

PrEval studien



The Interaction Between the Prevention of Extremism and Citizenship Education in Practice

**An International Comparative Study Assessing the
Interprofessional Cooperation Between Professionals
From the Prevention Field and the Educational Field**

Myrte van Veldhuizen | Hermann Josef Abs

PrEval Studie 7/2025

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Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
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Friedens- und Konfliktforschung

PREVAL – ZUKUNFTSWERKSTÄTTEN EVALUATION AND QUALITY MANAGEMENT IN EXTREMISM PREVENTION, DEMOCRACY PROMOTION AND CIVIC EDUCATION: ANALYSIS, MONITORING, DIALOGUE

C/O PRIF – PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE FRANKFURT
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The Authors According to Their Own Words

Myrte van Veldhuizen | Hermann Josef Abs

Which disciplinary perspectives do we hold?

We conduct research in the field of international empirical education research as an interdisciplinary field of research with perspectives from political science, psychology, sociology, and education. With these perspectives in mind, we examine the relationship between the fields of (civic) education and extremism prevention at the international level.

What is our research interest?

We are interested in design-oriented development research and intervention-related impact research in the field of civic education and extremism prevention. In addition, with the international comparative focus of our study, we seek to draw lessons for Germany from the organization of (civic) education and extremism prevention in other countries.

How does our study contribute to the *PrEval* fields of action?

Our study contributes to the fields of civic education and democracy promotion. A better understanding of cooperation structures in other countries can improve collaboration between civic education and extremism prevention in Germany. This contributes prospectively to greater democratic skills among young people and helps prevent radicalization and extremism.

The *PrEval* Studies

Evaluation generates knowledge—but it can only be successful if knowledge is incorporated into its design: knowledge about the specifics of the respective field, about suitable methods, and about the dynamics in which measures take effect. At the same time, openness and a willingness to jointly develop processes are required. This is precisely where *PrEval* comes in. We bring together practitioners, academics, administrators, and funding institutions to analyze needs, document experiences, and jointly develop sound, practical approaches to evaluation and quality management. This results in reliable findings that not only improve existing measures but also help to design new formats in a more targeted and effective way. Evaluation is not seen as a control instrument, but as a contribution to a learning and reflective prevention practice. *PrEval* creates spaces for this, provides impetus, and strengthens the dialogue between the groups of actors involved.

As an independent research and transfer project, *PrEval* has been working since 2020 to strengthen quality management and evaluation in the fields of extremism prevention, civic education, and democracy promotion. Our work focuses on analyzing existing capacities and developing and testing evaluation designs and support formats that are based on real needs – in continuous dialogue with funding agencies, practitioners, administrators, academics, and donors. Particular attention is paid to the interfaces between stakeholder groups, responsibilities, program logics, and institutional frameworks. *PrEval* pursues a multi-method, practice-oriented approach to promote knowledge, exchange, and trust among stakeholders, thereby improving the conditions for sustainable evaluation.

The *PrEval Studies* build on the earlier *PrEval* report series. They focus on concrete evaluation experiences from practice—for example, on digital formats for civic education, evaluation in complex counseling settings, or cooperation between civil society organizations and security authorities. The studies show how evaluation processes can be meaningfully designed together, where obstacles exist, and which approaches are feasible in practice. They are aimed at practitioners, academics, funding institutions, and decision-makers, and are intended as practical impetus for a learning prevention landscape, but also as impetus for the academic evaluation debate.

Frankfurt am Main, December 2025

Overview of All Titles in the *PrEval Studies Series*

Entwicklung eines integrierten Modells und Selbsteinschätzungsinstruments für *Digital Citizenship Literacy* by Marcus Kindlinger // Lucy Huschle // Hermann Josef Abs. PrEval Studie 1/2025.

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The Interaction Between the Prevention of Extremism and Citizenship Education in Practice. An International Comparative Study Assessing the Interprofessional Cooperation Between Professionals From the Prevention Field and the Educational Field by Myrte van Veldhuizen // Hermann Josef Abs. PrEval Studie 7/2025.

Klien*innenzentrierte Evaluation in komplexen Beratungssettings. Empfehlungen basierend auf einer Machbarkeitsstudie by Svetla Koynova // Emma van Heeswijk. PrEval Studie 8/2025.

Summary

Terrorist events have pushed countries across the world to focus on preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) to safeguard their people and political systems. Radicalization and extremism often happen during youth. Since most young people spend a large part of their day in school, the role that schools could potentially play for P/CVE needs to be considered. Especially civic and citizenship education (CCE) seems suitable to contribute to P/CVE. While the intention to protect the political system against radicalized forces should be a common objective by the majority in a democratic country, there has also been critique about the use of education and especially CCE for the prevention of radicalization and extremism on a theoretical basis. Cooperation has been perceived by some authors as a risk for discrimination and an unappropriated emphasis on surveillance in education. In order to clarify the interplay between CCE and P/CVE, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- How are the prevention of radicalization and extremism and (civic and citizenship) education related to each other internationally?
- What is the interaction between the prevention of radicalization and extremism and (civic and citizenship) education in two exemplary countries: England and Norway?
- How do professionals from the fields of P/CVE and (civic and citizenship) education cooperate in England and Norway?

To answer these questions, a mixed-methods design was employed. The first research method consisted of adding open and closed questions on the relationship between P/CVE and CCE to an international survey that was completed by 30 experts from twelve countries across the world. The second research method consisted of a case study design in which qualitative interviews were conducted with professionals working in the prevention field and professionals working in the educational field in England and Norway.

The results from the international survey show clearly that CCE does not exist as a separate field in many countries. Only in three of the twelve countries, all experts were aware of CCE as a separate field. It is for that reason, that in the remainder of this study the focus shifted from distinguished CCE to school education in general. According to the experts who completed the survey, the amount of cooperation and exchange between the fields of (civic and citizenship) education and P/CVE was limited.

Most of the interviewed professionals in England and Norway do see a role for schools and CCE in particular regarding the primary prevention of radicalization and extremism. However, both within each country, but especially between the countries the professionals

differed in the extent to which they believed P/CVE should be covered in (civic and citizenship) education. In England, all professionals were in favour of a strong integration of P/CVE within CCE. In Norway, most professionals did see a role for CCE in the primary prevention of radicalization and extremism, but not in the secondary prevention. The ways in which professionals in both countries believed CCE could contribute towards P/CVE were not limited to P/CVE, for example a focus on critical thinking could help students in other areas as well.

The interviews revealed considerable differences between the organization of secondary prevention in England and Norway. The Prevent duty makes it compulsory for schools in England to focus on the secondary prevention of radicalization and extremism. Therefore, all schools have processes in place for what to do when teachers have concerns about the possible radicalization of one of their students. In Norway, there is no legal obligation for schools to report students and the Norwegian professionals stressed the importance of the confidential relationship between the students and the teachers. It is for that reason, that Norwegian educational professionals rather firstly discuss the situation with the student and in some cases their parents.

Both the survey results and the interviews indicate that in none of the countries covered there are countrywide primary prevention projects in which professionals from the prevention field cooperate with educational professionals on P/CVE. The interviews clearly show that in both England and Norway schools decide if and how they address P/CVE. This means that projects can be tailored towards the needs of the school, but it also leads to big differences in the attention being paid towards P/CVE across schools. In projects that schools do employ, there is sometimes some form of interprofessional cooperation (exchange of information, division of labor or even co-constructed practices). It is often the case, however, that professionals from the prevention field organize a workshop or a teacher is addressing a topic related to P/CVE in the classroom without any linkage to the other professional field.

The results of this study indicate a need for further research on the interplay between the fields of CCE and P/CVE in several countries. Further research could contribute to developing the fields and their intersections in several ways: A baseline study could deepen the understanding of cooperation between professionals from the prevention field and CCE professionals. To address the reluctance towards cooperation by some stakeholders, a *Delphi*-study with actors from the P/CVE field and the CCE field on their respective challenges and needs is recommended. Further, the promotion of pilot projects and their scientific evaluation would help to develop new perspectives on common goals and areas of collaboration. In addition, field trials of devised approaches could be conducted as part of the research work in order to gain more insight into the potential risks and benefits of cooperation between the two fields in concrete educational environments.

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1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the century, several countries had to witness terrorist attacks which had an impact on societal attitudes towards extremist ideologies. Their exact dates have become part of the collective memory: the terrorist attacks of 9/11 2001 in New York, the London Bombings 7/7 2005, the 22/7 2011 terrorist attacks on Utøya and in Oslo in Norway or the multiple attacks 13/11 2015 in Paris, just to name a few. Beyond such events, some young people from European countries have been traveling to Syria to become foreign fighters for the IS, which further increased a debate about safeguarding children and adolescents.

These terrorist attacks have pushed governments across the world to focus on preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) to prohibit such events in the future. Therefore, internationally, there has been much more emphasis on the prevention of radicalization and extremism than before. As particularly young people are vulnerable towards the threat of radicalization and extremism, the education system is often looked at to support P/CVE.

This has opened up the debate in which way and whether at all education should play a part in P/CVE. Especially civic and citizenship education (CCE) is seen as one of the educational fields that could contribute to the prevention of radicalization and extremism among young people. Internationally, however, the use of (civic and citizenship) education for the prevention of radicalization and extremism has also been critiqued (Edwards 2021; Fernandez 2024; Lakhani/James 2021; Skotnes/Sjøen 2023), because it might lead to discrimination and an inappropriate emphasis on surveillance and securitization in education. In Germany, there equally is an ongoing debate about the legitimacy and adequacy of approaches to integrate CCE and P/CVE. While some authors see more contradictions between both fields (e.g. Achour/Gill, 2020; Fereidooni et al. 2021; Widmaier 2022), others emphasize the complementarity or convergence of the concepts (e.g. Schlicht-Schmälzle et al. 2021; Oberle 2025; Schröter 2025). On the backdrop of this current debate in Germany, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- How are the prevention of radicalization and extremism and (civic and citizenship) education related to each other internationally?
- What is the interaction between the prevention of radicalization and extremism and (civic and citizenship) education in two exemplary countries: England and Norway?
- How do professionals from the fields of P/CVE and (civic and citizenship) education cooperate in England and Norway?

The purpose of this study consists in broadening the scope for reflection on the relationship between P/CVE and CCE by analyzing and comparing the relevant discourses and

practices in different countries. In doing so, the study seeks learnings from the international context that could influence the German debate and lead to recommendations for the German context. The study aims to discover if there is a similar debate about integrating or covering P/CVE in CCE internationally. Moreover, the objective is to look for examples or best practices of cooperation between the fields of CCE on the one hand and P/CVE on the other hand. It is often said that schools and education (especially civic and citizenship education) could play an important role in the prevention of radicalization and extremism. Yet, not much research has been conducted into the theoretical specific contribution that CCE could make towards P/CVE. In addition, there is a lack of research investigating the existence and possible effects of cooperation between the fields of P/CVE and CCE or education more generally. This study addresses these gaps by analyzing professional experiences in England and Norway concerning the contribution of CCE to P/CVE and the interprofessional cooperation of professionals from both fields.

Section 2 of this report will focus on how the fields of P/CVE and CCE are conceptualized in different contexts and countries. Section 3 will dive deeper into current findings on the interaction between P/CVE and CCE internationally. Section 4 will present the mixed-methods methodological approach that has been used in this study. The results of an international survey among P/CVE experts will be discussed in section 5 and section 6 portrays the results of interviews that have been conducted with professionals from both fields in England and Norway. In section 7, the results will be discussed and implications for Germany will be derived.

2. Conceptualizing the Prevention of Radicalisation and Extremism and Civic and Citizenship Education

The first part of this section will focus on how radicalization and extremism can be defined. The second part will look into different types of prevention of radicalization and extremism. The last part discusses the status of CCE internationally.

2.1 Defining Radicalization and Extremism

Several definitions of radicalization and extremism exist and the terms are sometimes used interchangeably. For this report, we use the definition of radicalization by Peels (2023: 12–13):

“The concept of radicalisation [...] concerns a shorter or longer temporal process in which certain developments take place: an individual, a group, or a social entity

moves from the moderate to the extreme – cognitively, behaviourally, or both – and, one could argue, all the way to extremism.”

According to this definition, radicalization can be seen as a process or processes that lead an individual or a group towards extremism. It thereby clearly differentiates between radicalization as a process and extremism as the outcome of this process. Campelo et al. (2018) distinguish between risk factors for radicalization among youth at the individual, micro-environmental and at the societal level. Individual risk factors can be psychological vulnerabilities, perceived injustice and personal uncertainty. Micro-environmental risk factors include family disfunction and having radicalized friends. At the societal level, geopolitical events and societal changes can be risk factors for radicalization (Campelo et al. 2018).

Extremism is a broad term and can include different forms of extremism, e.g. right-wing extremism and religious extremism. The Government of the United Kingdom (UK) updated their definition of extremism in March 2024 in order to respond to the increased extremist threat after the October 7 2023 attacks in Israel. The new definition of extremism of the UK Government is:

“Extremism is the promotion or advancement of an ideology based on violence, hatred or intolerance, that aims to:

- negate or destroy the fundamental rights and freedoms of others; or
- undermine, overturn or replace the UK’s system of liberal parliamentary democracy and democratic rights; or
- intentionally create a permissive environment for others to achieve the results in (1) or (2).” (Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities 2024)

This definition is quite broad in that it not only describes actions by a person itself, but also the creation of a permissive environment for others. This broad approach suits the approach of this research and the UK’s definition of extremism is therefore used in the report.

It is often young people that are drawn to radicalization and extremism. It is, therefore, fair to assume that some of the radical thoughts and attitudes develop during adolescence. Harpviken (2020) establishes, based on a literature review, six risk factors that play a critical role in the development of extremism among young people: mental illness, traumatic experiences, early socialization, perceived discrimination, social capital and delinquency. Eldor et al. (2022) developed a scale to measure resilience against radicalization and extremism in schools and tested it in Norwegian schools with pupils. Their study shows that an egalitarian school environment in which pupils perceive to be treated equally independent of their social background could build resilience against radicalization and extremism.

2.2 Primary and Secondary Prevention

This study will focus on the contribution of (civic and citizenship) education to the primary and secondary prevention of radicalization and extremism. Taken over from medical studies, it is possible to distinguish between primary prevention, secondary prevention and tertiary prevention of radicalization and extremism. Vermeulen/Visser (2021) conceptualize primary prevention as comprising of activities aimed at the prevention of violent extremism, thereby targeting large groups of people that have not yet shown any signs of radicalization or extremism. Primary prevention projects often include whole schools or communities. Secondary prevention concentrates on specific individuals that are perceived as vulnerable or have already shown signs of radical and extreme views, but have not been violent yet. Secondary prevention usually includes projects that focus on risk factors and try to intervene with individuals that are at risk. The objective is to try to turn them away from extreme thoughts and prevent the use of violence by these persons. The focal point of tertiary prevention are individuals that have already turned towards violent extremism, for example (returned) foreign fighters (Vermeulen/Visser 2021).

Since this study concentrates on the role (civic and citizenship) education could play in the prevention of radicalization and extremism, the focus will be on primary and secondary prevention. Within primary prevention, the research will analyze the extent to which lessons or special projects within the classroom aim to support young students in becoming resilient to radicalization and extremism. In relation to secondary prevention, the study will conduct an international comparison regarding the approach that schools take towards young people that they deem as vulnerable or susceptible to radicalization and extremism.

2.3 CCE Internationally

As the report of the *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2022* points out, there is a great variety in how CCE is organized in different countries (Schulz et al. 2023). In some countries, CCE is a specific subject area; in others, it is part of the curriculum, but integrated into various related subjects; and in yet other countries, it is a cross-curricular learning area. In England, civic and citizenship education¹ is a specific subject, whereas in Norway, in the new curriculum from 2020, CCE is one of three overarching goals. So, in Norway, CCE is seen as an interdisciplinary cross-curricular learning area.

All European countries have included CCE in their national curriculum for general education (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2017), which shows that CCE is seen as import-

¹ The subject at schools is called "citizenship education" in England. The subject contents, however, cover "civic and citizenship education." For that reason, the term civic and citizenship education or its abbreviation CCE will be used in this study, also when referring to the English school subject.

ant across Europe. However, there is a great variety in the time and attention being paid towards CCE. In 2017, although all European countries did value CCE, there were still many countries in which there was a lack of good quality teacher training in CCE. In many countries, guidelines for teachers about the assessment of CCE were absent (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2017). So, within Europe, but certainly also across the world, there are many differences in the organization of and the emphasis that is being placed on CCE.

CCE does not only differ structurally between European countries, but also to some degree regarding its content. However, the definition presented in the *Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education* has gained widespread acceptance (Abs 2021). It defines CCE as:

“Education, training, dissemination, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and moulding their attitudes and behaviour, to empower them to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law.” (Council of Europe 2010: 5–6).

It is noteworthy that this definition already combines the notions of individual empowerment and protection of democratic governance. The security provided by the rule of law in a democratic system is implicitly seen as a precondition for emancipation. However, the *Charter* is a politically agreed document by the education ministers of the back then 47 member states of the Council of Europe. Obviously, it cannot reflect the full professional debate and practice in European countries today.

Since the content, the organization of and the emphasis on CCE differ greatly between countries, this study will focus on the relationship between the prevention of radicalization and extremism and CCE in countries where CCE is a clearly distinguishable field and a separate subject area in schools. In countries where CCE is not a separate field, the study will seek to find out whether or not the prevention of radicalization and extremism is covered within school education in general.

3. The Interaction Between the Prevention of Radicalization and Extremism and Education

In terms of institutionalized opportunities, education can clearly be seen as a place for the prevention of radicalization and extremism of young people, since education and schools reach almost all young people. Young people in all countries tend to spend a considerable amount of time in schools, which means that schools can be seen as having a potentially

large influence on their development. There are, however, also opponents of including education and specifically schools in P/CVE.

This section will discuss these debates about involving (civic and citizenship) education in the prevention of radicalization and extremism using the example of the *Prevent duty* in the UK that has sparked a large debate after its introduction. In addition, criticism on the *Prevent duty* and its implementation in practice are being discussed. After that, the section will look into the possible effects of multi-professional cooperation between professionals from the field of (civic and citizenship) education and professionals from the field of preventing radicalization and extremism.

3.1 The *Prevent Duty* in the United Kingdom

The *Prevent duty* is set out in Section 26 of the *Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015*. It places a responsibility on specified authorities, including educational institutions, to prevent individuals from becoming involved in terrorism. The statutory *Prevent duty guidance* for England and Wales that was revised in March 2024 states:

“13. The aim of Prevent is to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism. Prevent also extends to supporting the rehabilitation and disengagement of those already involved in terrorism.

14. The Prevent duty requires specified authorities such as education, health, local authorities, police and criminal justice agencies (prisons and probation) to help prevent the risk of people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism. It sits alongside long-established safeguarding duties on professionals to protect people from a range of other harms, such as substance abuse, involvement in gangs, and physical and sexual exploitation. The duty helps to ensure that people who are susceptible to radicalisation are supported as they would be under safeguarding processes.” (Home Office 2024)

The introduction of the *Prevent duty* made it statutory for educational professionals, such as teachers, to report young people they deemed to be susceptible to radicalization and extremism to the relevant institutions. Alongside the *Prevent duty*, the *Promotion of Fundamental British Values* was introduced in the *Prevent strategy* of 2011. The guidance (not statutory) states that all schools should actively promote the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs (Department for Education 2014).

3.2 Responses Towards the *Prevent Duty*

The introduction of the *Prevent duty* led to a lot of criticism in scientific literature. One of the main points of criticism is that by requiring schools and teachers to report students to the authorities when they might be seen as susceptible to radicalization and extremism, the *Prevent duty* leads to the securitization of education (Edwards 2021). According to that, the focus of schools would be rather on surveillance than on safeguarding under the *Prevent duty* (Edwards 2021; Taylor/Soni 2017). Taylor/Soni (2017) argue that the problematic culture of surveillance that could develop in schools as a result of the *Prevent duty*, creates schools where there is no room for discussion and debate of radical views. This in turn would lead to the further alienation of groups that already feel alienated and villainized.

A second criticism regarding the *Prevent duty* is that its focus lies disproportionately on Islamic radicalization and that the *Prevent duty* is thereby potentially discriminatory against Muslims (Fernandez 2024; Lakhani/James 2021). This disproportionate focus on Islamic radicalization and extremism contributes to a school climate in which Muslim teachers feel under surveillance themselves (Fernandez 2024). However, not only the *Prevent duty* is criticized for its emphasis on Islamic extremism and the neglect of other types of radicalization and extremism, for example right-wing extremism. According to James (2022), the coverage of the *Fundamental British Values* in schools feeds into the right-wing narrative, which means that the requirement of schools to promote these values would reinforce the narratives of the Far-Right.

These points of criticism on the *Prevent duty* are often brought up in theoretical academic reflections. There are, however, also some studies analyzing the responses towards the *Prevent duty* within the education system. Elwick/Jerome (2019) looked into the tensions that teachers and schools experience in balancing their surveillance duties and the education of their students. They indicate that most teachers find their own ways of dealing with these tensions and develop their own interpretations of the *Prevent duty* and the teaching of *Fundamental British Values*. The teachers' exercising agency in this regard results into big differences within and across schools in the UK in how the *Prevent duty* and the *Fundamental British Values* are implemented. Busher et al. (2019) have conducted 70 interviews and an online survey among 225 educational professionals to establish educational responses to the *Prevent duty* in practice. They conclude that the criticism voiced is not reflected by educational professionals in practice. On the contrary, there seems to even be some positive acceptance. This finding suggests that the response to the *Prevent duty* by professionals working in the educational field might be different to the criticism that circulates in academia.

3.3 Multiprofessional Cooperation

Not much research has been conducted investigating multiprofessional cooperation between the field of the prevention of radicalization and extremism on the one hand and the (civic and citizenship) educational field on the other hand. Research has however looked into multiprofessional cooperation in school settings more generally. This section will use that research to describe different forms of cooperation and discuss potential benefits of multiprofessional cooperation for the fields of P/CVE and (civic and citizenship) education.

Multiprofessional cooperation can consist of intra-professional cooperation or interprofessional cooperation (Wicki/Törmänen 2025). Intra-professional cooperation means that professionals from the same profession (e.g. two teachers from the same school) are working together to achieve a common goal. Interprofessional cooperation is the collaboration between professionals from different professions. It is this interprofessional cooperation between prevention professionals and educational professionals in order to achieve the prevention of radicalization and extremism of young people that is the focus of this study.

Gräsel et al. (2006) distinguish between three different forms of cooperation: The first form of cooperation is the mutual exchange of information and materials. The second form of cooperation is the division of labor, where professionals divide tasks consciously among them. With the division of labor, it is necessary to set common goals and have a certain level of trust among each other. Yet, each professional still has some autonomy in carrying out their own task. The third and closest form of cooperation is co-construction, where professionals create a common knowledge base and, by working together (in pairs), enable common problem solutions. The intensity of the cooperation increases from exchange to co-construction (Böhm-Kasper et al. 2016). There is however not one type of cooperation that is better than the other, but it rather is the specific task or goal that determines which form of cooperation works best in a specific situation (Reinsdorf/Ehlert 2025).

By transferring these different forms of cooperation to the fields of prevention and education, one could identify possible benefits of cooperation. The exchange of information and materials among professionals might contribute to a unified perception of the educational context in which P/CVE could take place, which in turn would lead to a more unified approach. Young people might gain trust, since they will experience fewer differential methods from different professionals. The division of labor means that two professionals do not have to exercise the same task, thereby decreasing the work load and increasing the efficiency of professionals from both fields. Finally, professionals could combine their perspectives on the situation through co-construction. This might encourage them to learn from the others' viewpoints and contribute to the professionalization of both fields.

Coming from a CCE perspective in Germany, Schlicht-Schmälzle et al. (2021) argue that a cooperation between the field of P/CVE and the field of CCE is promising, as long as it is based on the primary objectives of CCE. They indicate that the focus of CCE is not only on providing knowledge around political institutions, but also on promoting participation and engagement. In doing so, CCE contributes to personality development among young people, which in turn may play a part in the prevention of radicalization and extremism. But also, the other way around, the prevention field could contribute to CCE by identifying social conflicts and problematic trends at an early stage and providing information about them. In addition, prevention professionals are able to share their experiences with formats focusing on specific target groups, that could also be used within CCE (Schlicht-Schmälzle et al. 2021). So, there seem to be multiple ways in which both fields could benefit from cooperation.

4. Methods

A mixed-methods design was chosen to answer the following research questions that were introduced in the introduction:

- How are the prevention of radicalization and extremism and (civic and citizenship) education related to each other internationally?
- What is the interaction between the prevention of radicalization and extremism and (civic and citizenship) education in two exemplary countries: England and Norway?
- How do professionals from the fields of P/CVE and (civic and citizenship) education cooperate in England and Norway?

The quantitative part of the study was mainly used to answer the first research question and consisted of an international survey with closed and open questions among 30 P/CVE experts in twelve countries across the world. To enable answering the second and third research question, England and Norway served as case studies for the exclusively qualitative part of this study. This part consisted of eleven semi-structured interviews with professionals working in the fields of CCE or P/CVE in England and Norway.

4.1 International Survey Among P/CVE Experts

To address RQ1, an international survey on P/CVE, that was implemented by GPPI in the autumn of 2024, was extended by several open and closed questions about the field of CCE and the cooperation between the field of CCE and P/CVE. The survey was completed by 30 experts (independent from the government) in the field of P/CVE in twelve different countries across the world: Australia, Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Czech Republic, Indonesia, Kenya,

the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Tunisia, United Kingdom and the United States. The data were analyzed using SPSS statistics.

A relatively small sample of experts completed the survey, this means that for each country only two or three experts filled out the survey. The goal of the survey, therefore, was not to gain representative knowledge for the twelve countries involved, but rather to search for a typology across experts. In addition, the survey enabled an international comparison that sought to find out whether there are bigger differences within or across the participating countries in regard to the cooperation between P/CVE and CCE.

4.2 England and Norway as Case Studies

England and Norway served as case studies for the second part of this mixed-methods research design. A case study design was chosen, because it allows for a more in-depth understanding of what happens in practice. By having two countries serving as case studies, the study can compare approaches taken in relation to P/CVE in CCE in both countries. England and Norway were chosen, because both countries have a considerable focus on CCE. In addition, both England and Norway have a history of terrorist attacks, but an initial literature review indicated that they seem to have chosen different responses towards it.

Both in England and Norway, in-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted to examine the interaction between the prevention of radicalization and CCE in practice. All interviewees gave informed consent, agreed to the interview being recorded and were informed about their right to withdraw from the study. It was also agreed that the interviews would be transcribed, but that the recordings and transcriptions would only be used for research purposes. Quotes and paraphrases from the interviewees are reported anonymously, referring to the number of the interviewee of whom a short role description is provided in Table 1.

In England, six interviews were conducted with a variety of professionals involved in the fields of either (civic and citizenship) education or the prevention of radicalization and extremism. The five interviews in Norway also covered a variety of views from different professional angles. In both countries, the people interviewed were working across the country. This means, that regional and local differences are reflected in the interviews. The objective of the interviews, however, was not to create a representative view of the interaction and cooperation between P/CVE and (civic and citizenship) education for each of the countries or a specific region. The main goal was to obtain examples for each of the countries and to gather professional opinions on whether cooperation was seen as beneficial and, if so, what would be the best way to establish a fruitful cooperation between the fields of P/CVE and CCE.

To this end, eleven interviews were conducted in total. To select the interviewees, snowball sampling was used. The interviews took place between October 2024 and June 2025 and the average duration was about 45 minutes. The shortest interview lasted 27 minutes and the longest 59 minutes. Table 1 shows the list of interviewees with their job descriptions and the country in which they were working. Quotes will be assigned to the specific interviewee by adding for example (interviewee 9) to the quote.

Tab. 1: The job descriptions of the eleven interviewees in England and Norway.

Interviewee	Job Description
England	
1	Executive director of an organization focusing on improving citizenship education across England
2	Supporting citizenship education in a multi-academy trust of schools, previously a citizenship education teacher
3	Director for personal development in a multi-academy trust and head/teacher of citizenship education at one of the schools
4	Local <i>Prevent</i> officer
5	<i>Head of Safeguarding</i> in a multi-academy trust
6	Local <i>Prevent</i> officer
Norway	
7	Associate Professor with research interests in teacher education, democracy and critical thinking
8	Executive director of an organization focusing on strengthening democracy through education. Previously worked on a national learning program to prevent extremism after the 22/7 2011 terrorist attacks on Utøya and in Oslo
9	Coordinator between a Norwegian municipality and the police in order to prevent crime, with children and youth as the main target group. Main work areas are crime, radicalization and democracy as well as youth participation and children's participation in the processes of the municipality
10	Upper secondary education teacher, teaching Norwegian, Social Studies and Religious Studies
11	Inclusion coordinator and teaching Norwegian at a youth school

The interviews have all been conducted over *Zoom*. The interviews were recorded and transcribed using the *MAXQDA Automatic transcription software*. *MAXQDA* was also used to conduct the thematic analysis of the interviews.

5. International Survey Among Experts in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism

This section will present the results from the international survey among 30 experts from 12 countries around the world in which they answered closed and open questions in relation to CCE and P/CVE.

5.1 The Fields of CCE and P/CVE Internationally

According to the experts, CCE does not exist as a distinct working area in all participating countries (see Table 2). More than half of the experts expressed that CCE did not exist as a separate educational field in their country. In half of the countries, experts' responses deviated from another. Only in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Indonesia all experts reported the existence of CCE as a separate field. In four other countries, namely Norway, the United States, Côte d'Ivoire and Australia, all experts agreed that CCE was not a distinct working area that was separated from other educational fields.

CCE not being a distinct field does however not necessarily mean that the attention for it is lower. For example, one of the Norwegian experts emphasized the interdisciplinarity of CCE in Norway:

“Civic/citizenship education is interdisciplinary in the Norwegian education system, meaning that several thematic areas/subjects cover parts of civic citizenship (e.g. under religion, social studies, geography). Topics include democracy, human rights, critical thinking, and participation in society. The overarching educational framework emphasizes fostering democratic citizenship as part of the core objectives of the Norwegian school system, yet ‘civic education’ is not a subject of itself. Schools are increasingly teaching about radicalization and P/CVE, but mostly in larger cities. Teachers get no training.” (Norwegian P/CVE expert)

This indicates that although CCE is not a separate field in Norway, there is still much attention for the promotion of democratic citizenship in education. For the experts that did not view CCE as a separate field in their country, the questions were formulated in a way that they would focus on the relationship between P/CVE and education in general rather than CCE.

Tab. 2: Experts about the existence of CCE as a separate field in their country.

	Yes	No	Total
Europe			
Czech Republic	1	2	3
The Netherlands	3	0	3
Norway	0	2	2
Spain	1	1	2
United Kingdom	2	0	2
Asia			
Indonesia	3	0	3
North America			
Canada	1	2	3
United States	0	2	2
Africa			
Côte d'Ivoire	0	2	2
Kenya	2	1	3
Tunisia	1	1	2
Australia			
Australia	0	3	3
Total	14	16	30

The experts also indicated to what extent certain structures for CCE exist in their country (see Table 3 in the Appendix).

Since the respondents were all experts in the area of P/CVE in their country and this was also the main topic of the survey, they were not asked whether P/CVE existed as a special field in their country. However, experts did answer questions about the different structures that exist for P/CVE in their countries (see Table 4 in the Appendix).

The 30 experts that completed the survey were all selected based on their expertise in the field of P/CVE. This means that they were in some cases less aware of the existing structures on CCE in their country. This is corroborated by the higher number of “don’t knows”

about the structures for CCE compared to the structures for P/CVE. One of the experts also mentioned this in the open question asking about evaluations of projects/programs in which the two fields cooperate:

“Not that I’m aware of but I’m less expert on citizenship education so I’m not sure.”
(British P/CVE expert)

The fact that only P/CVE experts were addressed in this survey could result in less knowledge about the existing structures in the field of CCE among the respondents. Figure 1 compares the experts’ answers on existing structures within the fields of CCE and P/CVE. The main difference between the two fields seems to be that, to the knowledge of the respondents, government agencies and professional outcome standards for P/CVE exist in more countries than they do for CCE.

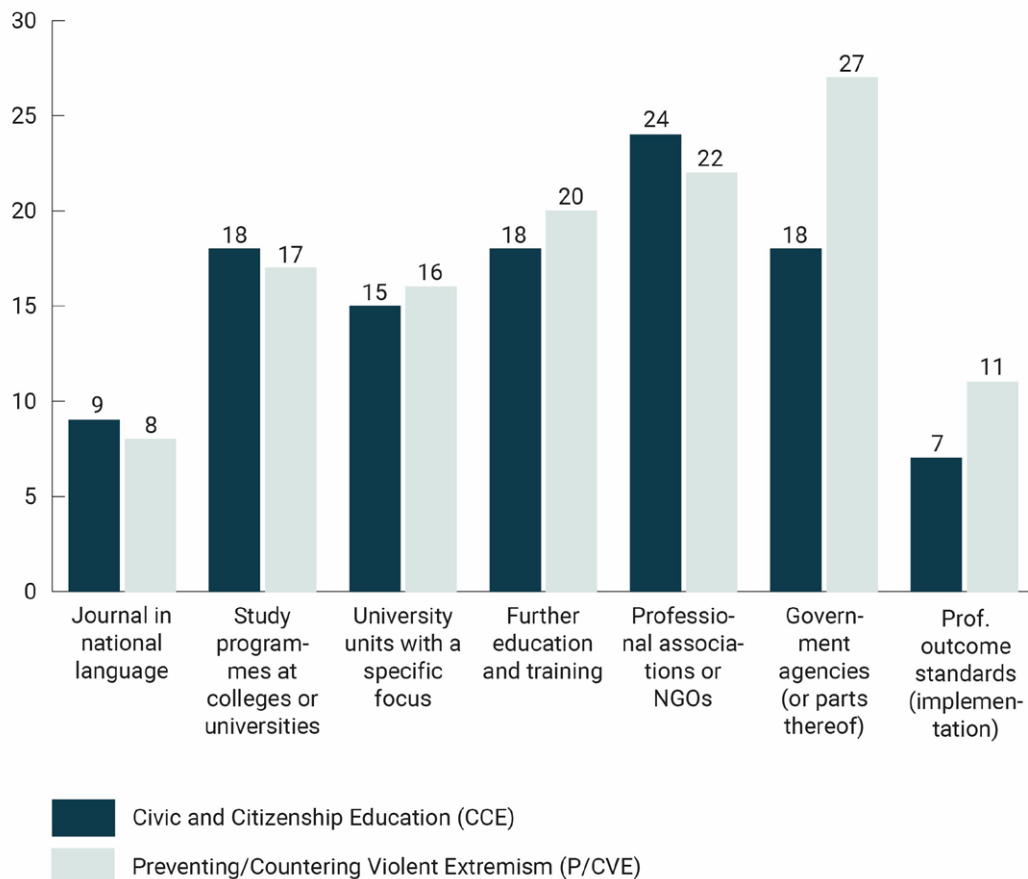


Fig. 1: Experts’ views on existing structures on CCE and P/CVE in their country (N=30).

5.2 Cooperation and Exchange Between the Fields of (Civic and Citizenship) Education and P/CVE Internationally

In the survey, the experts were asked to assess the level of cooperation and exchange in their country for different areas. Figure 2 shows the number of experts that believed there was frequent, widespread cooperation and exchange or some cooperation and exchange between the fields of CCE and P/CVE. Among the other experts, some did not know and others stated that there was no cooperation and exchange between the two fields. According to the respondents, most cooperation and exchange takes place within academia and at the government level, whereas within youth work and social work outside schools, frequent cooperation and exchange between the field of CCE and P/CVE seems to be rather rare. Only one of the Indonesian experts reported frequent, widespread cooperation and exchange in the area of youth work and social work outside of schools.

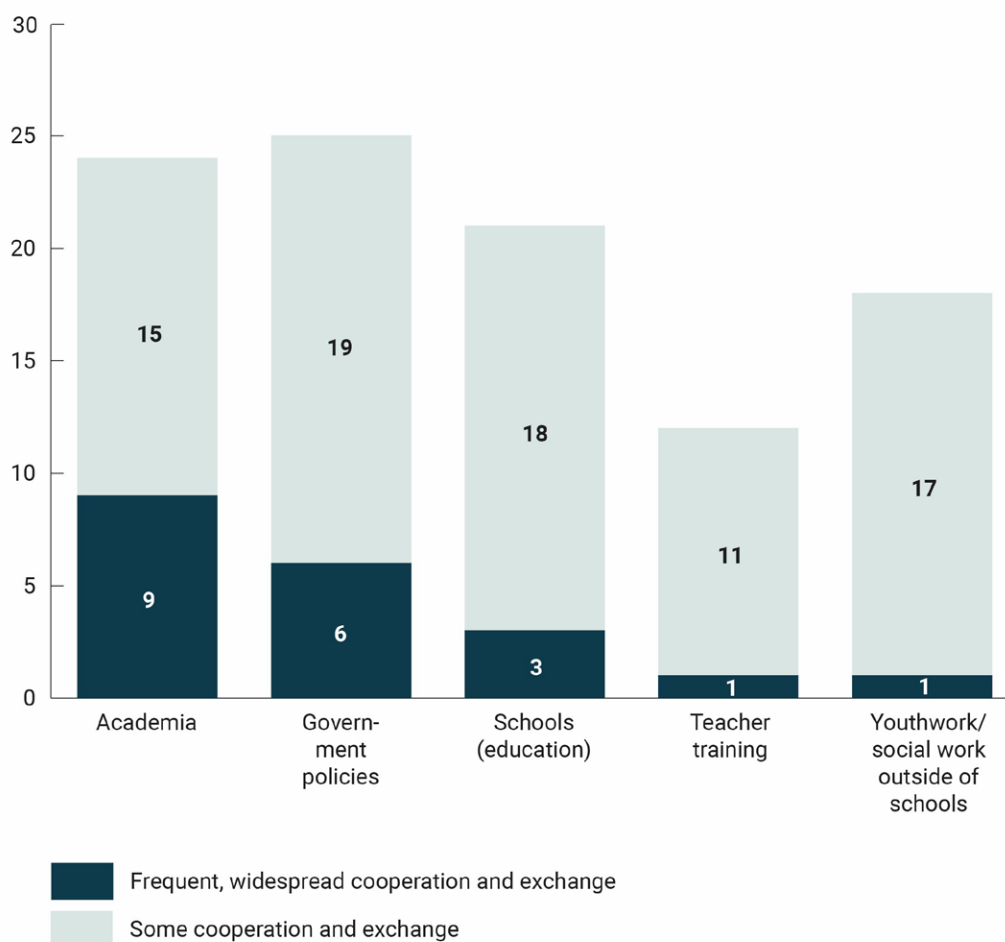


Fig. 2: Experts' views on cooperation and exchange between the fields of (CC)E and P/CVE in different areas (N=30).

In an open question, the experts were asked to provide more details on the level of cooperation and exchange between the two fields in their country. The P/CVE experts seemed to be most aware of cooperation and exchange at the level of the government and/or in academia. In Canada, it seems to be mainly the government that puts effort into encouraging more cooperation and exchange at other levels:

“Aside from strong cooperation between government policy there is limited engagement across other sectors. Some work is being done in bringing together practitioners and academics and there have been some work in training social workers, educators and working schools. However, many of these cooperation’s have been funded by or led by the government.” (Canadian P/CVE expert)

An Australian P/CVE expert describes a similar trend, in which the government tries to establish cooperation and exchange, but this is leading to criticism in academia and resistance in out-of-school education.

“In academia, there is a lot of cooperation and exchange between these domains, largely because P/CVE researchers have been critical of some government efforts to link these areas by over-emphasis on cultural or ethnic minorities, but also in recognition of the importance of fostering sense of national belonging through civics and citizenship pathways. There is some cooperation and exchange on P/CVE and citizenship/civics education because of the role in the national curriculum of civics education. Youth work and social work have previously engaged in some P/CVE training and linked work on civics but have more recently maintained a resistant or reluctant attitude towards engaging with anything involving P/CVE.” (Australian P/CVE expert)

Similarly, in the Netherlands, the government struggles to get schools to participate in cooperation and exchange with the P/CVE field:

“In general, government would like have a lot more cooperation between civic education and P/CVE fields, but it remains difficult to get schools to cooperate.” (Dutch P/CVE expert)

Other P/CVE experts argue that in their countries, the two fields remain very much separate and therefore cooperation and exchange is very limited.

“Generally, they are not labelled as such but there are ties between primary level actions and P/CVE. P/CVE sometimes emphasizes the issue of patriotism but it remains quite shallow. I would generally say that the two fields are still worlds apart due to lack of knowledge and interest to understand the problem.” (Kenyan P/CVE expert)

“Cooperation between civic/citizenship education and P/CVE is present but limited. There is some collaboration in academia, particularly in research on social cohesion and radicalization. In government and schools, both fields overlap on topics like tolerance and democratic values, but they remain separate. Teacher training and youth work see informal exchange, but explicit integration between the two fields is still developing.” (Czech P/CVE expert)

Finally, in some countries, the P/CVE experts indicate that while there may be some local or regional initiatives for cooperation, there is no general consistent cooperation across the whole country:

“The level of cooperation is very low. There are programs such as the aforementioned manuals for secondary school teachers or the Fénix Andalucía program, which is implemented in a region in southern Spain. However, governmental efforts consist of very generic strategies with no clear framework or allocated budget. Meanwhile, in academia, some researchers have conducted studies on the topic, but these initiatives remain isolated.” (Spanish P/CVE expert)

“There is no formal activity on this, if it happens it is driven at an individual level.” (American P/CVE expert)

In conclusion, most national P/CVE experts are not aware of any large-scale cooperation between the fields of P/CVE and CCE in their country.

6. The Prevention of Radicalization and Extremism and Civic and Citizenship Education in England and Norway

This section will focus on the similarities and differences between England and Norway regarding the role that the prevention of radicalization and extremism plays in (civic and citizenship) education. Special attention will be given to the extent to which the fields of P/CVE and CCE collaborate with each other and the attitudes of professionals from both fields towards this cooperation. The findings presented in this section are derived from the interviews conducted for this study. Therefore, when the organization of CCE and the prevention of radicalization and extremism in the respective context is described, that is based on the views, experiences, opinions and knowledge of the interviewees.

6.1 CCE in England and Norway

CCE seems to have dropped from the agenda in England in recent years. Multiple interviewees claimed that there was too little attention paid towards CCE in many schools. Although CCE is part of the national curriculum, there are many schools that do not include or insufficiently include CCE in their lessons.

“So, the statutory curriculum exists at what we call Key Stage three, which is 11 to 14 and Key Stage four, 14 to 16. Technically, every student should have citizenship from 11 to 16 who are who’s in a state school that says it’s following the national curriculum. The reality often is that at 14, their curriculum is dominated by qualification subjects. So, if you haven’t chosen citizenship, you may not get what you’re actually entitled to. It depends on the priority the school have given the subject. So, some schools make sure every student has it, some schools don’t. And it’s quite a mixed picture at the moment.” (Interviewee 1)

The reason that schools are able to decide whether or not they teach CCE, despite the subject being part of the national curriculum, is that academies² do not have to follow the national curriculum. Interviewee 2 explained that this leads to a great variety in the attention that is being paid towards CCE in both primary and secondary schools, since the vast majority of schools are academies.

According to interviewee 1, the *Ofsted* inspections also show that CCE is not high on the list of government priorities during the time of the interviews. She described the shift in *Ofsted* inspections in relation to citizenship education:

“And actually, we’ve just written to Ofsted recently challenging them again on the approach they’ve taken with regards to citizenship, because it’s the only national curriculum subject that’s looked at by Ofsted in a different kind of way to the other subjects. [...] We’ve just examined 188 inspection reports and found a really tiny fraction included any reporting of citizenship. And even where it was reported, it was literally a couple of words and it didn’t really mean much. So, there’s a real kind of issue and tension there. This is all symptomatic, to be honest, of the ideology that’s been driving the education system in England under the previous government.” (Interviewee 1)

In Norway, the situation in relation to CCE seems the other way around. The new curriculum that was introduced in 2020 includes the subject of “Democracy and Citizenship” as one of three interdisciplinary subjects for both primary and secondary schools. So, with this new curriculum, the Norwegian government expects an even stronger focus from schools on CCE:

“So, there’s a big focus on it. It’s something that the teachers have to do. And it’s not like there wasn’t a big focus on it previously as well. But now it’s even more

² Academies receive funding directly from the government and are run by an academy trust. They have more control over how they do things than community schools; for example, they do not have to follow the national curriculum and can set their own term times. Academies do not charge fees and, like other state schools, are subject to inspections by the *Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills (Ofsted)*. They must also comply with the same regulations on admissions, special educational needs, and exclusions, and students sit the same exams. Some schools decide to become academies voluntarily, as part of their own governance decisions. If a school funded by the local authority is rated “inadequate” by *Ofsted*, it must become an academy (UK Government n.d.). For more information on the different types of school in the UK, see <https://www.gov.uk/types-of-school/academies> (last accessed: 10.12.2025).

because now it's going to be in all subjects. But the problem? Well, the challenge, I think it's good it's there. But the challenge is also how much time do we really have to spend on these subjects." (Interviewee 7)

To sum up, it appears that there are clear differences in the governmental emphasis on citizenship education in Norway and England. Although CCE has a lower priority in England, it is still part of the national curriculum and there are schools that prioritize CCE.

6.2 P/CVE in England and Norway

Both in England and Norway, the interviewees do see a role for education to contribute to the prevention of radicalization and extremism of young people. However, interviewees differ in the extent to which they feel P/CVE should be the responsibility of the schools. In addition, the governmental guidance on whether or not schools should play a role in P/CVE is completely different in England and Norway.

6.2.1 The Prevent Duty and Fundamental British Values in Practice

Since the introduction of the *Prevent duty* in the UK, English schools have a statutory role in P/CVE. Besides this statutory duty to report any students that might be susceptible to radicalization and extremism there is also governmental guidance that schools should promote the *Fundamental British Values*, which are: democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs.

The *Prevent duty* means that schools have a duty to report young people that they believe might be susceptible to radicalization and extremism. In practice, all schools have a *designated safeguarding lead* (DSL) that is responsible, among other tasks, for reporting young people to the relevant institutions when there are concerns about radicalization. Although the reporting process can vary across regions or schools, in many schools it looks like this:

"They would usually have this kind of, you know, math teacher who kicks it up to the chain, to the designated safeguarding lead, who will then get in contact with Prevent or go through a national referral form. But, you know, there's nothing stopping the teacher themselves getting in contact and putting the national referral form. It all depends on their internal process. Now, some areas may be lucky enough to have a designated Prevent spot that you can talk to. And teachers would then be encouraged to have that conversation with them. I encourage that in my area. Some areas may not have that. And so, they either can seek consultation from the Home Office or more likely, just make the referral straight through this national referral process." (Interviewee 6)

After a referral has been made by a school, the police will decide if the case will be discussed in *Channel*. *Channel* is a multi-agency panel, involving the key institutions in relation to a young person, like the police, the local authority, education and sometimes the person making the referral. If the police decides that a case meets the threshold for being referred to *Channel*, it gets heard. *Channel* will then decide to either reject or accept the case. If the case is rejected, it will be referred back to the school. If *Channel* accepts the case, they can either refer to other relevant services (e.g. mental health services) or, when they see a credible threat of radicalization, an intervention provider will be issued. Cooperation from the young person with this intervention provider is on a voluntary basis, since no crime has been committed. Interviewee 5 described an example of a case where a young person had been discussed in *Channel* and was provided with an intervention provider:

“It wasn’t hugely successful because, you know, like most cases, these are highly complex cases. It’s not just let’s put a worker in and then we’ll wave a magic wand and the child is better. It just doesn’t work like that, does it?” (Interviewee 5)

This example emphasizes the complexity of the cases and raises the question whether providing a young person with an intervention provider is a suitable way of dealing with concerns of radicalization and extremism. One of the prevent officers mentioned that they themselves will deal with cases where the threshold for being discussed in *Channel* has not been met:

“We do get involved in casework. So, with an individual who had concerns that we can intervene, we can talk to that person. So, there’s been various cases like that where someone was expressing vulnerability and expressing or presenting as having been exposed to extremist ideas, whether it’s online or through their own research or through family and friend networks where we’ve tried to sit down with that person, talk to them, encourage them to do activities. So, this has been various cases like that. So, the Channel generally will manage a lot of those cases, but cases that don’t meet the threshold for entering a Channel. We will speak to schools directly and say can you put in some support? We can go and talk to the person 1 to 1 a few times. If that helps, we can encourage them to join a football club or a sports club or some local organizations as a good distraction as well, and upon an alternative means to find purpose and identity and belonging. So, we’ve done many, many, many of those cases like that. And in most cases where we do get involved, the issues go away.” (Interviewee 4)

This *Prevent* officer was rather positive about the success of such interventions and stressed the importance of activities to help young people to feel connected to the community. While there are reports like this about the success of interventions, in the field of P/CVE, it is often difficult to know how effective an intervention has been, since it is unclear what would have happened without it. In addition, it is very well possible that the interven-

tion does not change the views and opinions of a young person, but rather causes them to keep their thoughts for themselves:

“We don’t always know they [the issues] have gone away because they’ve completely changed their mind or they’ve realized, oh my God, I’m in trouble here. I better be quiet. I better be more careful. You don’t always know what’s going on in someone’s mind. And we don’t have that kind of regular contact with them to know that, oh, my God, this person’s a different person now. All we know is the school says, okay, this is no longer an issue for us. This person seems to be okay now.” (Interviewee 4)

Most schools in England have organized secondary prevention, after the introduction of the *Prevent duty*, in such a way that individual teachers report concerns to the DSL, who then decides whether the case should be referred to the *Prevent* officer or the local authority. The *Prevent duty* has also led to more primary prevention, in which schools and teachers have more actively included topics that could contribute towards P/CVE in their lessons to all students:

“So, it’s explicit teaching [what radicalization and extremism are], but it’s also part of our school values et cetera as well. [...] So, I would say, yes, it’s definitely changed. We’re certainly more aware of that as school teachers. Previously to that, we wouldn’t have had that as part of our safeguarding, training, and I wouldn’t have had that as part of my curriculum either. Explicitly teaching about those issues wouldn’t have been something I would necessarily have taught about. I would have taught about what wouldn’t have been called British values, but I would have talked about and taught about things like democracy and rule of law. I would have taught about those through citizenship education, but it wouldn’t have been, you know, linked to *Prevent duty* at all.” (Interviewee 3)

This interviewee makes a distinction between teaching what extremism and radicalization are and focusing on specific values that might prevent students from getting drawn into radicalization and extremism. And although it is not statutory, there is a strong governmental guidance in England that requires schools to promote the *Fundamental British Values*. Most interviewees argued that they do not like them being called “British”, but that they do believe teaching those values in itself can be positive and could contribute to P/CVE. Some interviewees, however, also mentioned that the fact that *Ofsted* included the knowledge of the *Fundamental British Values* in their inspections was the very reason many schools were actually teaching them. Interviewee 2 also mentioned that when you are teaching CCE well, the British values would be covered automatically. Finally, many of the interviewees in England made remarks about both the *Prevent duty* and the promotion of the *Fundamental British Values* not being very high on the list of priorities anymore. There seem to be other topics that have taken over:

“Schools are not as active around this or as knowledgeable around this as other things. So, for example, the further up the agenda, I think, is violence against women and girls. Further up the agenda is county lines or criminal exploitation or sexual exploitation. So, I would say prevent if we’re just going to use that umbrella term, prevent is quite low down the list.” (Interviewee 5)

All English schools have processes in place to start secondary prevention in cases where pupils are deemed as vulnerable towards or at risk of radicalization and extremism. In addition, primary prevention is included in the curriculum of many schools. Nevertheless, according to the interviewees, P/CVE does not seem to be the priority in English schools at the moment.

6.2.2 The Increased Focus on P/CVE in Norwegian Education

In Norway, the 22/7 2011 terrorist attacks on Utøya and in Oslo have had a huge impact on society as a whole and on the education system. Interviewee 8 saw a shift from a focus on the militant Islamist threats of extremism towards more attention towards the threat of right-wing extremism. The terror attacks have worked as a trigger to increase the focus on P/CVE not only within education, but in the Norwegian society as a whole:

“Definitely, after 2011, or the 22nd of July. It has been really, really emphasized so much more. And there is or there came quite a few reports, about how to prevent radicalization, in not only in school but in society, and out from that you have organizations being built to work against hate speech, for example.” (Interviewee 11)

This quote shows that schools also play a role in the prevention of radicalization and extremism in Norway. However, all Norwegian interviewees seemed to agree that P/CVE in Norwegian schools happens rather implicit, for example through learning about democracy and promoting critical thinking, rather than by explicitly teaching about what radicalization and extremism are. Secondly, the focus in Norwegian schools is very much on primary or universal prevention, rather than secondary prevention. In relation to secondary prevention, most interviewees indicated that teachers would really not like to report their students when they have concerns about possible radicalization, because they are afraid that this could impact the trust they are building with their students:

“And, I mean, I can’t speak on behalf of all the teachers, but I know from working in the schools and spending a lot of time in the schools, most teachers have a real problem, I believe, with having to tell on their pupils. So they work so hard to build this trust and this relationship with the pupils that they don’t want to jeopardize that.” (Interviewee 7)

“So, I think teachers, at least the teachers we work with, they know that their role is to be supportive. They’re very concerned about their relationship with all the students. They want to connect with their students. They want to build them up. They want to see the potential. So that’s their starting point. So when they ask us, what do I do when, one of my students, expresses, let’s say right wing extremist, hateful comments, it comes from a place where they are concerned about the students, where they want this person also to thrive in life.” (Interviewee 8)

Supporting the students is seen as very important, but schools do sometimes get confronted with students who express views that raise concerns about radicalization and extremism. In this case, the first step usually is to ask colleagues who are also teaching this particular student, whether or not they share these concerns. When this is the case, the next step for the teacher is to speak with the student:

“The first thing is always the pupil itself. If you are really concerned, we have this kind of levels to follow. First, the student’s parents, police if really concerned. And I don’t know what you call that, the office or the system that takes care of children [Child Protection Service].” (Interviewee 11)

So, the emphasis is on building trust with and supporting students. After having a conversation with the student, the teacher may also involve the school principal and/or the parents. Both Norwegian teachers (Interviewees 10 and 11) also mentioned the possibility of discussing the case anonymously with the child protection service in order to receive guidance on what to do next. They would do this before contacting the police in relation to a student that might be susceptible to radicalization and extremism. Even in cases where secondary prevention might be necessary, in Norway, schools and teachers first try to intervene themselves and then choose a welfare route over a legal route if possible.

6.3 The Interaction Between P/CVE and (Civic and Citizenship) Education

The previous sections already touched upon the role that education and CCE in particular might play in the primary prevention of radicalization and extremism. Since the research literature does not provide clear and specific ways in which CCE can contribute to P/CVE, this section will focus on professional views around this topic. In addition, the professionals’ perspectives on the role of schools in P/CVE will be discussed.

6.3.1 The Contribution of CCE to P/CVE

Interviewees in both countries agreed that there are several ways in which citizenship education could contribute to the prevention of radicalization and extremism among young people. Many of the things mentioned are general goals of CCE and will, therefore, probably

not only contribute to the prevention of radicalization and extremism but might have an impact on other topics as well. Sometimes, the different ways in which CCE might contribute to P/CVE, as expressed by the professionals, are intertwined or mentioned in combination with other aspects. The contributions to P/CVE that were mentioned most often are discussed below.

Building democratic skills, learning through and for democracy.

Interviewees mentioned that by improving the democratic competencies of young people, they might become less vulnerable towards radicalization and extremism. One of the Norwegian interviewees emphasized building democratic skills over just preventing, because it is more positive:

“And I think this duality of preventing extremism, conspiracy, racism, group thinking and building democratic culture is like two sides of the same coin. And I think it’s important to have both, but when we are choosing, we are focusing more on democracy and like building stuff than preventing because it’s more positive. And I think in the longer run it’s a more fruitful strategy. Of course, you have the challenge that building democracy should be important in itself and shouldn’t be done because we should prevent radicalization. So, it’s like how you talk about it.” (Interviewee 9)

In England as well, many interviewees pointed towards democratic skills being important for young people to be resilient against radicalization and extremism:

“It’s all part of building democratic understanding and resilience, so I don’t see it as different. I think there are specific tactics that teachers need to employ in certain contexts where those radicalized ideas are really causing a problem. But in general terms, we have to build an appetite for democracy, for participatory democracy and trust in the system again. And that’s a very challenging thing in this current world.” (Interviewee 1)

Also, the promotion of democratic activism and political participation was mentioned by one of the English *Prevent* officers (Interviewee 6) as a way to provide an alternative for radicalization and extremism. He argued that having a positive alternative narrative to the extremist one could lead to young people not going down the route of radicalization. The Norwegian and English interviewees, therefore, agreed that promoting democracy could be a way in which CCE contributes to P/CVE.

Teaching about values and anti-discrimination.

CCE also provides an opportunity to support young people by educating about values. According to the Norwegian interviewee 7, schools are the key place to teach values, since

people from all backgrounds, cultures and religions come together. Many interviewees in both countries did agree that it is very important to teach values. This also links to the teaching of the *Fundamental British Values* in England. However, as one of the interviewees in England pointed out, teaching values in schools will also lead to a debate about which values to teach:

“So, any kind of approach is going to be rooted in some sort of basic values. Without a value framework, it’s very hard to just develop resources outside of a value frame. It’s got to be, it can’t be value-free. But then, that’s a whole debate of what are those values and what do the representatives represent, the nation’s values or the school’s values, the ethos, the ethos and values debate is very important as well.” (Interviewee 4)

According to this interviewee, there is an ongoing debate about which values to focus on. It seems to be sometimes challenging for schools and teachers to decide which values to teach. However, for England, one could argue that the government has actually provided the schools with a value framework that they need to follow, namely the *Fundamental British Values*. Most English interviewees, despite not being in favor of the naming, do agree that the values that are part of the *Fundamental British Values* are important to be included in school education.

Discussing identity, learning about different cultures, creating a sense of belonging.

Some interviewees indicated that it is important to discuss the topic of identity in the classroom. Thereby, focusing on what makes an identity a unique identity on the one hand, but also whether there is a common identity between all the young people in a class, for example the belonging to the school community. Interviewee 2 also pointed out that it is important to discuss identity because it might help young people in dealing with pressures, they might receive from different actors in their environment (e.g. their parents). Interviewee 3 indicated the importance of including different cultures in case studies, not only in CCE but in other subjects as well:

“So, we try very carefully to make sure that our students feel represented in the lessons that we teach them as well through case studies. Examples, whether it be in history, whether it be in citizenship, so that they’re seeing role models, for example, or representation of different cultures, diversity, so that they feel included, and challenging stereotypes and prejudice and learning about what those are, but also challenging them through our teaching. So, I think there’s a huge amount that citizenship has to offer in terms of what it can do to challenge extremism and radicalization, to support students, not to go down that route as well and equip them with those tools of resilience.” (Interviewee 3)

One of the Norwegian teachers argued that schools should not only teach students about diversity and different cultures, but also create an inclusive setting and make sure every student gets a sense of belonging:

“What we do is to work very much on inclusion in school, and to create places for everyone to belong. So, belonging and, learning how to work together is very, very high lifted, I would say, in Norwegian schools. It is not up to the school itself to choose how to work on this. It’s kind of it’s very, very, very clear in our curriculums.” (interviewee 11)

So, both English and Norwegian professionals believe that CCE or education in general can contribute to P/CVE by discussing identity, providing a sense of belonging and creating an inclusive environment within schools.

Emphasizing young people’s voices.

According to the interviewees, it is important that schools are a place where young people feel free to express their opinions. Schools should be a safe place, where children are encouraged to use their voice, but at the same time also learn to respect the opinions and viewpoints of others. As an English citizenship education teacher (interviewee 3) put it: “Creating sort of safe spaces for discussion is really important.” One of her colleagues in Norway expressed the same point of view:

“So, we have the formal, democracy part, which is student council, and we’ve been working to get another structure to get it closer to the students, so their voices really should be heard at school. We also work on students’ voices at another level. How to learn to speak out. How to dare to be yourself. And how to open up. [...] I guess it’s more important than ever to make spaces for conversations where children and youth feel safe enough, to talk their case and to experience that they are being heard.” (Interviewee 11)

It is thus not only about encouraging young people to use their voice, but schools should also ensure that young people feel safe to express their opinions.

Encouraging critical thinking and building resilience.

Improving the critical thinking skills of young people was mentioned often by interviewees in both England and Norway as a way in which education can contribute to P/CVE. The idea is that when students learn how to think critically, they will become more resilient to attempts of drawing them into radicalization and extremism.

“What I think is important and not just in relation to this, but in relation to lots of things, is about supporting children to be critical thinkers. And that would come

through every subject. So, I'd like to see, because then you can take whatever it is that you're looking at. And generally, it's going to be online, isn't it? You can take what you're seeing online, and you can use that critical thinking approach to sort of make a judgement about what you're seeing as a child, because, you know, we've only got them well in secondary, we've only got them for five years. And then they go, don't they? So, do they fall off a cliff at the end of year 11. And because we haven't given them those critical thinking skills and skills to be able to sort of judge what they're reading, they're seeing, they're hearing, to be able to check out the veracity of it. And that's where I'd like to see it go. I'd like to see much more emphasis on that woven through lots of subjects." (Interviewee 5)

This interviewee raised the fact that much of the content young people will come across will be online. It is probably for that reason that many of the English and Norwegian professionals indicated that it is also very important to focus on students learning how to recognize fake news, so creating more media awareness among young people.

One of the English *Prevent* officers also believed in helping students to think for themselves, but he would not opt for using the term "critical thinking", which he perceived as a buzzword. In his opinion, emphasizing critical thinking too much makes young people critical of everything. He would rather see the focus on critical thinking balanced by providing students with facts, that enable them to make up their own mind:

"Education is very important, and I think we need to integrate it into the education system where people learn how to think as well as what to think. So just being, not just constantly putting out critical thinking that makes you critical of everything eventually in which you believe nothing. But you want to get people thinking about, you know, philosophy, history, politics, have a deep understanding of these issues, so they're not going to be captured by simplistic narrative." (Interviewee 4)

So, although there is some debate about which terminology to use, many of the interviewees expressed that employing students with skills to enable them to interpret information and to make up their own minds was vital for them to become resilient to the threats of radicalization and extremism.

6.3.2 Opinions on Covering P/CVE in (Civic and Citizenship) Education

All interviewees were asked if they believed schools should play a role in P/CVE. In addition, the interviewees in England were asked about the reaction of their colleagues when the *Prevent duty* was introduced. With the Norwegian interviewees, their opinions on covering the prevention of radicalization and extremism in education were discussed.

None of the interviewees experienced a great deal of resistance within schools in relation to covering P/CVE in education. Some English interviewees mentioned some resistance and confusion when the *Prevent duty* was first introduced, but according to them, there is more acceptance now. Others argued that teachers were rather neutral or cynical about it and saw it as yet another thing they would have to deal with, but at the same time did not really care about it very much. This is also connected to the question as to whether P/CVE should be the responsibility of schools. In this regard, the views of the interviewees within each country differed considerably. Some Norwegian and English interviewees stated that schools can play a role in preventing radicalization and extremism; however, they also believed that schools are asked to do too much and that schools cannot have the sole responsibility for P/CVE:

“So yes, they can, you know, but the trouble with this is that schools are asked to do so much. So, we, you know, we’re supposed to solve the ills of society. But yes, I do think the schools have a place, you know, that’s where children spend most of their day.” (Interviewee 5)

“But I think we have a curriculum and important goals, [...] also in my subject specifically, that gives us an important position in preventing it. But I don’t think we can lay the responsibility on the school even though my age group and the group I teach are in a part of their lives where they are very vulnerable for this kind of attitudes and even just finding themselves and who they are and what are their beliefs, and they spend a lot of time at school in, through the day. So of course, we’re an important area. We have to be a part of it, but it can’t be our responsibility.” (Interviewee 10)

Another Norwegian teacher, however, believed that school is actually the most important place for the prevention of radicalization and extremism of young people:

“I believe that the school is the most important place, because we have the whole population going through school. It’s where we all meet. That’s one thing, to get the skills and to learn and the attitudes that we need to prevent it. I also think that school is an extremely good place [...] and when you have a school that want to be, where you kind of, mix all kind of children, yes. A diverse school, people are put into rooms, I like to call it a Democratic laboratory, because you put them into a very small room, and they just have to fit in with all kind of people, right. So, according to how, what methods you use and how you meet these children and youth, you will shape the room they have for being themselves and accepting each other. So, I think the school is just super important.” (Interviewee 11)

One of the English *Prevent* officers agreed that schools are the best place for preventing radicalization and extremism, since early intervention works best:

“I think [schools are] the most fundamental part in the process, I think because, as I said, I really believe in the early-stage intervention. And so, obviously schools are best placed to do that. [...] I’ve seen the schools first hand be the safe space for young people to be exposed to good messaging if they’re in an environment, unfortunately, that’s quite negative in the home or in the community. So, you know, schools can offer that kind of wider holistic safeguarding. Schools have more contact hours with young people as well, so that provides [have] more opportunity to work with them on good learning outcomes and being there for them in need.” (Interviewee 6)

Overall, the interviews show that the English professionals were in favor of a larger role for P/CVE in CCE than the Norwegian professionals. Most Norwegian professionals were open for primary prevention within education, but not for secondary prevention because that could impact on the bond that teachers have established with their students.

Some of the interviewees in both England and Norway did mention that schools would also need more resources in order to be more effective in P/CVE. These resources should go partly towards the training of teachers or CCE teachers. In both countries, interviewees reported that there are some teachers that do not feel confident to discuss sensitive topics related to radicalization and extremism in the classroom. So, teacher training should equip teachers with more knowledge around these topics and how to deal with them in the classroom, so that teachers gain confidence to include radicalization and extremism in their lessons.

“I think definitely in terms of the skills we want to develop; I think it’s best to [have] citizenship education, and specialist citizenship teachers who’ve had that training around how to deal with controversial issues, sensitive issues. My concern is, as you said earlier, there are only two universities offering specialist citizenship education degrees, or teacher training. Sorry. So, there’s a concern about teacher training for me. And how we ensure that our teachers are skilled and confident in order to deliver these sensitive issues in the classroom. Quite often they are non-specialists, including in my own school. We have got a number of non-specialists delivering the content, so it’s about ensuring that they are confident, that they have tools to be able to do that.” (Interviewee 3)

In Norway, the lack of competence among teachers to discuss sensitive issues has been mentioned by one of the teachers as well:

“I know I talk more with my students about different difficult subjects than many other teachers do, and they are telling me that they’re surprised that I discussed this kind of things with my students. Because what if something comes up? What if someone says this or that? So, I know there are many teachers that are afraid of talking with their students about difficult subjects and controversial subjects. And this undermines the prevention efforts that we’re trying to do in school. And also avoiding these controversial topics prevents the students from developing

the important skills that they need to have, to meet disagreements on these kinds of emotionally charged and sensitive issues.” (Interviewee 10)

According to the crime prevention worker at the Norwegian municipality, it is also part of the Norwegian culture to avoid talking about difficult and sensitive topics:

“But still, it’s the Norwegian way of dealing with things like culturally is often not to talk about different, difficult stuff. We are shy of conflict as people and at least the majority culture is, like, more prone to just sweeping things under the rug.” (Interviewee 9)

All interviewees in both countries do see a role for schools in P/CVE. They differ, however, in the extent to which schools should be involved. In this regard, there is variety between interviewees within the same country. More generally, though, the English professionals would like a stronger focus on P/CVE in schools than the Norwegian professionals.

6.4 The Existence of Cooperation Between the Fields of P/CVE and (Civic and Citizenship) Education

This section focuses on the cooperation between the educational field and the prevention field. There are several organizations that work together in relation to P/CVE in both countries. This section will look into what forms of cooperations (exchange, division of labor and/or co-construction) exist between prevention professionals and educational professionals in order to prevent the radicalization and extremism of young people.

6.4.1 The Organisation of P/CVE Within Schools Varies Between Schools Within the Same Country

In both countries, the interviewees pointed out that the way in which P/CVE is organized varies considerable for different regions and different schools. This makes it difficult to identify general ways of cooperation between the fields of (civic and citizenship) education and prevention. Therefore, the interviewees were asked specifically about cooperation within their area or at their school.

The *Head of Safeguarding* of a multi-academy trust in England noted that since P/CVE is currently not the most fashionable topic, there is no active cooperation with other organizations:

“I would say probably not actively, no. [...] We’re not working against anybody, put it that way. I think that’s perhaps the easiest way to say it. So, we will respond when information is given to us from regional coordinators, education coordinators, for

example. But I would say there's nothing particularly, not that I'm aware of. There's nothing particularly active, about doing any prevent stuff." (Interviewee 5)

This quote shows that this professional was not aware of any form of intense cooperation (in the form of division of labor and co-construction) and only limited exchange.

The *Prevent* officers in England mentioned that their work consists of a reactive part, where they respond to cases in which there is a concern regarding a student in relation to radicalization and/or extremism, and a proactive part. Within this proactive part of their job, they are working with (some) schools on primary prevention, for example by providing workshops around certain topics. It is, however, always the school that decides if and in what way they would like to organize primary prevention of radicalization and extremism and thereby whether or not to cooperate with prevention officers. So, schools might ask *Prevent* officers to come into the school and discuss a certain topic with a certain class. This is an example of division of labor, where the expertise of the *Prevent* officer is used to address and discuss sensitive topics. However, the *Prevent* officers did make it clear, that this was only a small percentage of their work and only happened when schools invited them. So, at many English schools this cooperation in form of division of labor does not take place.

Both Norwegian teachers mentioned some ways in which their schools cooperate with other organizations to P/CVE.

"So, the police in Norway have an old prevention group that works specifically with our age group. So when, when they start in upper secondary school, they arrive at school and present themselves, talk about what their work is [...]. And they tell them about how that prevention program is to help them not go in the wrong direction in life and try to show them that there are adults they want them to go to if something happens. So, they are visiting us and talking about this, able to take questions. That is an important area and cooperation with school and police in Norway and we also have the opportunity to sign up for different projects from other organizations." (Interviewee 10)

So, the police come into this particular school to do some primary prevention work, which could be viewed as a division of labor. Alongside that, the school does have options to work on P/CVE on a project basis with other organizations. The situation in Norway seems similar to England in that schools decide if and how they would like to focus on P/CVE. If a school opts for emphasizing the prevention of radicalization and extremism that happens mostly through participating in or organizing a project around the topic. Some examples of these kinds of projects will be discussed in the next section.

6.4.2 Examples of School Projects Focusing on P/CVE

Both in England and Norway, many of the interviewees have given examples of projects focusing on P/CVE that are implemented at schools: In England, the *Association for Citizenship Teaching* (ACT) has developed a program that is called the deliberative classroom project:³

“It was partly designed to help teachers tackle complex and controversial and sensitive issues in classrooms in a way that is designed to give their students knowledge. Knowledge before they enter into forming ideas or sharing ideas [...]. And we find that often the person with citizenship teaching as their responsibility doesn't have that confidence, doesn't have that subject knowledge, and that's where they need more training and support.” (Interviewee 1)

The deliberative classroom project provided training and materials for teachers, but they also came into schools to lead some classes with the deliberative approach. When teachers and trainers are providing classes together, this could be seen as co-construction, although in this project, it is quite clearly the teacher that is being trained in order to become more confident and to be able to teach such classes themselves in a more deliberative way. For actual co-construction, the cooperating professionals have to operate at an equal level, where both provide more or less the same amount of input. The teachers are definitely provided with materials and information, so exchange is certainly taking place, albeit again more from one profession to the other than reciprocally.

In Norway, there are two programs that have been mentioned by several interviewees. The first one is the *DEMBRA*-Program:⁴

“You can apply to become a *DEMBRA*-school. [...] And they may come and say to the *DEMBRA* leadership that we have this, we want to work on this. And then *DEMBRA* people will come out and assist with that. They can sometimes do a lecture. They help them develop the project. Although the school is the one that initiates the project. The idea must come from the school.” (Interviewee 7)

Representatives from the *DEMBRA*-program are coming to the school to help the school develop a project about a certain topic. This could be seen as a form of co-construction between the *DEMBRA*-professionals and the educational professionals at the school. A *DEMBRA*-program can only be implemented at a school, when all staff accepts the program (Dalehefte et al. 2022). So, schools decide what the *DEMBRA*-program should focus on and it is also the schools initiating and organizing the program, but they are supported by professionals from *DEMBRA*.

³ For more information on this project, see: <https://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk/resource/the-deliberative-classroom-project/> (last accessed: 11.12.2025).

⁴ For more information on this project, see: <https://www.dembra.no/en> (last accessed: 11.12.2025).

The final program that has been mentioned by several interviewees in Norway is the *22 July and Democratic citizenship learning program*.⁵ This program has multiple components. The main component consists of a teacher and three of his or her students travelling to Utøya, the Norwegian Island where the terror attacks of the 22nd of July 2011 took place, for a 3-day program. The students attend a democracy workshop with other students from ten different schools across Norway. The idea is that the students teach their class what they have learned once they are back at school. Since the role of the teacher that also attends the workshop is unclear based on the interviews, further research would be needed to establish the form of cooperation for this project.

In addition to these three programs, several other projects and initiatives have been mentioned by the interviewees, but they were more small-scale and even more tailored towards the specific needs of the school. This exemplifies again that in both countries, it really is up to the schools to decide if and how they cooperate with other organizations in order to prevent radicalization and extremism. None of the interviewees has mentioned a national primary prevention project in which all schools (have to) partake. In many of the smaller local initiatives, there might be some cooperation between the two fields. However, it seems as in most cases, although a project might be organized at a school, there is little to no direct collaboration between prevention and educational professionals.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

The results of this study suggest that the organization of and the attention paid to CCE differs considerably across various countries. In addition, in none of the countries in this study, there were clearly outlined nationally organized primary prevention projects within (civic and citizenship) education to prevent radicalization and extremism among young people. In Norway and England, it is up to the schools to decide if and how they cover the prevention of radicalization and extremism. Cooperation between professionals from the P/CVE field and the (civic and citizenship) education field seems very limited in both England and Norway. This section will interpret these findings and compare them to those of other research studies. In addition, areas for further research in Germany that can be derived from the results will be discussed.

7.1 The International Status of CCE and P/CVE

The results from the international survey among 30 P/CVE experts showed that the organization of CCE is very different across the countries. In some countries, CCE exists as

⁵ For more information on this project, see: <https://wergelandcentre.org/projects/22-july-and-democratic-citizenship/#trainings-for-students-and-their-teachers-at-ut%C3%B8ya> (last accessed: 11.12.2025).

a separate field, whereas in others, CCE is rather integrated into other fields, both at the government level and at the school level. This finding is, at least for European schools, corroborated by the *Eurydice* report on CCE in European schools, which indicates that in some countries, CCE is a specific subject area in schools, in others it is integrated into other subjects, and in yet others it is an interdisciplinary overarching subject area (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2017). The non-existence of CCE as a separate field in some of the countries also made it difficult to assess the level of cooperation between the fields of CCE and P/CVE in all countries. For that reason, the study focused not only on the cooperation between CCE and P/CVE, but also looked into the existence of cooperation between education in general and P/CVE.

The case studies in England and Norway showed that in England, CCE is a specific subject that is taught in most secondary and some primary schools. In Norway, both in primary and secondary schools, CCE is an overarching goal in the curriculum to which all subjects should contribute. The interviews also indicated that during the time of the interviews (at the end of 2024 and the beginning of 2025), there was a much stronger emphasis on CCE in Norway compared to England. The English interviewees pointed out that attention towards CCE comes in waves. It depends on which government is running the country, but also on what topics are “fashionable” at the moment, which in turn is determined by specific events (e.g. a terror attack or a girl being murdered) to which an educational response is sought. In Norway, the attention towards CCE seems to be more stable and has only increased since “Democracy and Citizenship” was made one of the three interdisciplinary topics in the 2020 Norwegian national curriculum.

The survey revealed that many experts on P/CVE were not aware of any cooperation between the fields of CCE and P/CVE. When experts did report about a cooperation between the two fields, it was in almost all cases a specific project that was implemented in a specific school or region of the country. The P/CVE experts were not aware of any large-scale or national programs in which there was a clear cooperation between professionals from the prevention field and educational professionals. This finding from the survey was corroborated by the English and Norwegian case studies. In both countries, professionals made it clear that schools play a vital role in the selection of projects in which they participate in relation to P/CVE. The advantage of this is that schools can select projects that are suitable for their specific needs, for example in relation to the school population they might search for projects focusing more on right-wing extremism. The disadvantage, however, is that it leads to considerable differences between schools in the attention that is being paid to the prevention of radicalization and extremism. Especially in relation to primary prevention, schools seem to be free to decide if they will focus on it and if so in which way. Some English interviewees did mention that there currently seems to be little attention paid to radi-

calization and extremism since other topics are higher up on the agenda and more relevant to the schools in this particular moment.

7.2 The Interaction Between P/CVE and (Civic and Citizenship) Education Internationally

The previous section demonstrates that although there are considerable differences between countries in the organization of CCE and P/CVE, in many countries (civic and citizenship) education is seen as an institution that could and should play a role in P/CVE. Focusing on secondary prevention, the difference between England and Norway is that in England there is a statutory duty for educational professionals to report students who they believe to be susceptible to radicalization and extremism, whereas in Norway there is no such obligation. The interviews revealed that in practice, there also is a difference between the two countries regarding the role that education plays in the secondary prevention of P/CVE. In England, in most schools, there are clearly defined guidelines for teachers on what to do in cases where they have concerns about a young person being drawn into radicalization and extremism. They usually have to report their concerns to the DSL, who then decides whether or not to make a referral to the *Prevent* officer. In Norway, there seem to be no guidelines for teachers on what to do when they have concerns about a young person. They will usually first discuss these concerns with colleagues and then try to speak with the student and their parents. They also have the possibility to anonymously discuss the case with the Norwegian child protection service. In both countries, interviewees emphasized the support they would like to provide to these young people. However, in line with the statutory duty, the focus in England seems to be slightly more on the reporting and safeguarding side, whereas in Norway the emphasis seems to be very clearly on the welfare side.

This very clear focus on welfare and support in Norway, that all Norwegian interviewees highlighted, is somewhat surprising in light of the argument from Skotnes/Sjøen (2023): They argue that the new curriculum in 2020 might lead to the securitization of Norwegian education, because in the curriculum, schools are expected to contribute to the prevention of extremism and terrorism. Although the Norwegian interviewees agreed that the new interdisciplinary focus on democracy and citizenship could contribute especially to the primary prevention of radicalization and extremism, none of them mentioned that the new curriculum influenced Norwegian education in a way of becoming more securitized. It is obviously possible that this might vary between schools or regions in Norway, but this study finds no indication for the idea that the new curriculum in Norway has led to the securitization of Norwegian schools in practice. On the contrary, Norwegian interviewees showed reluctance towards schools having a responsibility in P/CVE (especially contributing to secondary prevention was rejected), because of the trust that teachers build with

their students. Likewise, in England – although obviously schools do refer some young people to the relevant authorities in case of concerns about radicalization and extremism – none of the interviewees working in the educational field reported that they felt that the expectation to report under the *Prevent duty* led to a securitization of schools in practice. Therefore, also in England, the interviews did not support the criticism of the securitization of education put forward by Edwards (2021). In practice, the *Prevent duty* seems to have increased the available support for students who might be vulnerable towards radicalization and extremism and increased the focus on the primary prevention of P/CVE in schools.

Interviewees in both countries mentioned several ways in which CCE could contribute towards P/CVE. According to interviewees in both countries, (civic and citizenship) education could help protect young people for the threats of radicalization and extremism in five ways: By building democratic skills, learning through and for democracy, CCE could introduce and instill democracy and democratic attitudes into students. This could strengthen the democratic resilience of young people. Teaching about values and anti-discrimination can be seen as a more explicit way in which CCE can contribute to P/CVE. It ensures that students become aware of societal expectations about what is acceptable and what is not. Yet, some interviewees did indicate that it might be complicated to find a consensus on which values to be taught. By discussing identity, learning about different cultures, and creating a sense of belonging, CCE can help students to feel accepted, make them aware of diversity that exists in society and in the classroom and ensure that students feel valued in their class. Emphasizing young people's voices means that schools should be safe spaces for students, where they feel confident to speak out and can practice respectful debate with other students. Finally, by encouraging critical thinking and building resilience, CCE can provide students with the necessary tools to be able to assess information themselves and empower them to make up their own minds, thereby preventing them from being drawn into radicalization and extremism. Many of these potential contributions of CCE to P/CVE could also benefit students in other areas, and therefore a specific focus in (civic and citizenship) education on preventing radicalization and extremism might not be necessary.

The five ways in which interviewees believed CCE to be able to contribute to P/CVE were all mentioned in relation to primary prevention. Interviewees considered these to be themes that could be part of (civic and citizenship) education with the whole class or the whole school as target group. However, in many cases, these strategies could also be used for the secondary prevention of radicalization and extremism. For instance, one could focus on building resilience among small groups of students that are deemed vulnerable to radicalization and extremism. The interviews further revealed that in both countries, schools have much freedom in determining what projects they offer and how they shape CCE. This could also be seen as a way in which schools opt for the secondary prevention of certain themes. So, if there is a big problem with right-wing-extremism in a school or specific class, the

school could choose to implement a project focusing on the prevention of right-wing-extremism for that specific class or their school.

Although all interviewees did see a role for (civic and citizenship) education in the prevention of radicalization and extremism, they differed in the extent to which they perceived P/CVE should be the responsibility of schools. These different views on the schools' desired level of responsibility for P/CVE existed within each but also across the countries. The Norwegian professionals were a bit more reserved about the role schools should play in the prevention of radicalization and extremism than the English professionals. Norwegian professionals were open for education to play role in primary prevention, they did not view schools as a suitable place for the secondary prevention of radicalization and extremism, though. In both countries, some professionals believed that the role of schools should be rather implicit through the education that they are providing anyways, others saw schools as the best place for the explicit (primary) prevention of radicalization and extremism. Some of the professionals argued that in order for schools to be able to take up this responsibility, more resources are needed. Especially the need for qualified teachers, who are confident to discuss sensitive topics in relation to P/CVE in the class, was mentioned by the professionals.

Finally, both the interviews and the survey among international P/CVE expert suggest that there is very little cooperation between the fields of P/CVE and CCE. There seem to be no cooperative projects that are implemented nationwide and schools seem to determine themselves if and how they organize the prevention of radicalization and extremism – and which actors they include in this regard. Indeed, even when schools participate in specific P/CVE projects, there seems to be still little cooperation between professionals from the prevention field and those of the educational field. It is often either the prevention worker giving a workshop on the topic or the teacher paying special attention to P/CVE in their classes.

Both in the international survey and in the interviews, there were however some examples of projects implemented at schools where there was a degree of cooperation between the two fields. In most projects, the cooperation was limited to exchange or division of labor. The *DEMBRA*-program in Norway is the only project in which there seems to be interprofessional co-construction. The interviewees in both countries did not report any resistance towards cooperation, but in practice there seem to be more initiatives in which one of the two fields is taking the lead. Therefore, the results of this study suggest that internationally, professionals do see a role for (civic and citizenship) education to be played in the prevention of radicalization and extremism, they are not against cooperation between the two fields, but in practice most initiatives are either delivered by prevention professionals or by educational professionals and not both of them together.

7.3 Further Research

The aims of this study were to establish the interaction between P/CVE and (civic and citizenship) education internationally and to find best practices for successful cooperation between the educational field and the prevention field. As a first important finding, within the study, no clear examples of large-scale cooperation and exchange were found. Future research could, therefore, focus on countries where at least some of the experts from the survey did report frequent widespread cooperation and exchange. For example, one of the Indonesian experts mentioned widespread cooperation and exchange between youth work and social work outside school. This could be a basis for a future study regarding this kind of cooperation in Indonesia.

This study into cooperation between the CCE and the P/CVE field in various countries across the world was conducted to inform the debate in Germany about whether or not the fields of P/CVE and CCE could cooperate with each other. Based on this study, the following further research areas for Germany (but they could be relevant in other countries as well), can be derived:

- A baseline study should shed light on the current status of cooperation between CCE and P/CVE. The study should focus on the conditions for success and map practical cooperations in order to create a knowledge base on which further studies can build.
- Some protagonists in the debate in Germany – especially from the CCE side – expressed reservations in regard to cooperations between professionals from the prevention and the CCE field. Therefore, a *Delphi*-study with actors from both fields is recommended in order to develop a concept or guidance towards cooperation. Including experts from both, CCE and P/CVE, in a co-creative process to discuss the challenges can help to increase the willingness to define common goals and cooperate among professionals.
- This study indicates that internationally, many projects in which education is used for P/CVE are taking place at the local or individual school level. The advantage of this approach is that these projects can be better tailored towards the specific needs of the school or region. Promoting and evaluating similar pilot projects, that focus on the prevention of radicalization and extremism in cooperation with CCE, would contribute to a better understanding of the professional interplay in Germany and may provide an added value for both professional fields.
- Internationally, cooperation between the fields of P/CVE and CCE seems limited. In addition, there is a lack of research into the cooperation between P/CVE professionals and (civic and citizenship) educational professionals. Therefore, field trials of devised approaches could be conducted, in order to gain more insight into the

potential risks and benefits of cooperation between the two fields to prevent radicalization and extremism in educational environments.

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Appendix

Tab. 3: Number of experts confirming that the following structures on CCE exist in their country.

	Journal in national language	Study programs at colleges or universities	University units with a specific focus	Further education and training	Professional associations or NGOs's	Government agencies (or parts thereof)	Prof. standards for implementation
Europe							
Czech Republic	1/3	3/3	2/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	1/3
Netherlands	1/3	2/3	2/3	3/3	3/3	1/3	1/3
Norway	0/2	1/2	1/2	0/2	0/2	1/2	1/2
Spain	1/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/2
UK	1/2	1/2	0/2	1/2	1/2	0/2	0/2
Asia							
Indonesia	3/3	2/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	3/3	0/3
North America							
Canada	1/3	0/3	0/3	1/3	3/3	2/3	0/3
United States	0/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	0/2
Africa							
Côte d'Ivoire	0/2	2/2	0/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/2
Kenya	1/3	3/3	3/3	1/3	3/3	3/3	2/3
Tunisia	0/2	1/2	0/2	0/2	2/2	1/2	0/2
Australia							
Australia	0/3	1/3	2/3	2/3	1/3	1/3	0/3
Total	9/30	18/30	15/30	18/30	24/30	18/30	7/30

Tab. 4: Number of experts confirming that the following structures on P/CVE exist in their country.

	Journal in national language	Study programs at colleges or universities	University units with a specific focus	Further education and training	Professional associations or NGO's	Government agencies (or parts thereof)	Prof. standards for implementation	Prof. outcome standards (control quality and effectiveness)
Europe								
Czech Republic	1/3	2/3	1/3	1/3	2/3	2/3	0/3	0/3
Netherlands	0/3	3/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	3/3	2/3	1/3
Norway	0/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	0/2
Spain	1/2	2/2	0/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	0/2	0/2
UK	0/2	0/2	0/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	0/2	0/2
Asia								
Indonesia	2/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	0/3
North America								
Canada	1/3	1/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	3/3	1/3	1/3
United States	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2
Africa								
Côte d'Ivoire	0/2	1/2	0/2	1/2	0/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
Kenya	1/3	0/3	1/3	2/3	3/3	3/3	2/3	1/3
Tunisia	0/2	0/2	0/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	0/2	0/2
Australia								
Australia	0/3	1/3	2/3	2/3	2/3	3/3	0/3	0/3
Total	8/30	17/30	16/30	20/30	22/30	27/30	11/30	5/30

The Interaction Between the Prevention of Extremism and Citizenship Education in Practice

An International Comparative Study Assessing the Interprofessional Cooperation Between Professionals From the Prevention Field and the Educational Field

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by decision of the
German Bundestag

How can civic and citizenship education and the prevention of radicalisation and extremism work together successfully? In this comparative study, *PrEval* partners at the University of Duisburg-Essen analyse international discourses and practices in England and Norway.

The findings show that civic and citizenship education can strengthen young people's resilience through democracy education, values education and the promotion of belonging – and thus make an important contribution to the primary prevention of radicalisation. At the same time, the study highlights a lack of systematic structures for cooperation between educational approaches and prevention practices.

For the German context, the authors recommend a more differentiated integration of existing discourses, stronger cooperation between the fields and the development of new pilot projects – with the aim of increasing effectiveness and trust.