

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF IN GERMANY OFFERED AND IMPLEMENTED (PREVENTION) PROGRAMMES AGAINST ISLAMIST MOTIVATED RADICALISATION OUTSIDE THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Catrin Trautmann & Andreas Zick

SUMMARY

Editorial Revision: Wolfgang Kahl / Translation: Justin Bachmann



*In collaboration with the DFK
[GERMAN FORUM ON CRIME PREVENTION]*



July 2016

Authors:

Catrin Trautmann, M.Ed.
(trautmann.catrin@googlemail.com)

Prof. Andreas Zick
(zick.ikg@uni-bielefeld.de)

For his valuable support and constructive comments we are grateful to Nils Böckler. In addition, internal discussions of individual aspects of the report with colleagues at the institute were of great help.

Many thanks are also given to Claudia Dantschke and Michael Kiefer, the two interview partners, for their willingness to participate, their trust and candour.

Contact:

Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence [IKG]
Director: Prof. Andreas Zick
University of Bielefeld
Universitätsstr. 25
33615 Bielefeld

IKG Secretary : Gaby Sander
sekretariat.ikg@uni-bielefeld.de

www.uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/

Stiftung Deutsches Forum für Kriminalprävention (DFK)
c/o Bundesministerium des Innern, Hs.6
Graurheindorfer Straße 198
53117 Bonn

Wolfgang Kahl
wolfgang.kahl@bmi.bund.de

www.kriminalpraevention.de
www.wegweiser-praevention.de

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FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR

Prevention clearly includes a wide range of social, educational and therapeutic approaches. Its success often depends on the extent to which adolescents and young adults are able to participate within society and that they are shown a direction in life that is worth pursuing. Development psychology and educational science show that the path of discovering one's identity during youth does not always run smoothly for some young people. Unfortunately, the "search for meaning" is, on occasions, first answered by the attention and support provided by extremists, due, for example, to prolonged personal experiences of exclusion and rejection. The prevention of radicalisation is the job of those who have taken on responsibility for young persons, for example, in schools, in training or education programmes and, of course, not least of all, in families and their networks. The state is obliged to offer advice and support, in certain cases, very intensively and for longer periods.

Germany's national programmes, "Demokratie leben!" [Living Democracy] and "Zusammenhalt durch Teilhabe" [Cohesion through Participation] along with additional state initiatives, provide the financial support for the local prevention work of authorities, independent organisations and civil society. Germany's federal government alone has provided well over 50 million euros. This amount is expected to double in the budget for 2017.

It is necessary for the dissemination and quality of the measures to continue to be evaluated in different ways. The positive effects are difficult to measure, the evaluation method at times touching the sensibilities of the actors involved. In some places, there are not sufficient programmes in place, while in others the quality may be lacking.

To avoid any misunderstandings: without the numerous initiatives, projects and programmes being offered by dedicated experts and professionals, there would be even greater problems. Thus it is necessary to further qualify the programmes that are in place, to monitor the effects, to fill any regional gaps and to consolidate successful approaches that are in place. An agreement

on central quality standards would represent ground-breaking progress.

In the area of violence prevention, the DFK, along with researchers, provides well-structured information and recommendations on programmes as well as their successful implementation at the website www.wegweiser-praevention.de. An extension of the portal to the prevention of extremism and radicalisation would be desirable, for example, linking the programmes to the Federal Centre for Political Education [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung]. A cross-over with state initiatives, for example, in the state prevention committees, is one of DFK's working principles.

I continue to be optimistic that the undeniable obstacles to cooperation can be overcome and urge for cooperation for the purposes of a common "prevention strategy". I recommend politicians to provide valuable support for preventative work, both at federal and state level, which at times has to be carried out with very limited personnel and financial resources.

This Systematic classification of Prevention Programmes against Islamist Motivated Radicalisation (here as a short version) is the beginning of a growing culture of cooperation, in which knowledge and experiences are shared and new quality standards are developed. Academic and practical partners are warmly invited to participate!

This inventory excludes initiatives and measures taking place within the judicial system because these are being analysed and structured in parallel in a project initiated by the Centre for Criminology [Kriminologische Zentralstelle].

I am thankful to Catrin Trautmann and Andreas Zick for their consistently good and trustworthy cooperation, as well as the result of their labours, which is very much worth reading and will provide the foundation for the continued analysis of prevention work in Germany.

Wolfgang Kahl, Project Manager at DFK

1. WHY A SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF PREVENTION INITIATIVES IS NECESSARY...

What can be done about Islamist extremism? How can prevention succeed before the onset of the radicalisation process amongst individuals? What is the nature of good intervention work? These are pressing questions, especially following the most recent terror attacks and the emergence of ever more individuals, especially young people, who are driven by violence.

In recent years, a huge number of projects on radicalisation or dissociation prevention and deradicalisation have developed. The range of both short and long term as well as local and inter-regional projects and measures of deradicalisation, distancing and/or reduction of ideological Islamism has thrived and become more heterogeneous, and has assumed a variety that is not easy to gauge. For the sake of sponsors, interested researchers, the projects themselves and, above all, those who participate in the programmes, a certain system of classification is helpful.

This paper provides a classification of accessible projects for the deradicalisation of individuals susceptible to Islamist violence. The aim is to develop a system of classification, intended to highlight the differences and similarities of the projects, along with their objectives, justifications and focus. It should be designed in such a way that new projects can be positioned within its framework.

The system of classification is initially deductive – with a typification of the respective prevention concept – and inductive – with a review of accessible documents. In addition, one male and one female expert who work with radicalised young people were asked for their assessment of the scope of the projects.¹

It is *not* an evaluation or scientific assessment or the quality, rather an attempt to make a systematic appraisal of the diversity so that individual projects can be understood in the context of other projects.

On the basis of the system of classification, empirically pertinent questions can ultimately be answered, such as the question of for whom programmes are in place, the social environments in which

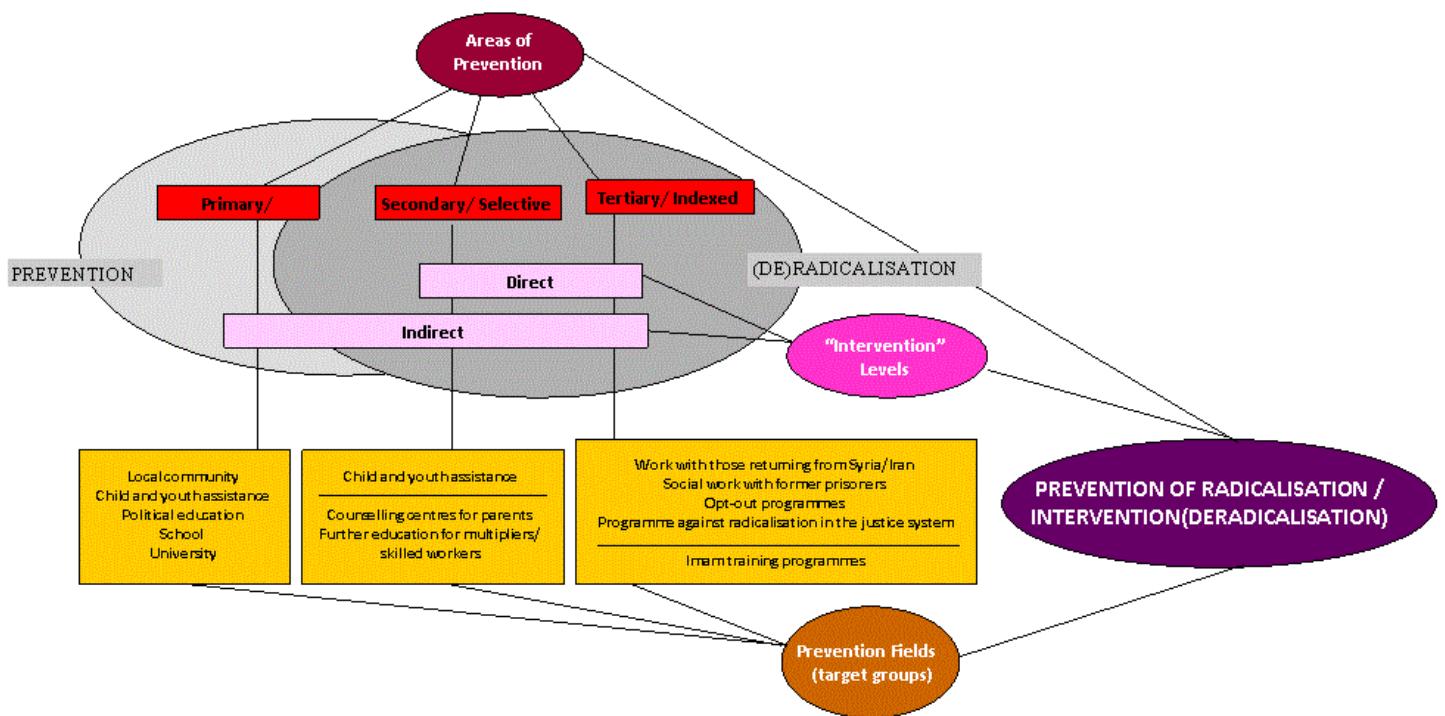
¹ Claudia Dantschke, HAYAT, Michael Kiefer, WEGWEISER / Institut für IslamischeTheologie (Osnabrück)

they are embedded, whether projects are appropriate for prevention and/or intervention, at which point of radicalisation they are implemented and how they are justified, i.e. what theories (if any) and what professional understanding they are related to.

The short form of the report omits the derivation and presentation of the differentiated criteria system and focuses on the main results of the system of classification and the conclusions for research and practice.

Figure 1 below shows the differentiation between intervention levels (direct/indirect), time and reach of prevention as well as the target groups (primary, secondary, tertiary, respectively universal, selective, indexed).

FIGURE 1: PHENOMENON-ORIENTATED OBSERVATIONS (TIME, TARGET GROUPS, REACH, LEVELS OF ACTION AND PLAYERS)



2. IDENTIFICATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF PREVENTION INITIATIVES

Typification is based on an analysis of the main focus of the 36 active initiates,² from September to late November 2015 (figure 2):

Protection from Media	Education Work	Counselling Work			
		Information Campaigns + Further Training	Target Group Networking	Target Group Networking	Youth Mentoring
Online Youth Protection Jugendschutz.net	Respekt und Toleranz: Prävention mit der Safer Space Strategie (Respect and participation: Prevention with the Safer Space Strategy)	MAXIM/E Berlin - interkulturelles und interreligiöses Präventionsprojekt zur Toleranz- und Demokratieentwicklung (MAXIM/E Berlin – intercultural and inter-religious prevention project for the development of tolerance and democracy) "Dialog nachtschule" - Das Bildungsprogramm für Schulen in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft ("Dialogue for schools" - the education programme for schools in migrant communities)	Infozentren Radikalisierung (Radicalisation Info Service) Aktion Kontra Radikalisierung muslimischer Jugendlicher (Action against Radicalisation of Muslim Youth)	Jamil-Jugendberatung muslimische und interkulturellen Lebenswelten (jamil - Youth Work in Muslim and Intercultural Life-worlds)	Heros-gegen Unterdrückung im Namen der Ehre. (Heros – Against Oppression in the Name of Honour)
Schule ohne Rassismus/ Schule mit Courage	Extremismus - nicht mit uns (Extremism – not with us)	Alternativen aufzulösen! Videos zu Islam, Islamfeindlichkeit und Islamismus für Internet und Unterricht (Show alternatives) Videos on Islam, Islamophobia and Islamism for internet and lessons)	Extremismusprävention durch professionelle Jugendarbeit in Moscheegemeinden (Extremism Prevention through Professional Youth Work in Mosque Communities)	Mit an - Miteinander / Mentoren gegen Miteinander (Mentors against Radicalisation)	Die Freiheit die ich meine (The Freedom that I mean)
KOMMENT	Information Campaigns + Further Training	Frauenstärken Demokratie - gegen Islamismus / (Women strengthen democracy – against Islamism)	Muslimische Jugend - Friedliche Zukunft! (Muslim Youth – Peaceful Future)	Werte-Werkstatt (Values-Workshop [also as part of Information Campaigns])	CROSSROADS - Beratung, Vorbereitung, Deradikalisierung (CROSSROADS - counselling, prevention, deradicalisation)
KIGA	Aktoren der Jugendbildung stärken Jugendliche vor Radikalisierung schützen (KIGA: Strengthening youth educators - protect adolescents from radicalisation)	[Clearingstelle Präventionskooperation] ("Clearingstelle Prevention Cooperation")	[Clearingstelle Präventionskooperation] ("Clearingstelle Prevention Cooperation")	Beratungsstelle KOMPASS -Toleranz statt Extremismus (KOMPASS Counselling Centre – Tolerance instead of Extremism)	Beratungsstelle Hessen - Religiöse Toleranz statt Extremismus (Hesse Counselling Centre – religious Tolerance instead of Extremism)
KOMMENT - die Mitte (Al-Wasat - the Centre)	Interkulturelle Übergangsräume – Erweiterung von Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten in kontinentalen Gruppen (Intercultural practice rooms – extension of potential for communication in conflict-prone groups)	KOMMENT - Kommunales Mentoring (Community – local mentoring)	Al-Wasat - die Mitte (Al-Wasat - the Centre)	Präfix R	Beratungsnetzwerk Kitab (Kitab Counselling Network)
	180° Wende-Multiplikatorennetzwerk (180° Change - disseminator network)	180° Wende-Multiplikatorennetzwerk (180° Change - disseminator network)		Beratungsstelle - Extremismus (Inside out – Extremism Specialist and Counselling Centre)	BaHira Beratungsstelle (BaHira Counselling Centre)
	#selam - Gemeinsam stark im Pott (#selam – Strong together in the Ruhr-Valley)	#selam - Gemeinsam stark im Pott (#selam – Strong together in the Ruhr-Valley)			Wegweiser – Präventionsprogramm gegen gewalttheiten Selbstismus (Wegweiser-Prevention Programmes against Violent Solifism)
	Junge Islam Konferenz (Islamic Youth Conference)	Junge Islam Konferenz (Islamic Youth Conference)			
	Die Zukunft miteinander gestalten: Hessische Muslime für Demokratie und Vielfalt! Prävention, Participation, Teilnahme (Forming the future together: Muslims from Hesse for democracy and diversity! Prevention, Participation, Involvement.)	Die Zukunft miteinander gestalten: Hessische Muslime für Demokratie und Vielfalt! Prävention, Participation, Teilnahme (Forming the future together: Muslims from Hesse for democracy and diversity! Prevention, Participation, Involvement.)			

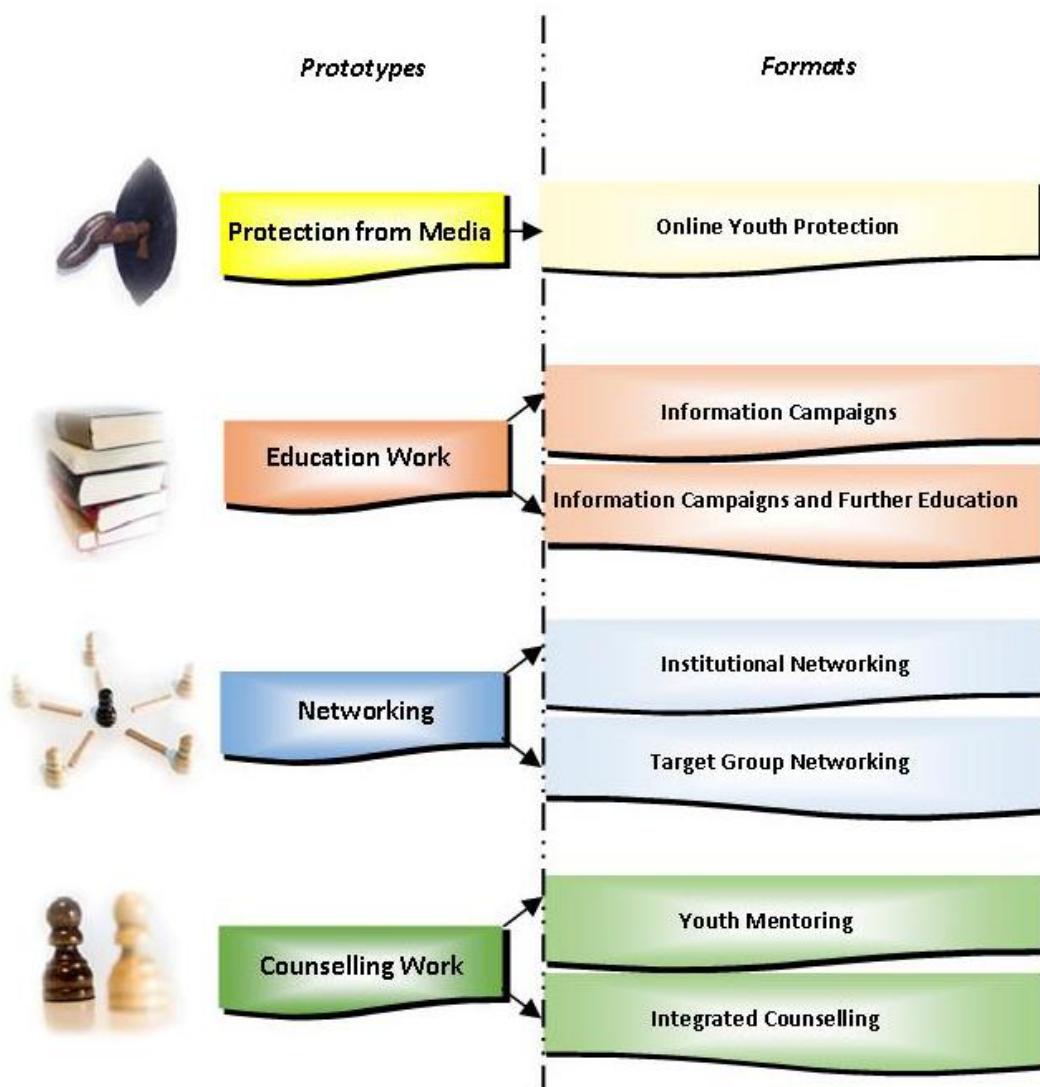
² The term "initiatives" combines different categories: preventative offers that are linked to specific carriers or are carried out by them.

2.1. OBJECTIVES OF THE INITIATIVES

The differentiation between the following four prototypes³ is described as follows. With the exception of protection from media, each Prototype is implemented in two formats⁴.

The description of the prototypes in chapter 2.1 is based on the objectives of the initiatives and the phenomenological considerations.

FIGURE 3: OVERVIEW OF PROTOTYPES AND FORMATS



³ Characteristic basic forms of initiatives

⁴ Types/Modes of prototype realisation

2.1.1. PROTECTION FROM MEDIA

The protection of youth from media can be classified as primary prevention and focuses on two main strategies, namely, the dissemination of relevant content and the representation of current trends in extremist internet use.

Currently only one initiative – jugendschutz.net (2015) – is in place here. This initiative is based on the methods and structures used and the experiences gained in dealing with right-wing extremism. This initiative is the starting point for complaints and prohibited, i.e. unconstitutional, articles and postings (see jugendschutz.net 2015b).

The removal of problematic material takes place with those responsible for it being asked to remove it. In the case of refusal, the Commission for the Protection of Youth from the Media [Kommission für Jugendmedienschutz] will also be involved. If the material is located on websites that cannot be traced to a responsible party in Germany, the provider or host will be asked to delete the material and/or pass on the matter to internationally operating networks (see jugendschutz.net 2015b).

Apart from the removal of such content, the second aspect of generating an effective information campaign and promoting media competency is the production of material that addresses new trends and developments online.

In addition, concepts are being developed for practice. For example, “jugendschutz.net” (see 2015) has provided the general public with hand-outs such as brochures, information CDs and documentation and provides reports on research results in the area of extremism and related topics. The focus is on providing skills by using pedagogical concepts that are related to the media, which, nonetheless, are not specifically mentioned in the self-description. It should be noted, however, that the focus of the efforts is to promote political education with the online dissemination of knowledge and data on extremism – i.e. for educational workers, along with providers of websites (e.g. YouTube, Facebook, etc.), parents and young people. The aim is to raise awareness about the risks and promote critical reflection about the use of the media.

In addition to addressing the strategies used to spread Islamism on the internet, focus is also placed on anti-Muslim movements led by right-wing extremists who make use of shocking depictions of jihadist violence and spread anti-Muslim positions in blogs and online forums.

2.1.2. EDUCATION WORK

A total of 14 of 36 initiatives listed education work as a key element in preventing the start of the radicalisation process. The common element here is the dissemination and processing of information and knowledge on general topics (religion, culture, radicalisation, etc.) or the needs of adolescents and young adults.

In general, two basic orientations can be identified: 1. Pure information campaigns and 2. Information campaigns being that are linked to further education.

2.1.2.1. INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

The format of the information campaigns, of which there are four such initiatives in the period being analysed, focuses on providing information and knowledge to children, adolescents and young adults aged between 7 and 29. Relatives and other interested parties, primarily those associated with the school, are also included here.

Content is considered relevant if it reveals the general orientation and background analysis. In this way, religious and democratic political standpoints are discussed, while the radicalisation process and violence in general are examined; in addition, awareness is raised concerning youth-specific needs for an effective strategy of prevention.

One of the goals is to develop social affiliation and a sense of belonging in a pluralistic society.

The dialogue events, the production of information materials and hand-outs, and class activities at school or project(day)/workshops, such as those held as part of the “Schule ohne Rassismus – Schule mit Courage” [Schools without Racism –

Schools with Courage] campaign (see 2015) are tools that are used to great effect within the initiatives. Furthermore, there are integrated social space programmes,⁵ involving visits to places like mosques and education centres.

2.1.2.2. INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS AND FURTHER EDUCATION

There are 10 initiatives in the area of preventative educational work that extend beyond information campaigns, with these being used as the basis for the training and qualification of multipliers.

The addressees here include, teachers, educators, leaders or students from universities, schools, Muslim communities, youth organisations and other institutions relevant to socialisation. By linking with the concept of further education, young people aged 12-17 or young people taking part in professional training will also be included as multipliers in addition to relevant stakeholders.

They take on the role of spreading content related to the phenomenon (including that referred to by Peer-Education,⁶ which is the explicit focus of chapter 2.1.3.2).

Generally, social multipliers work on a voluntary basis alongside a small coordinating team.

One project in this context is “Dialog macht Schule” [Dialogue for Schools] (2015), which is particularly supportive of the efforts of culturally diverse schools to develop a democratic consciousness. This initiative starts at grade 7. The “dialogue moderators” work with adolescents over a period of two years (see Dialog macht Schule 2015a). They are prepared for their work with a week-long training programme and are then professionally supervised in their work at the schools (see Dialog macht Schule 2015b). The aim here is for a type of snowball effect to be generated for the sharing of knowledge.

⁵ The social space describes a socio-geographically demarcated area (e.g. district, city, municipality). It refers to the possibilities for action and the social conditions of the human living.

⁶ Peer-Education: Teaching of difficult topics by peers who pass on their knowledge as “experts” to others (learning on equal footing).

The sharing of knowledge and information focuses on aspects of social relationships ('coexistence'), while controversial topics, such as extremist ideologies, violence, and animosity towards Islam, are also discussed. The visualization of forms of social coexistence or the revealing of alternative interpretive templates should facilitate a change in perspective and enable those being addressed – as well as the social multipliers themselves – to question possible ideological interpretations.

Appropriate measures include forms of dialogue (discussions, dialogue workshops, etc.), film screenings, campaigns or excursions. Leisure activities for young people, various training sessions and trust-building programmes are also offered.

2.1.3. NETWORKING

The category of networking includes 9 initiatives and can be understood in two ways: on one hand, as a first network between different institutions and, on the other, in reference to the second network within the peer group.

The objective of a "community" acts to connect the elements in order to build up and exchange knowledge, potential and assistance.

2.1.3.1. INSTITUTIONAL NETWORKING

Institutional networking includes six initiatives and can be placed in the area of primary prevention. One of its essential features is the interrelationship between different players active in the area. There is no direct access to the affected parties.

Local mosques and Islamic organisations are essential partners to security authorities or key persons from institutions connected to the phenomenon. So-called key persons might include stakeholders such as teachers, imams, and youth workers, along with members of (mosque) associations and qualified official staff. According to the description of the initiatives, these people have contact to children and adolescents who are (probably) connected to Salafist scenes.

The aim is, for example, to facilitate the exchange of knowledge about theological approaches, experiences or tried and tested

concepts, while also initiating and providing aid systems (including those that are national) that operate between the above mentioned parties. The networking of (or between) mosque communities and other actors is a key issue in this context, for example, to provide background information.

The “Clearingstelle Präventionskooperation” (2015) of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees and the “Infodienst Radikalisierungsprävention” (2015) of the Federal Centre for Civic Education should be mentioned here as examples. They support the development of network structures between different actors.

The support to key personnel in building up network structures is realised by the provision of coaching and supervision as well as by making information materials available, the publication of contact information or the presentation of experiences in the form of manuals or on websites.

In general, the exchange of knowledge takes place through the initiation of workshops, information events, dialogue forums and the further training of security authorities or mosque communities. In addition, stable network structures enable the implementation of common support systems, such as the provision of experts or shared case counselling.

Another important goal is to create, test and provide specific further education and training opportunities as well as concepts for professional youth work, and to make the results available to other interested parties.

2.1.3.2. TARGET GROUP NETWORKING

The formation of target group-oriented networks can generally be placed in the primary and secondary areas and is the focus of three of the nine initiatives. Adolescents and young adults are addressed here selectively, directly and indirectly.

The goal is to acquire persons from the target group aged approximately between 12-25 years, to train and support them as mentors and thereby to promote the further development of (Muslim) peer groups. To this end, young people are exposed to the structural and biographical background of radicalisation. In

particular, the training and development of social skills – such as empathy and tolerance – are important.

The target group is addressed by mentors, that is, by persons who have had personal experiences with youth-related problems, religion (interpretations), and/or radicalisation. These individual experiences enable the mentors to accompany young people and young adults in their personal development and their confrontation with their faith, and to do so as equals. Ideally, the mentors come from within the group itself.

The primary objective is to create an exchange among peers – irrespective of their religion or culture.

The main focus is on promoting (interreligious) dialogue, tolerance and the integration of young people and adolescents into their local environment (socio-spatial orientation).

The concept of social competence is particularly relevant in this context. It refers to “[...] a bundle of different skills, attitudes and capabilities that make people seem capable of action” (Harring/Böhm-Kasper/Rohlfss/Palentien 2010). The peculiarity of this format is the action-guiding assumption that the relationships of children/adolescents with peers are based on equality and reciprocity. In terms of “social learning”, friendships are seen as an opportunity for acquiring professional, material and social skills.

Initiatives of this type, such as the MA`AN project [from the German word “Miteinander” or “together” (MA` AN 2015), have only recently been implemented.

2.1.4. COUNSELLING WORK

The individual is increasingly the focus of counselling work. Focus is placed on specific topics or problems. This type is located in the crossover of secondary and tertiary prevention/intervention, and a high number of initiatives (12) can be placed here.

In this context, two approaches appear to be appropriate: the first is youth mentoring and the second is integrated counselling.

2.1.4.1. YOUTH MENTORING

Youth mentoring can also be placed in the area of secondary prevention. Two initiatives are falling in this category. It is targeted directly and selectively at adolescents and young adults, i.e. at Muslim women/girls (Die Freiheit die ich meine 2015) or also at young men (HEROES 2015) from the age of 15-23 years. The initiatives focus on the analysis of gender-specific materials and patriarchal structures.

A preventative strategy with regard to Islamist radicalisation tendencies involves the examination of specific topics related to youth, which build a bridge between religious or cultural content and youth-specific themes.

The HEROES (2015) project under the auspices of Strohhalm e.V. states in its conceptual framework: “The focus [...] is on the problematisation of the male role in the context of the suppression of the honour of girls and women. The aim is to give boys and young men the opportunity to distance themselves from these power structures [...]” (HEROES 2015b).

As intermediaries, in the format “Information Campaigns + Further Education” or “Target Group-oriented Networking”, multipliers, coaches or mentors from the target groups are trained and predominantly used. These are willing to reconcile interculturality with equal rights and to influence these areas in the long-term.

Self-awareness and self-efficacy are strengthened, while competence is developed with young people and young adults taking on responsibility and have their achievements recognised. The young people and young adults learn this by taking on tasks as group leaders or assuming roles in their own community or family. Furthermore, recognition is provided by specific measures, such as recognition events, certificates, respecting the opinion of boys and girls, etc.

Important aspects here include the development of conflict solving skills, communication skills, empathy, tolerance and becoming familiar with appropriate pedagogical methods to prepare topics that are appropriate for those being addressed. This can be done, for example, with a role-playing game, discussions about experi-

ences of discrimination or by providing information about gender-specific topics.

Discussions with persons from research, practice, politics and civil society, workshops on different topics, and also the production of action products⁷ such as films on gender-specific topics or the production of newspaper articles promote the transfer of knowledge and the development of a healthy culture of dialogue.

In addition to a theory of recognition, approaches to neighbourhood management (methods for the management and development of city or municipality districts) and socio-spatial analysis (methods of empirical social research to determine needs in different city or municipality districts along with the determination of so-called burdened social spaces) are followed by the initiatives. The mentioned approaches are not explained in detail by the initiatives.

2.1.4.2. INTEGRATED COUNSELLING

The integrated counselling format combines elements of secondary and, particularly, tertiary prevention/intervention. These 10 offers are aimed primarily at (already radicalised) adolescents and young adults and the social environment of the target group or person.

In most cases, they combine to have both a direct and indirect effect and are selected or indexed to have a targeted influence on personal and social facets or question existing motives and attitudes.

The integrated counselling work takes into account the social environment of the adolescent concerned in order to respond to (subjective) problem situations. In the pursuit of a stable identity, young people and young adults are in a phase of seeking. This might involve the search for orientation, identity, community, or for concepts or persons pointing the way (see Dantschke 2015, 228-232).

⁷ Starting from the didactic reflections of Hilbert Meyer, the concept of the “product of action”, in the paedagogical sense, means “[...] results that are tangible or demonstrable, with which one can play or work, that have practical value now or will have in the future[...].” (Meyer 2006)

On the basis of her experiences at the “HAYAT” (2015) counselling centre, Dantschke (2015, 190-205), adds that it is not possible to place young people who are at risk or already radicalised exclusively in any particular milieu. Thus adolescents from single-parent families, children of divorcees, and those from traditional middle-class families are affected.

In a more systematic sense, “HAYAT⁸” is aimed at individuals and relatives who are in the process of radicalisation, those wanting to leave the country and also those who have chosen to leave the radical scene.

As a rule, the family is regarded here as an important reference group. If family members turn to the counselling centre, the first step is to investigate the wishes and needs of the adolescents in a conversation with the family. The socialisation history of the young person or young adult, the interrelationship within the family and both conflictual and positive relationships are the focal point of interest (see Dantschke 2015, 302-314).

Depending on the individual situation, reference persons (e.g. parents, siblings, etc.), specialists (e.g. youth workers, teachers, etc.) and persons from other areas (e.g. employers, authorities, associations) are involved. The integration of institutions or functionaries – such as an imam for religious questions, social workers for questions on basic safety, teachers in the case of school problems – can assist the work with the adolescents and help open up the person concerned.

Associated individuals, usually from the family, then turn to counselling centres if they notice changes in behaviour, a desire to leave the country, or lose contact with the adolescent or young adult in question. The counselling centres support and involve the relatives and/or reference persons in the counselling work. But adolescents who are looking for a way out of the scene or difficult life situation also find a starting point here.

In this context, social skills are developed and a basis of trust is created between the person concerned and his/her environment. People should be empowered to take responsibility for their actions and their lives. The primary goal is the development of the personality by questioning attitudes and self-awareness, with self-

⁸ Hayat = Türkisch/Arabisch „Leben“ (vgl. HAYAT 2015)

reflection processes initiated and supported. The focus is on the identification of dangerous situations or new perspectives, the breaking apart of rhetorical patterns and the discussion of (inter-religious) conflicts.

The aim is to provide individual counselling and guidance via a systematic approach⁹ or in the form of biographical work,¹⁰ anti-violence or anti-aggression training¹¹ with the persons concerned.

A second group is made up of offers which are mainly based on (socio-)educational principles. One example is WEGWEISER (2015). Its primary objective is to ensure the basic needs of young people and young adults in order to create a solid basis for (re-)integration into society.

“Most of these involve classic social work assistance that has to be provided. If you see it from the practical side. It is always presented as if this is a special form of pedagogy or pedagogical [...] work. But it is not at all” (Kiefer 2015, 223-225).

In both interviews, it became quite clear that either aspects such as the procurement of a job, an apartment, basic financial security (i.e. the safeguarding of basic needs) or the consideration of emotional/ideological aspects are important. Although initiatives are usually aimed in one direction, psychological and (socio-)educational approaches are inevitably combined.

⁹ The systemic approach “[...] is an independent psychotherapeutic procedure, which is practiced in different settings as individual, couple, family and group therapy. Since the beginning of the 1980s, it has developed within the field of classical family therapy by going beyond questions of family structure and dynamics to focus more strongly on basic systemic-constructivist ideas” (Systemische Gesellschaft 2015).

¹⁰ “Biography work is remembrance work. It involves people being immersed in their memories and telling their experiences [...] The methods of biographical work accompany and support the individual doing the remembering, for example, in the search for or consolidation of his or her identity, in a review of his or her past life or to retrospectively track the course of life to the here and now, and from that place, to form a new definition of future life[...]. Through the independent reworking of individual life histories, the individual experiences a personality development, which is accompanied by autonomy and self-reliance (Reich 2008).”

¹¹ For example, the anti-violence and competence training of the Violence Prevention Network (VPN 2015a)

2.2. STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INITIATIVES – RESOURCES AND FRAMEWORK CONDITIONS

The main sponsors of the initiatives in the area of Islamist radicalisation prevention are state sponsors.^{10a}

In the area of primary and secondary prevention, *federal ministries*^{10a1}, (such as the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth) sponsor the majority of the initiatives in the programme “Demokratie leben” [Living Democracy]. Other government sponsors include the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees and the Federal Agency for Political Education.

“...that the state is a sponsor is normal, [...] the question of who is administratively responsible for prevention [...] is – I think – very much a role of the state. So if a situation has been identified as a problem, [...] the state has to act” (Kiefer 2015, 273-294).

In addition to sponsors at the federal level, supporters can be found at the *state* and *regional* level. A consideration of the regional level shows that, in the area of primary and secondary prevention, primarily authorities from youth and social affairs and institutes support the initiatives, along with public institutions such as universities.

Initiatives receive additional funding from non-governmental organizations, such as foundations, associations or interest groups. In this context, private-sector enterprises play a subordinate role or no role at all.

Within the scope of this investigation, it is not possible to provide precise information about the exact funding levels on the basis of the self-statements of the projects. Nevertheless, developments can be identified.

A hybrid financing model is necessary, as the funding by public authorities, such as “Demokratie leben” (2015), also expects the initiatives to make their own contribution. This has implications for staffing, the amount of funds requested and the presence of small (or smaller) initiatives in this area. Thus these initiatives may apply for a smaller sum than is actually required in order to be able to afford their own contribution. As a result, the full-time equivalents

are often not included in calculations of the actual needs (see Dantschke 2015, 874-885).

It can be seen that financial support in the area of primary and secondary prevention (in addition to government programmes) is mainly based on social aspects and is supported by actors in the field of “youth and social welfare”, while – with increasing alignment to the tertiary sector – the importance of security policy aspects is emphasised. The more radical and violent that patterns concerning attitudes and actions are, the more responsibility is shifted as a result. The area of tertiary prevention is supported by ministries such as the Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (i.e. ministries responsible for processes relevant to domestic and security policy), in addition to the Ministry of Family Affairs.

Furthermore, the individual projects are also mostly integrated into superordinate structures, be they state support programmes such as “Demokratie leben!” and/or (non-profit) association structures, such as the Violence Prevention Network e.V.¹², IFAK e.V.¹³, ufuq e.V.¹⁴, KlgA e.V.¹⁵, VAJA e.V.¹⁶, Lichtjugend e.V.¹⁷ and so forth.

The main focus of the associations¹⁸ relates to tasks concerned with ideas, such as the promotion of integration and mutual tolerance. However, these tasks are realised in different ways, whether by migration work (e.g. IFAK e.V.), the support and reintegration of excluded adolescents (e.g. VAJA e.V.) or persons who are ideologically at risk or motivated by extremism (e.g. VPN, Lichtjugend e.V.). Others also serve as a junction for the exchange of experiences (e.g. ufuq e.V.).

In order to achieve the objectives, the associations need financial resources, which are generated by state subsidies, membership

¹² Violence Prevention Network (Berlin) (VPN 2015)

¹³ Verein für multikulturelle Kinder- und Jugendhilfe [Association for Multi-Cultural Child and Youth Assistance] (Bochum) (IFAK 2015)

¹⁴ (ufuq 2015)

¹⁵ Kreuzberger Initiative gegen Antisemitismus [Kreuzberg Initiative against Anti-Semitism] (Berlin) (KlgA 2015)

¹⁶ Verein zur Förderung akzeptierender Jugendarbeit [Association for the Promotion of Youth Work] (Bremen) (VAJA 2015)

¹⁷ (Lichtjugend 2015)

¹⁸ The legal framework for associations is laid down in the German Civil Code (BGB) in §§21-79 (BGB 2015)

fees or donations. The funds received are tax-deductible and must be used promptly for the purposes set out in the articles of association.

2.3. ENVIRONMENT AND INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INITIATIVES

A key aspect is the interrelationship between initiatives and other actors in the prevention work. In addition to financing, interlinking with other initiatives in various ways seems to be necessary.

The need to form network structures is already evident from the existence of initiatives that want to establish a link between different actors in the field (institutional networks).

The combination of religious, state and civil society actors shows that the phenomenon is a task for society as a whole. The connection between security policy and religious and social aspects is important, since significant risk and protection factors for radicalisation can also be found in these areas.

When looking closely at the interdependencies of the identified formats, the formation of network structures generally has several functions:

- a) Generation of knowledge about the phenomenon / Exchange on specific issues or competences
- b) Development of possible ideas for action in order to help/support those affected or to ensure further care and assistance
- c) Evaluation / Further development of one's own work

The functions of generating and exchanging knowledge are still poorly developed for the phenomenon of Islamic radicalisation and this is reflected in the objectives of the initiatives with regards to the development of concepts and the available format of institutional networking.¹⁹

A further advantage of interlinking initiatives is the accumulation of skills. For example, "HAYAT" (2015) shows that the involvement of actors from social work or the family help facilitate the approach to the individuals in question. For example, targeted answering of religious questions by other Muslims (see Dantschke

¹⁹ See chapter 3.1.3.1.

2015, 622-630) can help to offer (alternative) interpretations in a young person's search for meaning.

However, cooperation with (youth) offices and job centres with regard to support or with security authorities in the case of criminal matters is also appropriate in certain contexts (e.g. if the offense has already been committed, debts, etc.). The exchange of experiences from similar formats dealing with right-wing extremism may reveal possible actions or solutions, or create synergy effects.

One example of the use of synergy effects is the "Diagnostisch-Therapeutisches-Netzwerk Extremismus" [Diagnostic-Therapeutic Network of Extremism], with which the EXIT²⁰ and HAYAT projects cooperate if there is a need for psychological intervention (see Dantschke 2015, 573-580). However, it is not possible to state the extent to which adolescents and young adults continue to receive care following such intervention.

Research support for projects is usually carried out by the sponsors or by institutions commissioned by the sponsors.

3. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF PREVENTION (NON-GROUP SPECIFIC) / INTERVENTION IN THE AREA OF ISLAMIST RADICALISATION: AREAS, LEVELS, TARGET GROUPS

In this chapter of the report, non-group specific aspects will be addressed, taking into account the different format-related nuances. The SUMMARY is limited to the differentiation and classification by area of prevention, intervention and target groups.

3.1. CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO PREVENTION AREA AND INTERVENTION LEVEL

According to Caplan and Gordon (figures 4 and 5), the consideration of the areas of prevention shows that the individual formats are called for at different points in the radicalisation process.

²⁰ Counselling Initiative from Right-Wing Extremism (EXIT 2015)

The following points become especially clear: While the *Online Youth Protection* pertains solely to primary protection, is universal by nature and is used in the preliminary stages of the actual radicalisation, educational work (Information Campaigns and Information Campaigns & Further Education) and institutional networking are not exclusively primary or universal by nature. Rather, they also have secondary/selective prevention features, such as the mediation of general interpretive patterns or information in the preliminary stages of the radicalisation process in order to prevent an entry point or to reveal potential dangers. In addition, initiatives are directed at persons who might be affected by radicalisation in order to counteract the lack of perspective and orientation, as well as social isolation.

Target Group-orientated Networking and the *Youth Mentoring* reveal further secondary characteristics. They focus on adolescents who have had initial contact with or interest in Islam(ism) and they deal with this in relation to the peer group or the relevant youth, religious or cultural context.

Integrated consultation is secondary or tertiary by nature, since it places the individual at the centre of its efforts, but does not consider him or her in isolation. The target person is characterised as demonstrating clear radicalisation tendencies and/or warning behaviour. Such tendencies may include withdrawal from the social environment, external changes or signs/indications of possibly leaving the country.

It is also striking that no initiative focuses exclusively on the tertiary and/or the indexed area.

FIGURE 4: CATEGORISATION OF THE 36 FORMATS BY PREVENTION AREA ACCORDING TO CAPLAN (1964)

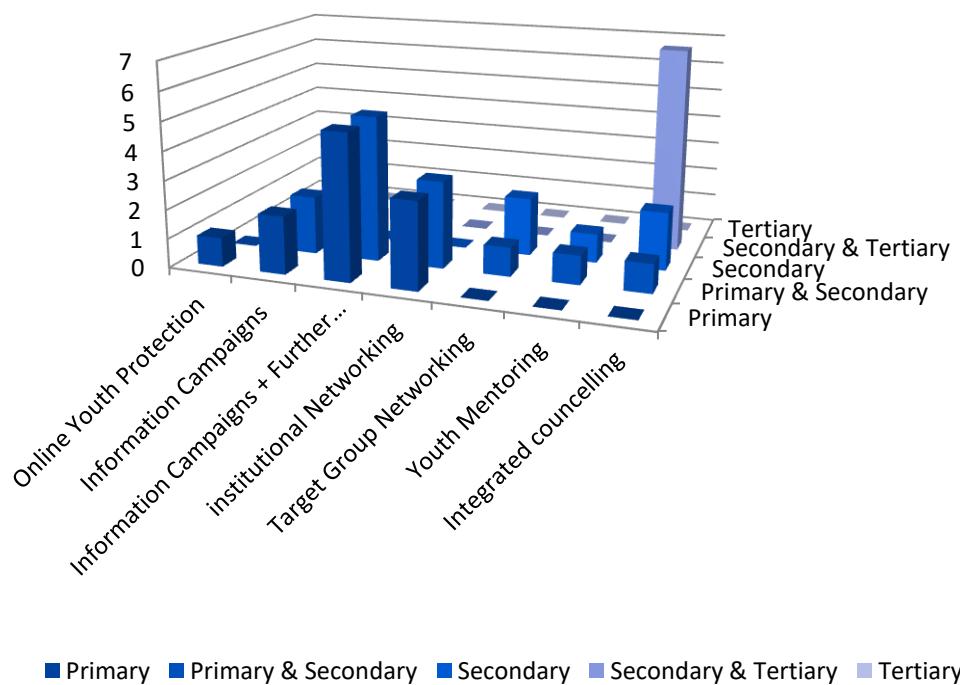
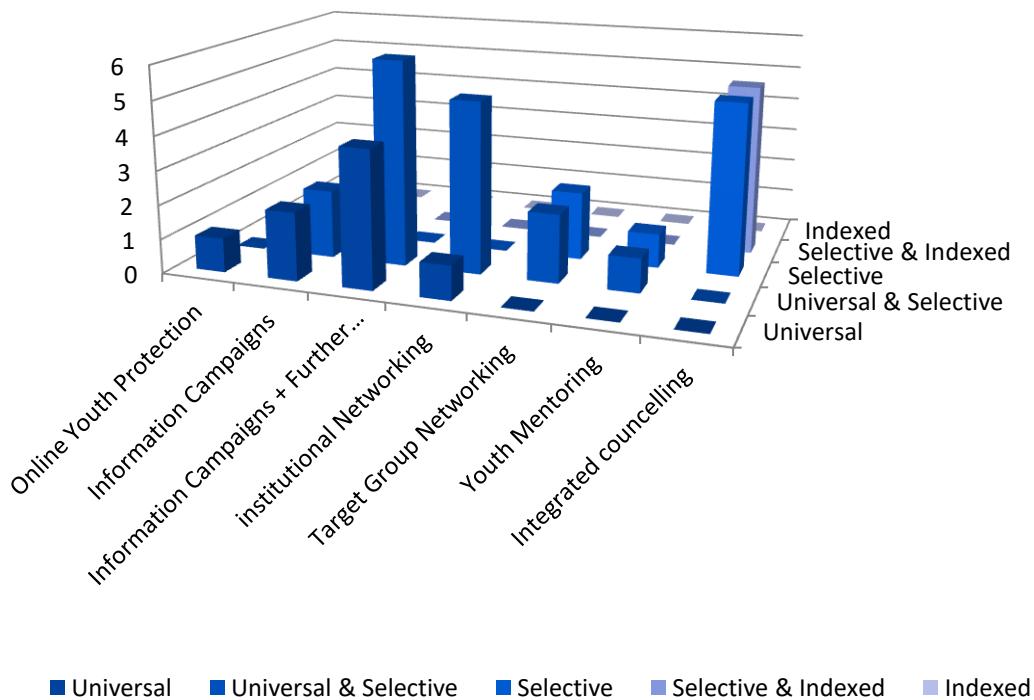


FIGURE 5: CATEGORISATION OF THE FORMATS BY PREVENTION AREA ACCORDING TO GORDON (1983)

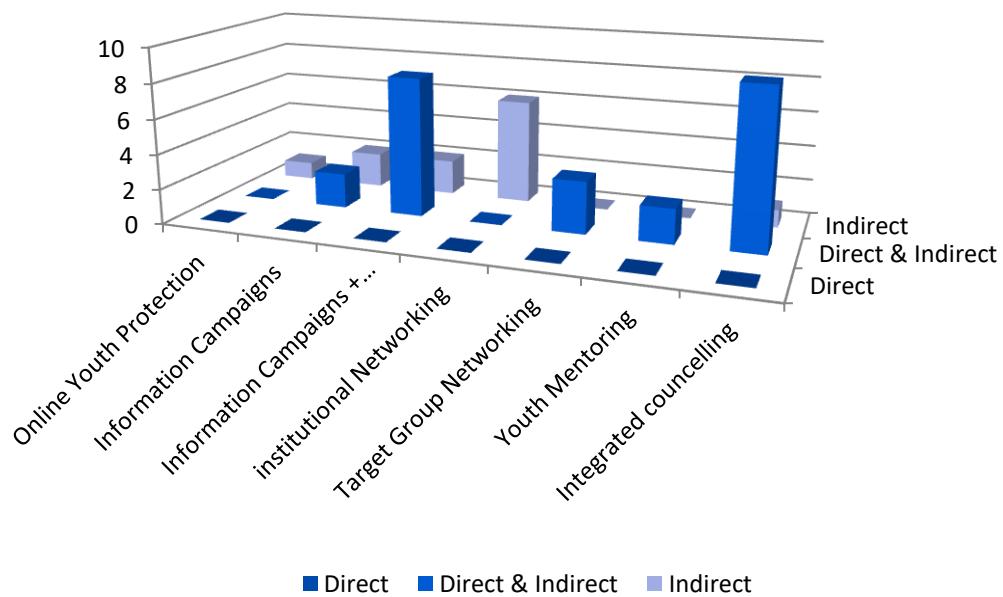


Considering the two diagrams from Caplan and Gordon, it is clear that both (non-identical) categorisations lead to similar results. This can be seen, for example, in the formats of *institutional networking* or *integrated counselling*. While Caplan's model refers to the time of preventative/intervening measures, Gordon's focuses on and specifies the target group(s).

With regard to differentiation according to the *level of intervention*, it is striking that *institutional networking* and *protection of youth from media* are exceptions since they are not in direct contact with the target group.

In addition, there are no exclusively direct-acting initiatives. While the affected person is at the centre of all efforts of the initiatives, the access, influence or support is, however, (also) provided by third parties. How this is done is described once again separately in chapter 3.2.

FIGURE 6: CATEGORISATION OF THE INITIATIVES BY INTERVENTION LEVEL ACCORDING TO HAFEN (2001B)



3.2. DIFFERENTIATION BY TARGET GROUP

The target group₃ category provides a fundamental characteristic to differentiate between the individual formats, as illustrated in Figure 3. Adolescents and young adults are at the centre of the efforts of the initiatives. Looking at the distribution on the levels of *intervention₂*, initiatives also address the *family (or families)*, the peer group, and/or the functionaries indirectly in different ways.

The protection from the media is largely self-sufficient and addresses teachers (for example, with publications) or involves co-operation with website providers. The aim is to make the internet appropriate for young people and to punish violations of the Jugendschutzgesetz [Protection of Young Persons Act], while also increasing transparency for the public.

The advanced model on education work is generally directed at children and adolescents. In addition, functional units (in the sense of multipliers) from different institutions and the target group are essential for the mediation of knowledge relevant to the phenomenon.

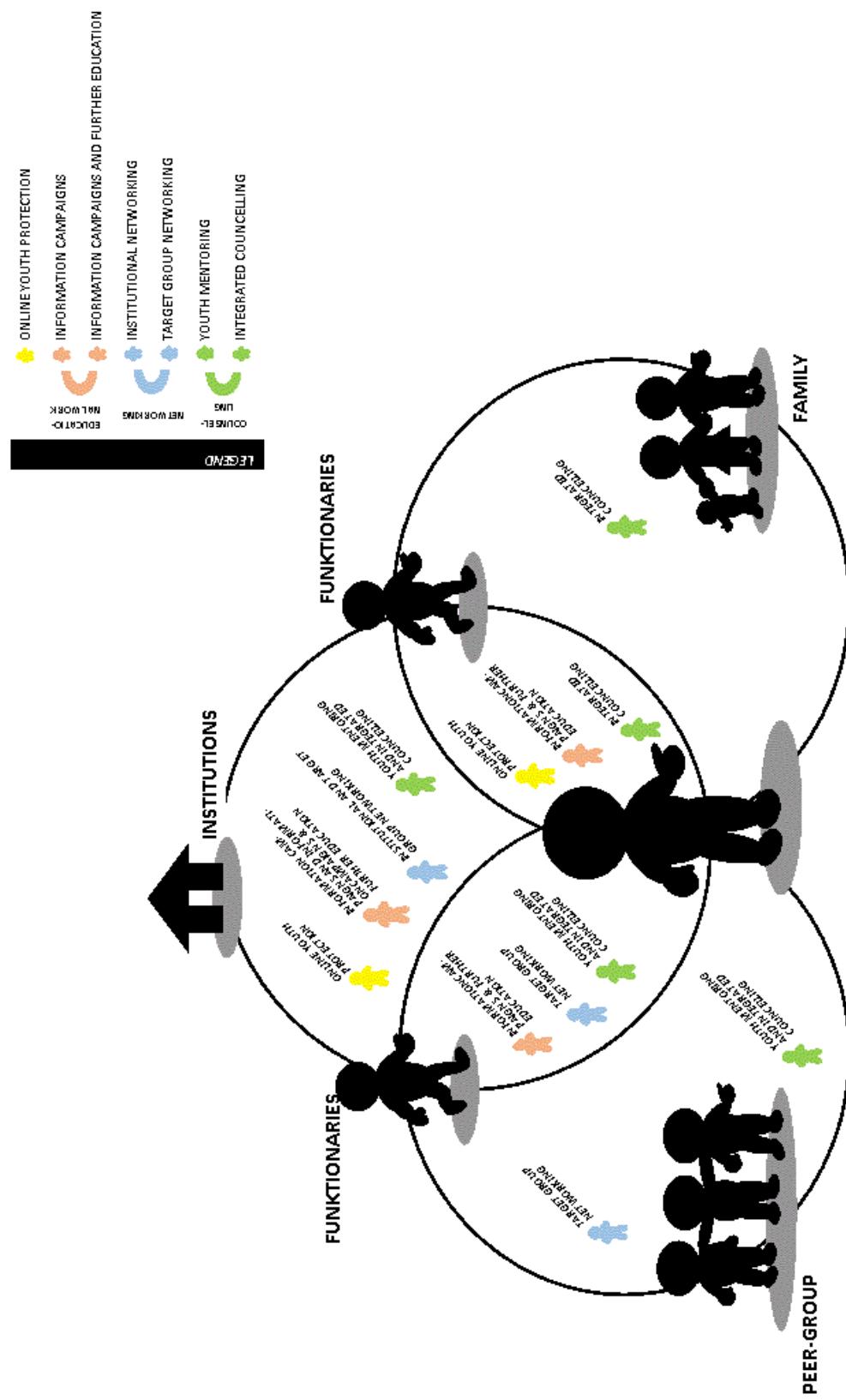
Looking at networking, a distinction must be made between networks within institutions and in relation to the peer group. While the former focuses on institutions themselves, the format of target group networking prioritises the use of stakeholders as mentors, with these usually coming from the peer group.

The counselling work involves all the target groups, i.e. the complete social environment of the adolescents and young adults. In the case of integrated counselling, however, the role of the family – which played a rather subordinate role in the previous types of intervention – is significant. It acts as the central point of access to the affected person, especially for integrated counselling. Youth mentoring, however, takes family structures and values as the starting point for the adolescents' self-reflection.

The distribution of the coloured symbols in figure 7 points to the importance of formalised structures as a central element of preventative or intervening action. This is not solely due to the fact that initiatives themselves are also institutionalised, but also that they need other institutions to implement appropriate measures. That may be as an equal partner, as for example, in the case of in-

stitutional networking, as a place for the initiation of measures, such as in education, or as a support for the counselling process.

FIGURE 7: OVERVIEW OF THE TARGET GROUP ORIENTATION OF THE FORMATS



4. CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF PREVENTION/INTERVENTION OFFERS

This report has created a systematic correlation between a range of initiatives in the prevention/intervention of Islamist radicalisation. The point at which the initiatives are put in place in the process of radicalisation can then be identified. Education work commences with media protection, which attempts to remove questionable material even before contact with the anticipated target group, i.e. adolescents (at risk of radicalisation). It then tries to raise awareness and ensure the topic is dealt with in a reflective way. It is about a reflective maturity. In a broader sense, according to the motto of the Enlightenment, "Sapere audet!" (Have the courage to use your own mind!), education work contributes to the search for knowledge and answers to anticipate doubts, sweeping judgements and "false assumptions". Thus it is to be chiefly classified as primary prevention. While institutional networks promote the exchange of knowledge and experience in the crossover between key individuals and institutions, target-oriented networks are aimed at creating a general age-specific social base. At the level of target group orientated counselling, the field of counselling work focuses on specific topics and issues, which are of concern to adolescents and young adults and in which they are involved.

The measures taken in primary and secondary prevention focus on specific fields of causes or interactions that appear relevant to the phenomenon, such as the imparting of knowledge or the activation of the peer group. In the case of tertiary prevention/intervention, multiple causes of radicalisation and the different developmental paths gain new meaning in the radicalisation process.

The cultural/religious background is seen as an important point of reference for preventive work. When considering the individual initiatives, and especially in the interviews with practitioners from the field of tertiary prevention/intervention, it became clear that prevention must take place at the micro level and must involve the macro and meso levels. Individuals, who, during their socialisation, have learned to deal with losses and failures, have stable

family relationships and high self-esteem (micro-level) are generally not radical, even if they have experienced discrimination at the meso level (see Dantschke 2015, 214-219).

Resource orientation, the development of competences and the extension of protective or risk-attenuating factors are at the forefront of all preventative or intervening efforts.

Looking at the *intervention levels* and *areas of prevention* on which the initiatives are focused, there is a general tendency towards indirect approaches or approaches connected to both levels. Formats focusing exclusively on those affected were not found. An important aspect influencing and limiting the quality of prevention/intervention is the financial resources of initiatives in this area. The application for funding is not based on the actual demand, but is based on financial considerations. This has an impact on the evaluation. The application for funds for the observation and evaluation of the internal processes is deprioritized or neglected because of a larger contribution to the full-time equivalent. Collegial supervision, team discussions or evaluation by the institution itself are the essential steps for meaningful further development and ensuring the quality of the measure(s) (see Dantschke 2015, 688-701).

Cooperation with other actors in the field serves as a support measure and produces knowledge about a very mixed field of activity.

“[...] [If] then at some stage [...] an exchange is actually initiated by initial project experiences and someone takes it upon him or herself to mediate. But of course, it would also have been necessary for the project work to be documented in a certain way, that it is reflected in a certain way, and that it is open to suggestions coming from outside” (Kiefer 2015, 259-264).

Research, politics and practice can contribute to this under certain conditions.

“The federal government can, of course, set the cornerstones for prevention programmes with the states. And where it is then left to the states, to also implement this [...] because it would be desirable, of course, that basically all act in concert here and that the experiences are also really exchanged in a meaningful way” (Kiefer 2015, 422-431).

Policy should and can create the framework for effective prevention/intervention work. This must be done not only in the form of financial and structural support, but also by policy that embraces preventative/intervening measures (see Dantschke 2015, 944-948).

By and large, the examination and prevention of Islamist radicalisation is still a new area of investigation in Germany (see Ceylan/Kiefer 2013; Zick/Böckler 2015). To date, no strategy has been implemented at national level for radicalisation prevention/intervention. The reasons for this are thought to be insufficient knowledge in the area of radicalisation research and the lack of exchange between the existing initiatives (see Ceylan/Kiefer 2013).

National programmes, such as those already existing in the UK, Denmark or France, differ in many respects “[...] [but] all the experiences are deeply shaped by political, cultural and legal elements of the country [...]” (Vidino 2013). A recourse to already existing experiences with regard to prevention/intervention of any tendencies towards (Islamist) radicalisation is therefore also possible in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, since various initiatives have already been launched. For example, the experiences from radicalisation prevention/intervention among right-wing extremists are being drawn upon, along with pedagogic concepts for the development of skills.

Apart from the question of the central criteria and priorities of state-based action plans, there is also the question of the significance and relevance of state institutions and research as actors in the area of radicalisation prevention. This question, among others, was addressed within the framework of the 19th German Prevention Day 2014. Three central requirements for all three actors were proposed and outlined as a critical factor in the interrelationship between the state, research and practice (see Marks 2014):

1. *Interdisciplinarity*: Ensures coordinated cooperation between representatives/authorities from different areas.
2. *Competence*: Definition of the respective tasks/profiles and responsibilities.

3. *Information:* Transparency and the willingness of the actors to communicate.

Thus in various ways, the aspects that have been pointed to offer starting points for considerations that can be based on the results and findings of this survey:

- How can the prevention/intervention offer be adapted to national/regional needs/requirements? Who can contribute to this?
- Is radicalisation understood as a process, to what extent does it make sense to offer initiatives that are linked to the different phases in the process, or is an expansion of the offer necessary?
- Is it necessary to draft/revise a national action plan / Are (further) legal regulations necessary?
- How should a successful collaboration between policy (research) and practice be shaped?

The desire to curb or prevent (the conditions that lead to) violence appears to be an on-going – and very complex – social problem.

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