ober- schulen und mittleren Bildungsabschluss] 1. Sek 1 [Realschule], Sinan Beygo & Jan Weber, Bamberg: C.C. Buchners Verlag, 2011.

SocNI8Gy:

Politik & Co: Politik-Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Erik Müller, Hartwig Riedel & Kersten Ringe, Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2015.

SocNI9/10Gy:

Politik & Co: Politik-Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Erik Müller et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2016.

SocNI9/10Rs:

Politik.21: [Politik für Realschulen, Ober- schulen und mittleren Bildungsabschluss] 2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Jan Castner et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchners Verlag, 2012.

SocNW2Rs:

Anstöße – Politik 2. Sek 1 [Realschule], Heinrich Lübbert, Stuttgart/Leipzig: Klett, 2011.

SocNW3Rs:

Anstöße – Politik 3. Sek 1 [Realschule], Heinrich Lübbert, Stuttgart/Klett, 2012.

SocNW5/6Gy:

Team: Arbeitsbuch für Politik und Wirt- schaft 5/6. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Karin Herzig, Wolfgang Mattes & Andreas Müller, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015.

SocNW7/8Gy:

Team: Arbeitsbuch für Politik und Wirtschaft 7/8. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Karin Herzig & Wolfgang Mattes, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2014.

SocNW9Gy:

Team: Arbeitsbuch für Politik und Wirt- schaft 9. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Karin Herzig & Wolfgang Mattes, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2016.

SocRP7-10Rs:

Demokratie heute - Sozialkunde. Sek 1 [Realschule], Dieter Deiseroth, Marc A. Gollon & Heinz-Ulrich Wolf, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2016.

SocRP9/10Gy:

Politik & Co: Sozialkunde für das Gymnasium. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Erik Müller et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2016.

SocSH8/10Rs:

Demokratie heute - Wirtschaft/Politik. Sek 1 [Realschule], Dieter Deiseroth & Heinz-Ulrich Wolf, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2017.

SocSH8/9Gy:

Politik & Co: Wirtschaft/Politik für das Gymnasium. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Hartwig Riedel & Stephan Kober, Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2011.

SocSLSek1Gy:

Mensch & Politik - Sozialkunde. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Slobodan Comagic, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2014.

SocSN10MBg:

Demokratie heute: Gemeinschaftskunde/ Rechtserziehung 10. Sek 1 [MBg], Dieter Deiseroth, Antje Ungerer & Heinz-Ulrich Wolf, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2016.

SocSN1Gy:

Politik & Co: Gemeinschaftskunde/ Rechtserziehung/Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Joachim Amm et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2011.

SocSN1Gy2:

Politik & Co: Gemeinschaftskunde/ Rechtserziehung/Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 1. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Hartwig Riedel et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2017.

SocSN2Gy:

Politik & Co: Gemeinschaftskunde/ Rechtserziehung/Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Joachim Amm et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2012.

SocSN2Gy2:

Politik & Co: Gemeinschaftskunde/ Rechtserziehung/Wirtschaft für das Gymnasium 2. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Hartwig Riedel et al., Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2018.

SocSN9MBg:

Demokratie heute: Gemeinschaftskunde/ Rechtserziehung 9. Sek 1 [MBg], Dieter Deiseroth, Antje Ungerer & Heinz-Ulrich Wolf, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2016.

SocST8/9Gy:

Politik & Co: Sozialkunde [für die Sekundarstufe I]. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Hartwig Riedel & Björn Arendholz, Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2012.

SocST9/10Gy:

Anstöße - Politik. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Harald Fischmann & Harald-Matthias Neumann, Stuttgart: Klett, 2010.

SocSTSek1Mbg:

Politik Erleben: Sozialkunde, Politische Bildung. Sek 1 [MBg], Karin Herzig & Wolfgang Mattes, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2013.

SocTH8Rs:

Demokratie heute – Sozialkunde 8. Sek 1 [Realschule], Annette Adam, Cathrin Schreier & Heinz-Ulrich Wolf, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2012.

SocTH9/10Gy:

Politik & Co: Sozialkunde für das Gymnasium. Sek 1 [Gymnasium], Hartwig Riedel, Christian K. Tischner & Joachim Amm, Bamberg: C.C. Buchner, 2012.

SocTH9/10Rs:

Demokratie heute – Sozialkunde 9/10. Sek 1 [Realschule], Annette Adam, Cathrin Schreier & Heinz-Ulrich Wolf, Braunschweig: Schroedel, 2013.

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Dr Eleni Christodoulou is the leader of the project 'Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: Discourses and Practices' at the Georg Eckert Institute – Leibniz Institute for International Textbook Research in Germany. She received a PhD in Political Science on the 'Politics of Peace Education' from the University of Birmingham, UK. She was among the lead authors of the UNESCO Guide on Embedding ESD in Textbooks, and has cooperated with government bodies, national and international organisations on issues related to Target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Eleni has published on issues related to education and conflict, security and sustainable development. She has also taught at secondary school and higher education levels in Cyprus and the UK. In cooperation with the German Commission to UNESCO, Eleni has organised workshops on Preventing Violent Extremism through Education.

Dr Simona Szakács is a researcher in the project 'Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: Discourses and Practices' at the Georg Eckert Institute – Leibniz Institute for International Textbook Research. Simona received a PhD in Sociology from the University of Essex, UK. She has 12 years of experience in conducting comparative and longitudinal textbook and curricula analysis on notions of 'diversity', 'citizenship' and 'nationhood' in various education systems (Romania, France, UK, Germany). Her current research interests revolve around the construction of identities, solidarities, Europeanisation and transnational dynamics in education from a comparative educational and sociological perspective.