
A former right-wing extremist in school-based prevention work: Research findings from Germany

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Abstract

This paper summarizes the findings of a pioneer process and impact evaluation of a school-based Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) measure conducted by a former right-wing extremist. The goal of the primary prevention measure was, *inter alia*, to attain positive effects on extreme right-wing attitudes and delinquent behavior among juveniles. This goal was evaluated using an impact assessment with a post intervention screening after approximately half a year. The sample comprised 564 pupils from 50 school classes, which were randomly assigned to a treatment and a control group. Additionally, we gained further data on the prevention measure using participant observations and by surveying the participating pupils. This is the first empirical study to evaluate a school-based PVE measure conducted by a former in such a manner. The results of the study do not suggest that the prevention measure influenced right-wing extremist attitudes and delinquency. The predominantly positive responses of the pupils suggest that this approach can be a tool to facilitate access to pupils in a period of life where adults have difficulties with accessing juveniles. However, the pupils' statements also highlight critical aspects, which signify that some contents and their illustration do not seem to be adequate for this target group.

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1. Thematic introduction and background information

This paper summarizes the findings of a process and impact evaluation of an educational Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) measure carried out by a former right-wing extremist.²

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Data collection was conducted in the ninth grade at public comprehensive schools in the state of Schleswig-Holstein.³ The German National Centre for Crime Prevention (NZK) conducted the study in cooperation with the State Prevention Council based in Schleswig-Holstein and with the support of the local ministry of education. The goal of the study was to investigate a former right-wing extremist's PVE measure to gain insights into potential effects of the measure on pupils as the target group.⁴

1.1 Former extremists in school-based PVE

Former extremists are often considered key in preventing extremism; hence, there has been an increase in involving them in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) over the last years (Koehler, forthcoming; Tapley & Clubb, 2019). P/CVE with/by formers is regularly attached to disengagement programs and works on several levels: first, it takes place in the shape of primary preventive presentations, e.g. in schools (cf. Lodenius, 2010, pp. 12 et seq.);⁵ secondly, there is participation in capacity building (cf. Radicalisation Awareness Network [RAN], 2017b); thirdly, it is advised to install them in disengagement and deradicalization⁶ work (Briggs & Feve, 2013, pp. 24 et seq.; Christensen, 2015; Challgren et al., 2016; Rutkowski, Schötz, & Morten, 2017, pp. 141 et seq.; for definitions of PVE and CVE see Holdaway & Simpson, 2018, pp. 15 et seq.).⁷

Germany has a long tradition of using formers in prevention work. Since the 2000s, throughout Germany, school presentations have been organized with/by former right-wing

² For a detailed description of the research project and its results, see Walsh & Gansewig (2019a) and Gansewig & Walsh (forthcoming); also Walsh & Gansewig (2018) and <https://www.nzkrim.de/themen/rechtsextremismus>.

³ Due to the federal system of education in Germany, the schooling systems of the individual states can differ significantly.

⁴ A cooperation exceeding this study did not exist between the NZK and the former.

⁵ Material with autobiographical content of formers for educational work in schools and elsewhere can also be found online (e.g. <http://extremedialogue.org> [27/03/2018] or <http://terratookit.eu/> [27/03/2018]).

⁶ In accordance with Horgan (2009, pp. 151 et seq.), disengagement refers to the behavioral level whereas deradicalization describes changes regarding attitudes.

⁷ "Primary prevention focuses on protecting people from developing a given problem. (...) Secondary prevention focuses on halting progress of a given problem (...). Tertiary prevention encompasses the remediation of a problem among those who concretely manifest a given problem." (Williams, Horgan, & Evans, 2016, pp. 10 et seq.)

extremists and, more recently, also with formers from other extremist milieus, often (partially) financed through federal contributions (Gansewig & Walsh, 2018). The main idea of these presentations is that – because of their assumed credibility, which is thought to be particularly grounded on authenticity – biographical narratives of former subcultural members are more effective in their impact on pupils than pure knowledge transfer is. Due to their individual experiential background, formers are supposed to illustrate the particular perils and consequences of the respective milieus to the pupils and, thus, influence them in a primary and if applicable secondary preventive manner.

To which extent these assumptions and objectives correspond with the actual circumstances has barely been investigated – also internationally – to the present day (cf. Baruch, Ling, Warnes, & Hofman, 2018; Williams & Kleinman, 2014). Actually, most measures in P/CVE have not been evaluated scientifically and there is a general research gap in the prevention of (violent) extremism (cf. Bellasio et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2016). For example, so far, there are no empirically founded results about the intended and non-intended effects on the pupil target group.⁸ Numerous other investigations into the impacts of prevention measures have shown that they do not automatically result in crime prevention effects (cf. e.g. Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, & Finckenauer, 2000; McCord, 2003; Welsh & Rocque, 2014). Furthermore, experiences from a disengagement program in Sweden show critical aspects of using formers in school prevention work:

“For many years Exit was recognisable to mainly pupils in schools because of numerous lectures about what it is like to be a former Nazi, and the road to transformation. But by this time Exit started to question this work for many reasons.

- It can serve as a small flame that dies out after we leave the school. It might not change anything, says [a staff member of the disengagement program (A/N.)].

⁸ This deficit is not singular but can also be found regarding the prevention schemes of offenders. Most evaluations of such programs do not address possible crime prevention effects of such measures. Petrosino et al. have already pointed out this lack of respective studies (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, Hollis-Peel, & Lavenberg, 2013, p. 34). Upon request, the authors confirmed that this deficient data availability is still the case.

- It has been suggested that lectures in schools with former criminals, Nazis and drug addicts sometimes work the other way around and that some listeners get to be more fascinated than discouraged, in spite of good intentions to show the negative sides.” (Lodenijs, 2010, p. 13)

Therefore, these measures might – among others – bear the risk of creating fascination instead of preventing extremism.⁹

1.2 The prevention measure

The former, who is in his forties, had been living in various violence-prone subcultures for twenty years according to his own information. For more than ten years, he had been active in a range of right-wing extremist contexts (including as leader of an extreme right-wing comradeship and as trader of right-wing music) before turning to organized crime as leader of a criminal rocker club. He said that his reasons for distancing himself from right-wing extremism and crime were, inter alia, quarrels within the respective subcultures as well as psychological and physical impairments. At the beginning of his disengagement and deradicalization process, he faced much resistance; however, he also received a lot of support from his family and the society. A few months later, he was convicted to two years and ten months imprisonment for a drug offence from the previous year. According to him, during his time in prison, he voluntarily underwent psychological therapy where he found the necessary support to continue his disengagement and deradicalization process and to reflect on his hitherto life. Encouragement by prison staff convinced him to campaign against right-wing extremism, xenophobia, hatred, violence, drugs and criminal rocker groups after his release in January 2016. Since then, he has been conducting P/CVE self-managed and in various

⁹ Used in secondary preventive contexts, they bear the risk of stigmatization (Holdaway & Simpson, 2018, pp. 23 et seq.).

contexts.¹⁰ The State Prevention Council in Schleswig-Holstein was informed about this in summer 2016, which subsequently led to an evaluation of one of his PVE measures.

The investigated primary preventive measure carried out by the former for pupils of grade eight or higher was a learning unit about the topics right-wing extremism and crime that encompassed four lessons (180 minutes). The goals of the measure were, inter alia, to prevent right-wing extremism and crime. There was no project concept within the timeframe of the study. The former used a schedule he had drafted himself. Regarding content, the prevention measure was mainly designed along the former's biography. In the theoretical part of the prevention measure, he covered the German era of National Socialism, current right-wing extremism and crime. In the following biographical part, he dealt with his

- turning towards extremism;
- life as a right-wing extremist (promotion, violence, weapons, persons concerned); and
- disengagement and deradicalization.

Afterwards, he talked about his experiences in the red-light and criminal rocker milieus before illustrating his time in prison and his current life. An open discussion was planned for the end of the prevention measure.

2. Structure of the study

2.1 Goals and research questions

Given the lack of existing data on school-based prevention work involving former extremists, one of the study's main goals was to address this gap.¹¹ One goal was to generate knowledge about the effects of such primary preventive measures on pupils. Therefore, the open-outcome investigation was designed to be explorative.

¹⁰ Prior to the beginning of the study, a staff member of the disengagement program in Schleswig-Holstein had validated the disengagement and deradicalization of the former.

¹¹ As part of this research project, a Germany-wide stocktaking was, inter alia, conducted of (school) prevention practices by formers from extremist milieus (cf. Gansewig & Walsh, 2018).

To illustrate the actual prevention practice in Germany, the exemplary measure was studied in the form it had already been conducted by the former beforehand. Within this framework, no changes were made regarding content, structure or the methodical design of the prevention measure.

Among others, the following questions were of interest while conducting the evaluated prevention measure:

- What are the general conditions, contents and methods as well as the former-specific aspects of the prevention measure?
- How do the pupils perceive the prevention measure, the former, their subjective knowledge gain as well as in school preparation and preoccupation?
- Is there any indication for potential fascination aspects on the part of the participants or possible (re-)traumatization aspects for pupils who are or have been (potentially) affected by right-wing violence¹²?

The following were some of the questions scrutinized regarding the impact of the prevention measure:

- Do the variables, “right-wing extremist attitudes” and “delinquency”, show any changes?
- Do the participants show knowledge gains and/or any engagement outside of school with the issue of right-wing extremism?
- Can any non-intended effects be found, such as a captivation with the right-wing subcultures and/or a criminal lifestyle?

¹² Both physically and verbally.

2.2 Research design and procedure

To be able to investigate the topic adequately, a mixed methods study was carried out. It consisted of a preliminary investigation followed by a process and an impact evaluation (Table 1). The pre-study – which was, inter alia, conducted in the shape of two observations of the prevention measure – was conducted to examine whether the prevention measure was generally suitable as an object of investigation, and which steps would have to be taken in which manner to proceed with the study. The process evaluation accompanied the prevention measure, scrutinized its general conditions, the design of its contents and methods as well as former-specific aspects and, inter alia, sampled pupils' opinions about the measure and the former. To this end, systematic participant observation was conducted in one class of each school of the experimental group (cf. Thierbach & Petschick, 2014). Furthermore, the participating pupils were surveyed after the prevention measure. To ask their opinions at a later stage, too, these pupils received more questions regarding the prevention measure and the former on average five and a half months after the measure (t1). In accordance with the objectives of the prevention measure, positive changes were anticipated, among others, in their rejection of extreme right-wing positions and delinquency. Checking these objectives was at the center of investigating the impacts. The participating classes were randomly assigned to an experimental group (EG) and a control group (CG) as a clustered randomized sample.¹³

¹³ Randomization took place in form of a drawing lots procedure in line with the recommendations of the Cochrane Risk of Bias Tool for Randomized Control Trials (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK115843/bin/appe-fm2.pdf> [18/04/2019]) in which the lots were not drawn by researchers of the project team. In the beginning, the respective school was randomly assigned to the EG or the CG so that no school would have both EG and CG classes. This procedure was chosen to avoid that within one school, information about the prevention measure was given to parallel classes that were part of the CG (cf. Kaiser & Menkhoff, 2017). Afterwards, the classes were drawn which would participate for the respective schools so that each group comprised 25 classes.

Table 1: Overview of data collection

	Classes from requesting schools¹⁴	EG	CG
Data collection 1 Preliminary investigation	Observation		
Data collection 2 t0 Impact evaluation		Survey	Survey
Data collection 3 Process evaluation		Participant observation, Survey	
Data collection 4 t1 Impact evaluation		Survey	Survey

According to German school legislation, for ethical reasons, data collection at schools for scientific research is generally based on voluntariness and is conducted exclusively with the permission of the respective ministry of education¹⁵ as well as after getting the approval of the legal guardians (cf. Füssel, 2010, p. 528). Before data collection, the legal guardians of pupils in the participating classes were given detailed information about the topic, goal and data security concept of the research project. It is possible that asking legal guardians' permission and voluntary participation resulted in individual right-wing juveniles or juveniles from right-wing households not participating in the study.

2.3 Validity and limitations

The advantage of randomized controlled trials is that due to the randomization, confounding variables can have the same impacts on both groups and, thus, differences between the groups might be attributed to the influence of the intervention (cf. Waldmann,

¹⁴ The observations occurred at schools that had requested and carried out the school-based prevention measure of the former independently of the study.

¹⁵ As early as in the stage of planning the study, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture of the State of Schleswig-Holstein was involved. It appreciated the study and approved data collection within public comprehensive schools in July 2017.

2002; Weisburd & Hinkle, 2012). Apart from the randomization of the participants, controlled trial requires measurements before and after an intervention. This is done to ensure that the studied groups do not differ significantly initially in terms of their dependent variables (DV) (cf. Kromrey & Strübing, 2009). Due to obstacles in the evaluation of this study, the univocal identification of the pupils could not be realized at the respective times of measurement.¹⁶ Therefore, the data generated during data collection 2 (t0) were not considered for the impact evaluation. Despite surveying the same classes, there was no guarantee for an identical composition of the samples at the respective times of measurement (e.g. due to absence at the day of the survey). Correspondingly, the samples have to be considered as being independent of each other.

Nevertheless, the information collected during data collection 4 (t1) allow for cautious causal conclusions since, “[i]n experimental studies with large samples, an equivalence of the compared groups is ensured through randomization. Therefore, it is theoretically possible to avoid pretest measurements and to interpret posttest differences as a confirmation of the alternate hypothesis” (Döring & Bortz, 2016, p. 728 – translation from German by the authors). To ensure this, more than 800 pupils from public comprehensive schools were surveyed for this study, corresponding to the population of public comprehensive schools in Schleswig-Holstein.¹⁷ Furthermore, when assuming that schools and classes constitute relatively homogeneous groups (e.g. due to a comparable age per school year), differences in the levels before intervention can nearly be ruled out because these differences, as well as

¹⁶ Regarding the temporary end of the NZK period of time (at this time, late 2018), the schedule for the research project that started in summer 2017 was tight so that data collection had to be finished within one school year. Therefore, no personalized pupil data were collected regarding the application and the organizational procedure. During a preliminary investigation starting in spring 2017, it was evaluated whether the prevention measure was an appropriate object of research.

¹⁷ In the run-up to this study, the willingness of public comprehensive schools in Schleswig-Holstein to participate was enquired. It was not possible to rule out beforehand a systematic difference between those schools that were willing to participate and the ones that would decline participation. This would constitute a so-called Non-Consent Bias: in this case, the participating schools would not correspond to the population of public comprehensive schools in Schleswig-Holstein (cf. Marcus, 1997). Accordingly, along certain variables, a comparison was made between all contacted schools that declined participation and those, which did take part (e.g. number of pupils per school, number of pupils with migration background in grade 9). This test showed no significant differences between participating and non-participating schools for the scrutinized variables.

possible measurement errors, would be balanced on average through randomization. Another indication for a suitability of the data is the comparability of the experimental and the control group, which was still valid after a case reduction of approximately 300 pupils.¹⁸ Since they were the same classes, existing differences between the investigated groups were examined at time t0 and could be negated.

Regarding the external validity of the results of this study, it must be noted that the findings of the evaluation are personally connected to the former extremist whose prevention measure was investigated under the given circumstances.

Participant observation was conducted in seven classes – i.e. in one class each of the seven EG-schools due to limited resources. It is inherent to the method of participant observation that the presence of academics can influence the object of research (cf. Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2009, pp. 58 et seq.). Insofar, it cannot be ruled out that the presence of researchers could have influenced the realization of the measure as well as its assessment by the pupils. However, based on these participant observations, a wealth of data material could be generated and the conducted prevention measure could be scrutinized on uniformity.

3. Concluding presentation and discussion of the research results

3.1 Process evaluation

The process evaluation was based, inter alia, on the analysis of the data from seven participant observations and surveying the participants of the measure. These participant observations focused on the contents and methodical design of the measure as well as its general conditions and former-specific aspects. The goal of surveying the participants was to find out to which extent the target group accepted the prevention measure and the former.¹⁹

¹⁸ In total, at time t0, 895 pupils (EG: n = 491; CG: n = 404) were surveyed, while at time t1, it was 815 pupils (EG: n = 448; CG: n = 367). After eliminating missing values, at time t0, 544 persons (EG: n = 297; CG: n = 247) could be considered, at time t1 564 persons (EG: n = 300; CG: n = 264).

¹⁹ Among others, the following questions were asked: “What did you like most/least about the prevention measure?”, “Was there a moment during the prevention measure when you felt uncomfortable?”.

Furthermore, it was evaluated if the pupils thought that they had learned anything from the measure, whether they had been prepared for it in school and if they had dealt with the issue of right-wing extremism in school afterwards. Moreover, indications for potentially fascinating aspects on the part of the participants were considered, as well as possible (re-)traumatization aspects for pupils who were or had been (potentially) affected by right-wing violence. The following answers the leading questions, which arose in this context and discusses the generated results.

3.1.1 Participant observations of the prevention measure

3.1.1.1 General conditions

While the former generally set three full hours for the prevention measure, the actual duration of the presentations varied between 2:55 and 3:25 hours. The aspired timeframe was regularly exceeded, although there were no breaks in any of the seven measures. Here, the pupils were usually asked for their preferences regarding breaks. Asking their preferences suggested freedom of choice for the pupils, but these were rather sham votings: first, only votes against breaks were retrieved, and second, often only few persons participated in these votings. In most prevention measures, the former broached the issue of insufficient time availability and gave this as a reason for dealing with some topics less.

3.1.1.2 Contents

In all seven measures, the biographical and the biography-independent parts were generally given the same attention. Some issues varied in detail, such as illustrating the involvement and disengagement and deradicalization processes in either subculture. Some subject matters could be assessed positively; others were identified as critical. The following issues are among the positive aspects in this context the former pointed out to the pupils:

- each of them usually has at least one person in their social environment who belongs to a hate group of right-wing extremists;

- how highly mobile and cross-linked right-wing extremism is (cf. Schuhmacher, 2014, p. 77);
- which impacts joining the right-wing milieu and criminal milieus can have on one's family and relatives;
- how violent right-wing extremists and criminal rockers are (even among each other);
- which risks lure in carrying stabbing weapons.

Among more critical points were the partly detailed depictions of violence and narrations from the former's criminal past in the biographical part of the prevention measure. Furthermore, the processuality and motivation of his involvement and disengagement and deradicalization as well as his attachment to the right-wing ideology were partly not illustrated sufficiently. The same applies to the possible impacts of (right-wing) violence on affected people.

3.1.1.3 Methods

The methodical design was largely consistent across all the observed measures. Particularly during the theoretical part of the presentations, the pupils were motivated to participate actively through direct questions of the former as well as a role play and by jointly drafting charts on the blackboard – which stimulated the interaction between class and former and resulted in a predominantly vivid atmosphere. Sometimes, this methodical arrangement sparked lively participation by the pupils and gave the measure its own drive. However, the biographical part largely consisted of the former's monologue. This obviously resulted in decreased attention among some pupils.

3.1.1.4 Former-specific aspects

The former's performance could be interpreted as a purposeful adaptation to the target group. By youth-specific behavior as well as phrasing, he strove to reduce distance and to

meet the juveniles at eye level. It was obvious that with this strategy, the former got positive responses from most juveniles.

However, in some instances, the terminology the former used and his demeanor seemed misplaced. His phraseology was partly inappropriate. The critical expressions were roughly partitioned into two categories: colloquial and insensitive terms. While the first group was filled with expletives (e.g. “asshole”, “fuck”), the second group encompassed concepts that have to be challenged due to the underlying view of man or because they include at least potentially degrading connotations (e.g. “gypsies”).

3.1.2 Pupils' views

A total of 490 questionnaires were included in the participants' assessment of the prevention measure, the former and their subjective knowledge gain. Of the pupils, 22 % had a migration background. In addition, 11 % said they knew some of their friends and/or acquaintances were right-wing persons, and three female as well as 14 male pupils shared personal experiences with right-wing violence (both physically and verbally). Additional information on the assessment of their subjective knowledge gain as well as the preparation of the prevention measure and further work on the topic by the school was collected from 448 pupils in the survey at time t1 (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Participants of the measure

<p>Pupil survey immediately after the measure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 490 pupils• Gender: ♀: 48 %; ♂: 52 %; n.d.: n = 2• Average age: 15 years <p>Pupil survey on average five and a half months after the measure (t1):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 448 pupils• Gender: ♀: 47 %; ♂: 53 %; n.d.: n = 3• Average age: 15 years <p>(Walsh & Gansewig 2019a, pp. 48 et seq.)</p>
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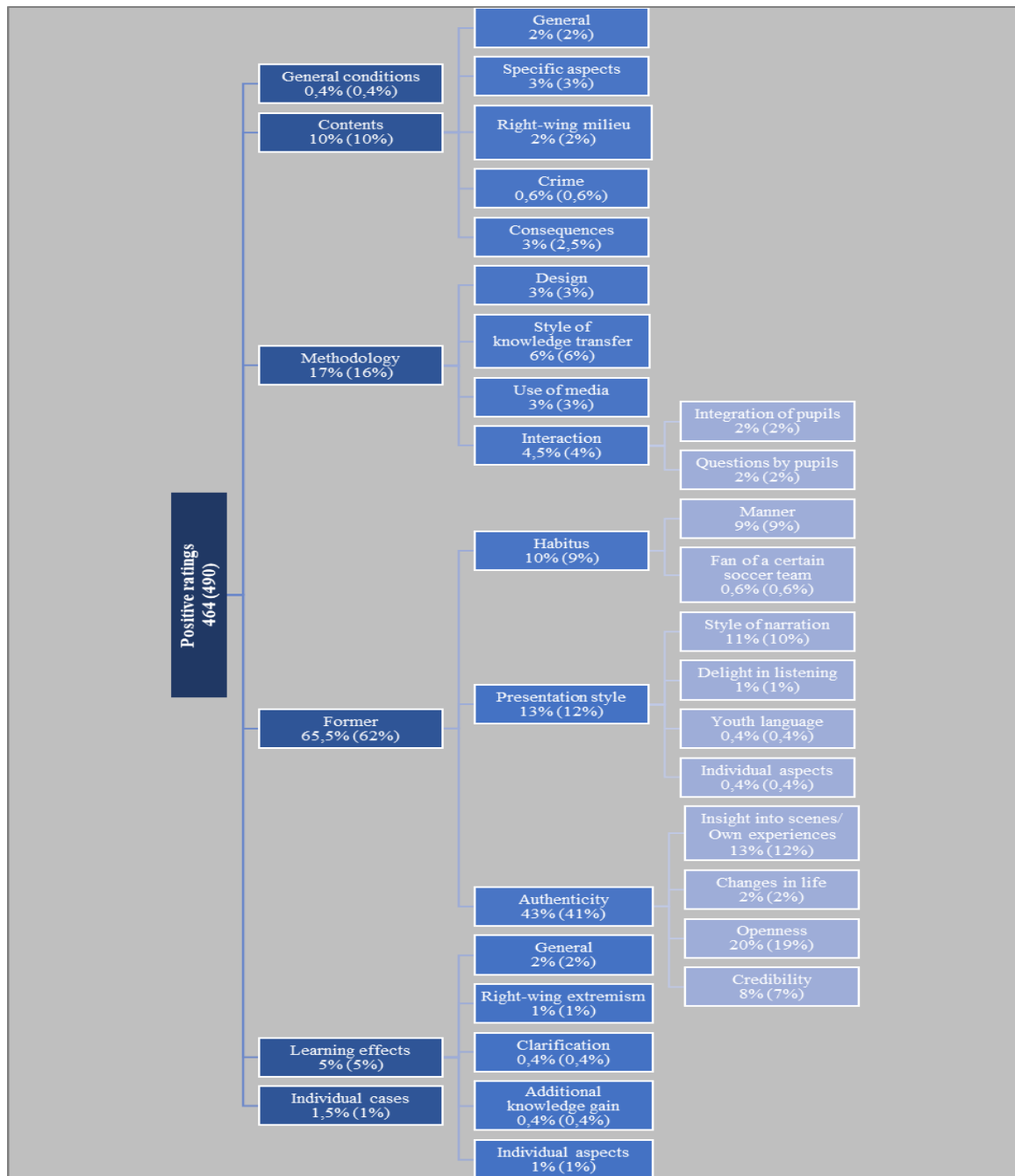
3.1.2.1 Assessment of prevention measure and former

The former as well as the format of the presentation found favor with most pupils. Immediately after the prevention measure, a majority of them rated the former (90 %) and the measure (81 %) with A and B. Female pupils tended to give better grades.

Of the participants, 93 % (n = 457) responded to what they liked particularly about the prevention measure. Out of 292 female and 199 male pupils, 464²⁰ provided detailed responses with multiple answers. These could be categorized into six main and partly several subcategories (Figure 2). Positive feedback was particularly given for former-specific aspects. This included the former's authenticity, his personality and the style of his presentation. Furthermore, the respondents gave positive ratings for the methodical design of the prevention measure, e.g. the way knowledge was conveyed, the use of different media and the interaction of the former with the pupils.

²⁰ Three responses did not include the respondent's gender.

Figure 2: Positive ratings²¹

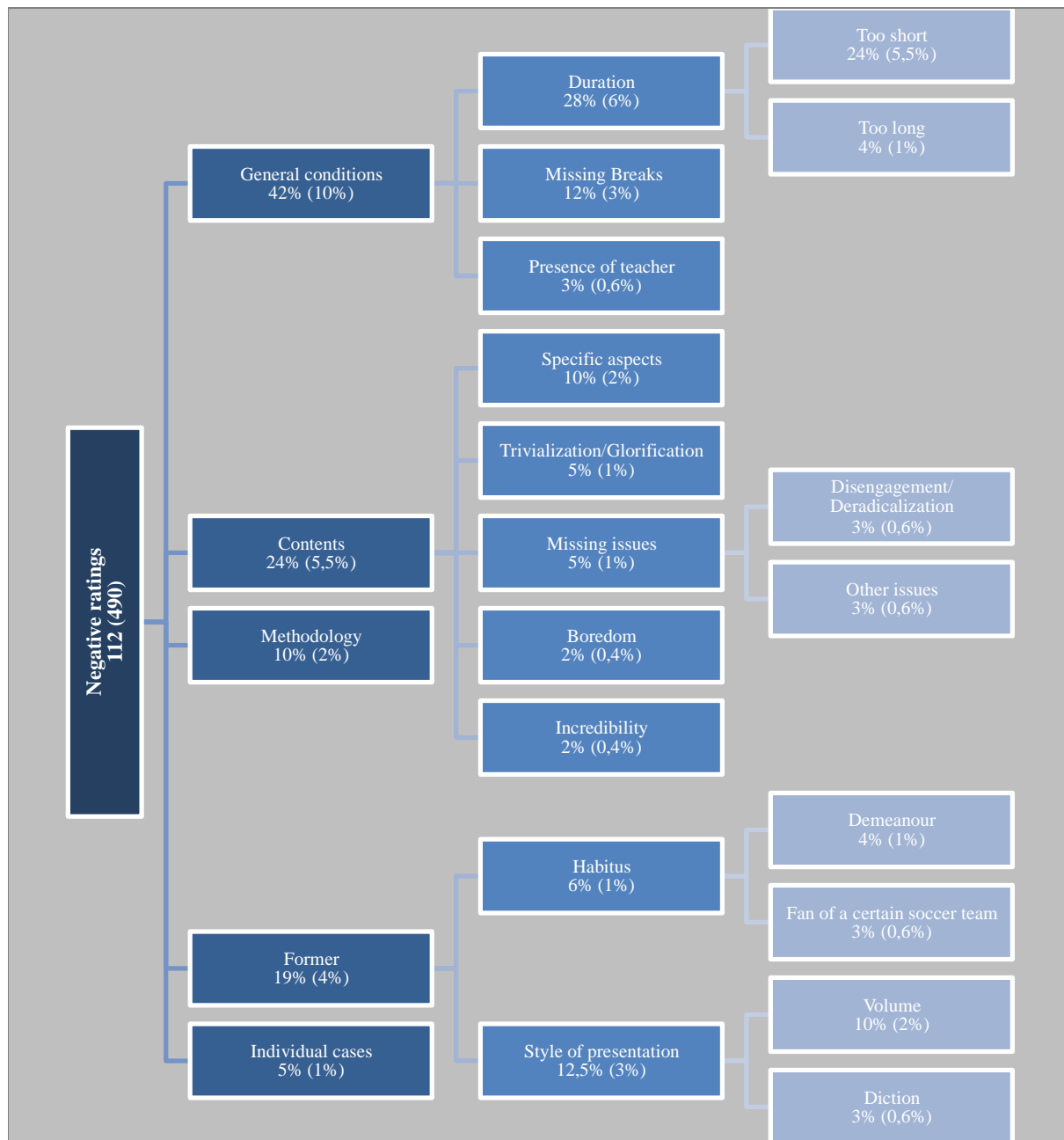


²¹ The percentages in brackets refer to the complete sample (n = 490).

A total of 60 female and 46 male pupils expressed explicit criticism. Some of them named several topics so that in the end, 112²² indications were available. These could be divided into five main and some subcategories (Figure 3). The negative points the pupils found included the fact that the prevention measure had been too short and that they had not gone on any breaks. Some respondents also disliked the fact that not all issues had been discussed in sufficient detail and that some topics “may partly have been a bit too extreme”. Some also criticized the loud voice of the former and his wording.

²² Six statements did not include the respondent’s gender.

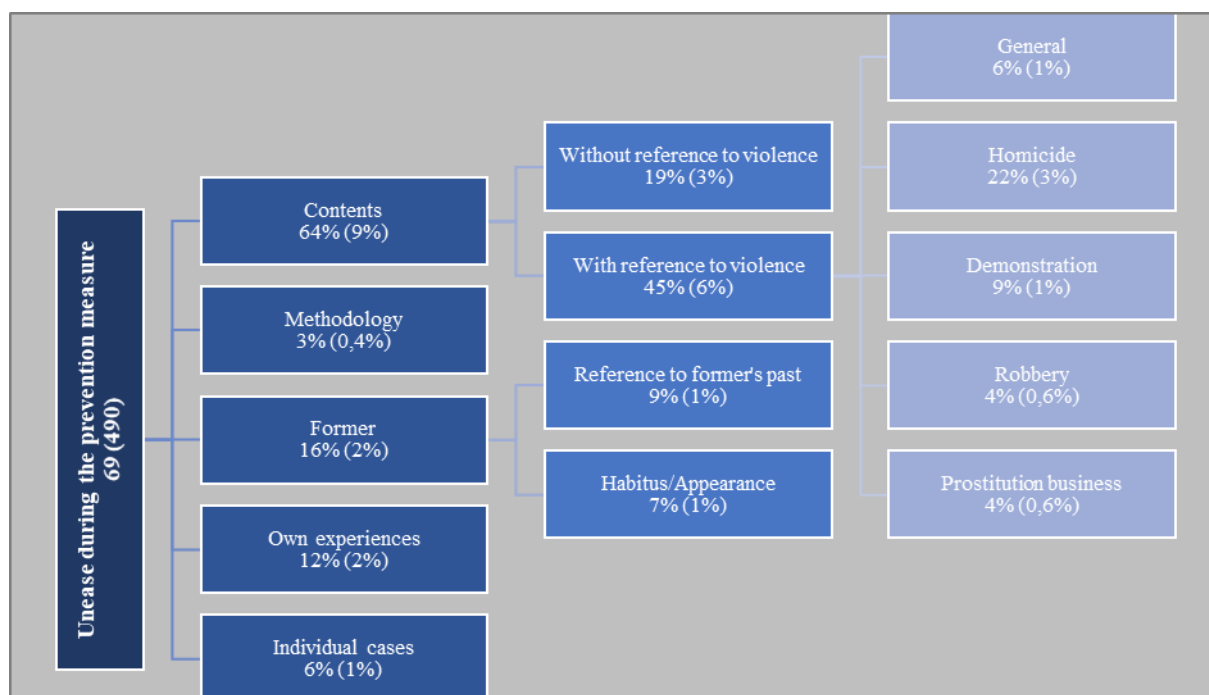
Figure 3: Negative ratings²³



²³ See footnote 21.

According to 16 % (n = 80) of all respondents, they had felt uncomfortable at one point of the prevention measure; this applied to 25 % of girls and 9 % of boys (Pearson's Chi² (2) = 21.721; p = 0.000). The 69 specifically mentioned reasons (♀: n = 50; ♂: n = 18)²⁴ could be classified into five main and several subcategories (Figure 4). A total of 64 % of pupil statements referred to contents, among which mainly those with a violence context were mentioned. A particular source of unease was the narration regarding a homicide committed by other right-wing extremists, which accounted for about 25 % of the given reasons, and it was mainly mentioned by female pupils. A total of 16 % of the reasons, also predominantly expressed by girls, referred to the former's past, habitus and appearance.

Figure 4: Feeling of unease during the prevention measure²⁵



²⁴ One male pupil gave two reasons for his unease.

²⁵ See footnote 21.

However, the mentioned feelings of unease did not result in a generally negative evaluation of the former or the measure among these respondents. Most pupils who had felt uncomfortable at any point of the presentation still rated the former (95 %) and the prevention measure (80 %) with A and B. In comparison to this group, pupils who had not felt uncomfortable tended to give the former less positive rating (90 %) and the measure a better rating (85.5 %). The feeling of unease seemed to have played only a situational role that did not have any effect on the overall assessment.

3.1.2.2 Subjective knowledge gain

Immediately after the measure, 80 % (n = 395) of pupils asserted they had learned something from the prevention measure. Significant differences in rating one's knowledge gain could be found between girls and boys, which was assumed by 89 % of female and 77 % of male pupils (Pearson's $\chi^2(2) = 12.551$; $p = 0.002$). At time t1 – i.e. five and a half months after participation on average – the share of respondents who affirmed a knowledge gain was 59 % (n = 265).

3.1.2.3 In school preparation and preoccupation

Substantial differences could be found in the way pupils within the respective classes responded on preparing the prevention measure and follow-up work on the topic of right-wing extremism. None of the 25 surveyed classes showed consistent answers in these respects. The pupils' memories and perceptions seemed to differ on these issues.

At 72 % (n = 321), the majority of respondents thought at time t1 that the measure had not been prepared in their class. According to 35 % (n = 111) of these pupils, they would have endorsed a preparation. According to 18 % (n = 83) of respondents, the prevention measure had been prepared in class. A total of 78 pupils gave 82 precise pieces of information on the type of preparation. However, not all information referred to the preparation ahead of the prevention measure. A total of 43 % (n = 35) of specifications rather addressed the survey in connection with the study or aspects of conducting the prevention measure – or the pupils did

not remember the preparation or did not provide categorizable responses, respectively. In the end, 47 statements referred to the very school preparation of the measure, out of which 79 % (n = 37) addressed dealing with the contents of the topic (e.g. with topic texts or preparing questions to the former) and 21 % (n = 10) mentioned the announcement of the prevention measure and the visit of the former. Based on this information by the pupils, a preparation in the sense of dealing with the topic can be confirmed for a maximum of 18 out of the 25 classes.

Immediately after the measure, the majority of participants pronounced themselves in favor of preoccupation of the topic of right-wing extremism (76 %; n = 371). The difference between boys and girls was significant, with 87 % of female and 69 % of male pupils preferring this (Pearson's $\chi^2(2) = 21.675$; $p = 0.000$). The respondents favored doing this with the former in class. At time t1, 31 % (n = 140) of pupils stated that there had been a preoccupation of the topic of right-wing extremism in their class.

3.1.3 Possible fascination aspects for the participants and potential (re-)traumatization aspects for pupils who were or had been (potentially) affected by right-wing violence

Possible fascination aspects regarding a right-wing extremist and/or criminal lifestyle could not be determined through the content analyses of the pupil statements provided. No indications could be identified regarding potential traumatization aspects for pupils with a migration background as potentially affected victims of right-wing violence.²⁶ Neither did the results suggest possible retraumatization aspects concerning pupils that had been victims of right-wing violence.²⁷ Furthermore, no relevant rating differences on the prevention measure and the former could be identified between pupils who were or those who were not (potentially) affected (Table 2).

²⁶ Regarding the possible fascination aspects, the content analysis referred, inter alia, to responses to the question "What did you like most about the prevention measure?". Regarding the potential (re-)traumatization aspects, the answers to the questions "What didn't you like about the prevention measure?" and "Was there a moment during the prevention measure when you felt uncomfortable?" were considered, among others.

²⁷ See footnote 26.

Table 2: Ratings of the prevention measure and the former

Which overall grade do you assign to the prevention measure?								
	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)	F (%)	n.d. (%)	Total
Total	221 (45)	181 (36)	68 (14)	8 (2)	4 (1)	1 (0.5)	7 (1.5)	490
Migration background								
Yes	50 (48)	36 (35)	15 (14)	1 (1)	2 (2)	0		
No	171 (45)	145 (38)	53 (14)	7 (2)	2 (0.5)	1 (0.5)		
Affected by right-wing violence								
Yes	3 (19)	9 (56)	3 (19)	0	1 (6)	0		
No	218 (46)	172 (37)	65 (14)	8 (2)	3 (0.5)	1 (0.5)		
Which overall grade do you assign to the former?								
	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)	D (%)	E (%)	F (%)	n.d. (%)	Total
Total	314 (64)	129 (26)	33 (7)	5 (1)	2 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	6 (1)	490
Migration background								
Yes	65 (62)	22 (21)	15 (14)	1 (1)	2 (2)	0		
No	249 (65.5)	107 (28)	18 (5)	4 (1)	0	1 (0.5)		
Affected by right-wing violence								
Yes	10 (63)	3 (19)	2 (12)	0	1 (6)	0		
No	304 (65)	126 (27)	31 (6)	5 (1)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)		

Based on these results that do not indicate a (re-)traumatization problem among pupils (potentially) affected by right-wing violence, by no means it can be concluded that (re-)traumatization is a generally negligible issue in this prevention context (cf. Radke, 2016; Milke, 2016; van den Berg, 2017). In contrast to the usual German practice when conducting biography-based prevention measures in school, this study was not conducted as a compulsory school presentation – i.e. participation in the prevention measure was voluntary. Furthermore, the legal guardians' consent was required. Accordingly, the legal guardians of pupils (potentially) affected by right-wing violence could object to participation; apart from that, pupils who decided against participation independently of their legal guardians were not required to submit the declaration of consent at home or in school. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that these mechanisms could have led to a preselection of pupils (potentially) affected by right-wing violence. Therefore, the necessity of voluntariness and a general inclusion of the

legal guardians previously to conducting such a prevention measure seems to be appropriate.²⁸ The research results also show that, independently of being affected by right-wing violence, retraumatization aspects can play a role in other subject areas. In this study, this could be identified as a reason for pupils' unease during the prevention measure. Particularly, the issue of bullying played a role in this regard (n = 3).

A particularly notable point in this context is that these aspects did not surface in the enquiry of negative ratings, but exclusively surfaced when broaching the issue of unease during the measure. Apparently, simply asking, "What did you (not) like?" is not sufficient for an adequate survey of pupils' perceptions of the subject matter.

In sum, we can conclude that despite the mainly positive ratings by the pupils, the negative aspects they mentioned should not be ignored. Particularly, the feedback by pupils who felt uncomfortable during the measure due to certain contents or because of the former himself, as well as some of the other negative ratings, seem to be partly critical. Aspects of violence played a dominant role in this context. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to scrutinize certain contents generally – especially the ones with references to violence – and their presentation.

3.2 Impact evaluation

Like the process evaluation, the impact evaluation²⁹ had various objectives. First, it was supposed to scrutinize whether the changes aspired by the measure in terms of right-wing extremist attitudes and delinquency – among others – were achieved. Second, it was to find out whether a knowledge gain or non-school preoccupation with the topic of right-wing extremism could be observed among the participants. Third, the impact evaluation considered potential non-intended effects. The impact evaluation was carried out with a clustered

²⁸ Asking legal guardians' consent and the voluntary participation of the pupils could result in individual right-wing juveniles or juveniles from right-wing households not taking part in such measures. This should be accepted, (1) since the protection of (potentially) affected persons should be a priority and (2) because school prevention measures of formers are usually primary (as opposed to secondary) prevention schemes.

²⁹ The authors would like to thank Davis Adewuyi for leading the statistical analysis of the impact evaluation.

randomized sample. Its net sample encompassed 564 individuals (EG: n = 300; CG: n = 264) at time t1 (Figure 5), which the evaluation focused on due to obstacles in the research practice (see 2.2).

Figure 5: Respondents at time t1

	EG	CG
Number of pupils:	300	264
Gender:	♀: 135; ♂: 165	♀: 138; ♂: 126
Average age:	15 years	15 years
Migration background:	No: 232; Yes: 68	No: 194; Yes: 70

(Walsh & Gansewig 2019a, pp. 69 et seq.)

3.2.1 Differences regarding extreme right-wing views and delinquency

3.2.1.1 Right-wing extremist attitudes

Right-wing extremist views were measured according to the questionnaire on extreme right-wing attitudes (e.g. Decker et al., 2013). The superordinate investigation construct of right-wing extremist views was based on the dimensions “xenophobia”, “endorsement of a right-wing authoritarian dictatorship”, “chauvinism”, “antisemitism” and “belittlement of the German National Socialism”.³⁰ A confirmatory factor analysis was used to confirm the validity of the measurements. Conservative t-tests did not show any significant differences of extreme right-wing attitudes in comparison to non-participants. Thus, causal effects of the measure do not seem to exist.

The next analysis step contained a multilevel analysis, which encompassed eight different models (Table 3). Model 1 exclusively contained the measure, which, however, did not bring about an explained variation in the independent variable (IV); this militates against

³⁰ Due to the numerous missing values in the items of the “Social Darwinism” chart, this dimension was not taken to not further diminish the sample.

an influence of the measure on changing right-wing extremist views. Models 2 to 6 then included additional variables that could theoretically cause an explained variation in the IV. Among others, the three included dimensions of group-specific misanthropy³¹ (GSM; sexism, depreciation of homosexuals as well as of disabled people), to spend time with right-wingers, to have mainly German friends and to agree to the statement “When I’m frustrated, I’d be willing to beat up someone”, as well as age proved to be relevant influencing factors. From model 7 onwards, the socio-demographic variables were negligible because their addition diminished model adaptation. Finally, model 8 only included variables with a significant influence on extreme right-wing attitudes: the included dimensions of GSM, spending time with right-wingers, a mainly German circle of friends and the aggression potential to beat up a person out of frustration. Furthermore, model 8 was calculated with robust standard errors to avoid heteroscedasticity. This model explained 44 % of total variation and proved to be very adaptive. The interaction term that checked a conjunction between the measure and the number of migrants at the respective school was significant in this model. Therefore, right-wing extremist views grew stronger with an increasing number of migrants among measure participants.

³¹ „Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit“ (cf. Heitmeyer, 2002-2011).

Table 3: Multilevel models

IV: Factor score right-wing extremist attitudes ³²		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Measure (Reference (ref.) CG)		-0.101 (0.0824)	-0.0877 (0.0621)	-0.0786 (0.0541)	-0.150 (0.0982)	-0.188 (0.103)	-0.353* (0.152)	-0.236* (0.0984)	-0.216*** (0.0568)
GSM			0.504*** (0.0287)	0.465*** (0.0304)	0.492*** (0.0312)	0.489*** (0.0313)	0.485*** (0.0313)	0.462*** (0.0304)	0.683*** (0.0793)
Self-assessment on high alcohol consumption ³³				-0.0360 (0.0602)	-0.0492 (0.0596)	-0.0501 (0.0596)	-0.0479 (0.0595)	-0.0386 (0.0600)	
Occasionally spending time with right-wingers ³³				0.297*** (0.0699)	0.294*** (0.0690)	0.297*** (0.0690)	0.284*** (0.0690)	0.280*** (0.0699)	0.278* (0.0974)
Having beaten up someone because he/she was different ^{33,34}				0.189 (0.133)	0.117 (0.130)	0.120 (0.130)	0.102 (0.131)	0.155 (0.133)	
Spending much spare time with friends ³³				-0.0169 (0.0520)	-0.0299 (0.0511)	-0.0274 (0.0511)	-0.0200 (0.0511)	-0.0131 (0.0519)	
Parents are always there for me ³³				-0.0307 (0.0575)	-0.0158 (0.0571)	-0.0143 (0.0571)	-0.0121 (0.0567)	-0.0295 (0.0572)	
Majority of friends are German ³³				0.176*** (0.0462)	0.125** (0.0489)	0.131** (0.0492)	0.128** (0.0492)	0.173*** (0.0467)	0.175** (0.0581)
Ability to often understand others ³⁵	Rather not			0.161 (0.107)	0.111 (0.106)	0.113 (0.106)	0.117 (0.105)	0.165 (0.107)	
	Rather yes			0.0673 (0.0915)	0.0309 (0.0913)	0.0334 (0.0912)	0.0368 (0.0909)	0.0758 (0.0911)	
	Absolutely			0.0414 (0.0923)	-0.0102 (0.0923)	-0.0114 (0.0923)	-0.0113 (0.0920)	0.0434 (0.0919)	
Beat up someone when frustrated ³³				0.115* (0.0488)	0.121* (0.0480)	0.122** (0.0480)	0.124** (0.0478)	0.120* (0.0487)	0.134** (0.0462)
Gender (ref. female)					-0.0793* (0.0396)	-0.0792* (0.0396)	-0.0808* (0.0394)		
Age					0.0703* (0.0302)	0.0713* (0.0302)	0.0656* (0.0298)		
Regional Court district Place of school ³⁶	Lübeck				-0.217 (0.189)	-0.197 (0.190)	-0.181 (0.186)		
	Flensburg				-0.146 (0.176)	-0.130 (0.177)	-0.119 (0.176)		
	Itzehoe				0.357 (0.470)	0.384 (0.470)	0.363 (0.470)		
Regional Court district Place of residence ³⁶	Lübeck				0.320 (0.179)	0.320 (0.179)	0.319 (0.174)		
	Flensburg				0.111 (0.176)	0.102 (0.176)	0.113 (0.171)		
	Itzehoe				-0.462 (0.470)	-0.642 (0.495)	-0.350 (0.536)		
Religious affiliation ³⁷	Islam				-0.0604 (0.0881)	-0.0720 (0.0886)	-0.0774 (0.0878)		
	None				0.133*** (0.0413)	0.132*** (0.0413)	0.134** (0.0410)		
	Other				0.0947 (0.0989)	0.0953 (0.0989)	0.101 (0.0981)		
Place of birth in Germany ³³					0.103 (0.114)	0.102 (0.114)	0.102 (0.114)		
Migration background ³⁸	Single				-0.0997 (0.0611)	-0.0989 (0.0611)	-0.0975 (0.0607)		
	Double				-0.102 (0.0703)	-0.109 (0.0705)	-0.101 (0.0704)		
Number of migrants at school						0.00102	-	-0.000822	-

³² * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

³³ 1 = Yes, 0 = No (ref.).

³⁴ Because of disability, sexual orientation, homelessness, skin color, origin or political opinion.

³⁵ Ref.: 1 = Not at all.

³⁶ Ref.: 1 = Kiel.

³⁷ Ref.: 1 = Christianity.

³⁸ Ref.: 1 = No migration background.

					(0.000880)	0.000797 (0.00166)	(0.000608)	0.000830*** (0.000195)
Cross-level Interaction: Measure * Number of migrants at school						0.00272 (0.00188)	0.00200 (0.00109)	0.00171*** (0.000514)
GSM dimensions ^2								-0.506*** (0.128)
GSM dimensions ^3								0.151*** (0.0415)
_cons	0.0681 (0.0599)	0.0495 (0.0449)	-0.165 (0.118)	-1.193* (0.495)	-1.261* (0.498)	-1.094* (0.496)	-0.0939 (0.132)	0.0680 (0.0545)
Pseudo R ²	.0014	.2477	.3003	.3356	.3369	.3428	.3070	.3305
Maddala-ML-R ²	.0025	.3549	.4123	.4479	.4492	.4549	.4192	.4429
B&R-Level-1-R ²	-.00015	.3565	.4097	.4405	.441	.443	.4124	.4334
AIC	1006.8	763.0	728.4	723.3	721.9	714.0	721.8	688.3
BIC	1028.5	789.0	793.5	853.3	852.0	839.8	786.8	731.7
Wald Chi ²	1.495	311.0	397.5	460.2	462.9	466.7	402.2	1011.3
p (Wald Chi ²)	0.222	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	564	564	564	564	564	564	564	564

Even when considering further variables, the results of the multilevel models did not show an effect of the measure as such on extreme right-wing attitudes (models 1-5). Considering the number of migrants at a school as an interaction term, the results suggested negative rather than positive effects of the measure (models 6-8). To test the interaction effect, marginal effects – i.e. predicting values of the IV under consideration of selected covariates of the final model while keeping constant the remaining variables on the respective mean (Average Marginal Effects) – were calculated on the basis of model 8 in the next analysis step. The predicted values did not differ significantly between the surveyed groups. Therefore, at this point, the study only allowed for the conclusion that the experimental classes were located in schools that are confronted with right-wing extremist views more frequently due to an increasing number of migrants. Accordingly, the increase in these attitudes (that had resulted from including the interaction term) could not be attributed to the measure based on this sample.

The results of the relevant influencing factors for extreme right-wing views are in line with those of numerous studies about the rise and encouragement of such attitudes (cf. Beelmann, 2017). Radicalization processes usually start during adolescence (cf. *ibid.*, p. 33), and young people most often join right-wing groups when aged between 12 and 15 (cf. Wippermann, Zarcos-Lamolda, & Krafeld, 2002; Möller & Schuhmacher, 2007). Insofar, age plays a role, and the risk of developing right-wing extremist views increases with age (cf.

Maresch & Bliesener, 2015). On the individual level, impulsiveness, aggressiveness, a propensity to violence and lacking social competence are among the relevant risk factors (Beelmann, 2017; Maresch & Bliesener, 2015). Furthermore, to a large extent, social learning experiences influence extreme right-wing attitudes, with positive bonds to other social groups constituting a protecting factor (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), while relations to non-conformist peers form a risk factor (cf. Pauwels et al., 2014; Maresch, Gansewig, & Bliesener, 2013). Fundamental characteristics of right-wing extremism are the depreciation of members of other groups and the excessive identification with one's own social group are (e.g. Heitmeyer, 2002). Overall, the study results do not suggest that the prevention measure influences changes in right-wing extremist views.

3.2.1.2 Delinquency

The questionnaire "Self-reported delinquency among juveniles" measured penally relevant behavior of the pupils (Oberwittler, Schwarzenbach, & Gerstner, 2014, p. 3). To capture possible differences among groups, a sum index was compiled of all the delinquencies committed since time t0, which was incorporated into a negative binomial regression in the subsequent analysis step (Table 4). The first model, which only included the prevention measure and displayed a bad adaptation, showed a slightly significant positive effect. However, this effect vanished after including further variables in models 2 and 3. Thus, the prevention measure did not contribute to explaining the IV in the better-adapted models. Therefore, the research results do not allow for suggesting that the prevention measure influences delinquent behavior. In this context, support by parents, among others, proved to be a protective factor. In contrast, delinquency-supportive factors were the considered GSM dimensions, high alcohol consumption, spending time with right-wingers and already having beaten someone up because he/she was different³⁹.

³⁹ Because of disability, sexual orientation, homelessness, skin color, origin or political opinion.

Table 4: Negative binomial regression of self-reported delinquency with incidence rates

IV: Self-reported delinquency ⁴⁰		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Measure (ref. CG)		0.623* (0.116)	0.762 (0.113)	0.767 (0.121)
Right-wing extremist attitudes			0.967 (0.115)	
GSM			1.462* (0.287)	1.552*** (0.169)
Self-assessment on high alcohol consumption ⁴¹			1.476* (0.287)	1.643* (0.317)
Occasionally spending time with right-wingers ⁴¹			1.729*** (0.269)	1.839*** (0.302)
Having beaten up someone because he/she was different ^{39, 41}			0.606* (0.141)	2.869*** (0.881)
Spending much spare time with friends ⁴¹			2.259* (0.723)	
Parents are always there for me ⁴¹			1.033 (0.287)	0.637* (0.130)
Majority of friends are German ⁴¹			0.580* (0.141)	0.511*** (0.101)
Ability to often understand others ⁴²	Rather not		1.079 (0.371)	
	Rather yes		0.974 (0.284)	
	Absolutely		1.301 (0.450)	
Beat up someone when frustrated ⁴¹			1.391 (0.301)	
Enjoying violence ⁴¹			1.296 (0.233)	
Gender (ref. female)			1.413* (0.243)	1.534* (0.265)
Age			1.211 (0.141)	
Religious affiliation ⁴³	Islam		1.097 (0.327)	
	None		1.004 (0.181)	
	Other		1.366 (0.601)	
Place of birth in Germany ⁴¹			0.808 (0.417)	
Migration background ⁴⁴	Single		1.033 (0.223)	
	Double		1.088 (0.248)	
pseudo R ²		0.005	0.086	0.076
AIC		1353.0	1285.1	1271.2
BIC		1366.0	1389.0	1314.5
Chi ²		6.447	605.7	222.9
p		0.011	0.000	0.000
N		560	560	560

⁴⁰ * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

⁴¹ 1 = Yes, 0 = No (ref.).

⁴² Ref.: 1 = Not at all.

⁴³ Ref.: 1 = Christianity.

⁴⁴ Ref.: 1 = No migration background.

The above-mentioned risk and protective factors are mainly influential factors of delinquency and antisocial behavior that have often been confirmed empirically. Thus, stable bonds to attachment figures are seen as a protective factor against deviant behavior, while an absence of these bonds, family conflicts and a lack of educational competence are major risk factors. Likewise, criminal or violent behavior in the past has been identified as a criminogenic factor (cf. Lösel & Bliesener, 2003; Bannenberg et al., 2013). Further significant protective and risk factors are the peer group and the leisure behavior of juveniles. A deviant circle of friends and unstructured leisure behavior – such as “hanging out” in public spaces without persons in charge – constitute robust risk factors for deviant behavior (Svensson & Oberwittler, 2010). In addition, the crime-supportive impact of alcohol consumption at young age has been confirmed empirically (cf. Baier & Wetzels, 2007). In contrast, a structured leisure behavior and joining a norm-compliant peer group have a crime-resisting impact (Lösel & Bliesener, 2003).

3.2.2 Knowledge gain and/or non-school preoccupation with the topic of right-wing extremism

To pursue the question whether a knowledge gain could be recorded due to the measure, the pupils were given, among other things, two statements at time t1.⁴⁵ Furthermore, they were supposed to determine whether they had dealt with the topic of right-wing extremism outside of school since the last survey (t0). Regarding this, the participants of the measure did not show any significant differences in comparison to the CG, that is, neither did they agree to the statements more often, nor had they dealt with the topic more frequently (Table 5).

⁴⁵ These referred to issues brought up in the prevention measure.

Table 5: Group differences in terms of knowledge and non-school preoccupation with the topic of right-wing extremism

Question	Answer	Group		Total
		EG	CG	
Statement 1: I know about groups, organizations, parties in which right-wingers band together.	Yes	106 36%	83 32%	189 34%
	No	192 64%	177 68%	369 66%
	Total	298	260	558
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 0.8247 p = 0.364			
Statement 2: I know about enemy concepts and victim groups of right-wingers.	Yes	71 25%	47 19%	118 22%
	No	214 75%	206 81%	420 78%
	Total	285	253	538
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 3.1415 p = 0.076			
Non-school preoccupation: I have gathered information about the topic of right-wing extremism outside of school since the last survey.	Yes	71 24%	57 22%	128 23%
	No	228 76%	207 78%	436 77%
	Total	299	264	563
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 0.3706 p = 0.543			

The apparent discrepancies regarding the pupils' self-assessments about their knowledge gain and the results of surveyed knowledge in group comparison can have various reasons – the subjective knowledge gain, e.g., could have referred to other aspects. Nevertheless, it is obvious that exclusively considering the responses of participants of a measure for evaluation purposes can bring about major difficulties and has limited substance only, meaning they cannot replace an impact evaluation (cf. Beelmann, 2009; Scheithauer, Rosenbach, & Niebank, 2008). What also hints into this direction is the predominantly very positive feedback of the pupils parallel to an absence of positive effects regarding the variables that were supposed to be influenced by the prevention measure as well as some of its critical aspects. At the same time, the measure apparently did not succeed in persuading the pupils to preoccupy themselves further with the topic outside of school. Thus, the positive

reactions immediately after the measure did not seem to have sparked a lasting interest in the topic among the pupils (cf. Lodenius, 2010).

3.2.3 Examination of a fascination for the right-wing milieu and/or for a criminal lifestyle

As has been shown variously, preventive measures do not necessarily have the intended impacts (cf. e.g. Petrosino et al., 2000; McCord, 2003; Welsh & Rocque, 2014). Accordingly, reviewing non-intended effects plays a major role in the investigation of prevention measures. In light of this, surveying a possible fascination for the right-wing milieu and/or a criminal lifestyle was also part of the impact evaluation. Therefore, four different statements were added to the questionnaire at time t1, which were particularly geared towards certain contents of the biography-based measure. In this context, no significant differences could be found between EG and CG; i.e. the participants of the measure did not agree to the respective statements significantly more often (Table 6).

Table 6: Group differences regarding fascination aspects for the right-wing milieu and/or a criminal lifestyle

Question	Answer	Group		Total
		EG	CG	
I imagine life in the right-wing milieu to be cool.	Yes	9 3%	12 5%	21 4%
	No	290 97%	250 95%	540 96%
	Total	299	262	561
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 0.9554 p = 0.328			
The thrill of committing a crime excites me.	Yes	42 14%	45 17%	87 16%
	No	257 86%	217 83%	474 84%
	Total	299	262	561
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 1.0432 p = 0.307			
I imagine the life of a "gangster boss" to be cool.	Yes	42 14%	42 16%	84 15%
	No	256 86%	219 84%	475 85%
	Total	298	261	559
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 0.4350 p = 0.510			
I imagine the life of a "gangster boss" partner to be cool.	Yes	23 8%	33 13%	56 10%
	No	275 92%	230 87%	505 90%
	Total	298	263	561
	Pearson's Chi ² (1) = 3.6261 p = 0.057			

The results of the process evaluation do not suggest either that the issues of a criminal past and about a life in the right-wing milieu as brought up in the prevention measure sparked excessive interest among the pupils. Rather, some participants renounced or showed discomfort to some of the relevant contents in this context (e.g. illustrations of experiences with violence). Hence, the study results do not support the concern that the prevention measure could spark or enhance a fascination among the pupils for a life in the right-wing milieu or for a life of crime.

4. Conclusion

The results of this study do not suggest that the prevention measure influenced right-wing extremist attitudes and delinquency. These findings are not surprising since, among other reasons, it was not to be expected that the views or behavior of the participants would change because of a single implementation of a three-hour prevention measure (cf. Farrington, Ttofí, & Lösel, 2016).

For school-based PVE conducted by formers to sustainably contribute to deploying the intended impacts, it must be embedded into a school prevention concept. As studies on similar projects have shown, integrating PVE in school curricula can positively influence pupils (cf. Emerson, Orr, & Connolly, 2014; Garaigordobil, 2012). Furthermore, such measures should be based on a pedagogical concept and contain an adequate preparation and post-processing by pedagogues. Generally, school-based prevention work should be theory-based, address risk and protective factors (such as the school climate), go beyond mere knowledge transfer and be adapted to the target group in its intensity regarding both time and contents (cf. Beelmann, 2015). Of course, an investigation and impact evaluation would be crucial here, too.

The predominantly positive responses of the pupils about the measure and the former suggest that this approach can be a tool to facilitate access to pupils in a period of life where adults have difficulties with accessing juveniles. However, the pupils' statements also highlight critical aspects (e.g. narrations regarding violence) which signify that some contents and their illustration do not seem to be adequate for this target group. Furthermore, an easy-going interaction that adapts to the juveniles and the former's performance should not be chargeable to his role model. Actually, the potential of influencing juveniles does not necessarily mean influencing them in the intended way. In truth, some factors can disturb the PVE goals (RAN, 2017a; see also Hedaya, n.y.).

The research project reveals the research gaps that exist for PVE conducted by formers. Just as the establishment of an evaluation practice in extremism prevention in Germany is generally beneficial and necessary (Gansewig, 2018), this is – regarding the

responsibility towards children and juveniles – particularly true for school prevention measures. Given the different personalities, individual biographies and, hence, the diverging contents as well as different implementation forms of the various prevention measures, there is a need for more investigations in the shape of external, independent process and impact evaluations to scrutinize (non-)intended effects on the target group, to identify critical contents of measures and to create a solid decision base for school as well as non-school educational and prevention work. Furthermore, research on how and why PVE by formers can or cannot influence pupils is needed (cf. Weisburd, Farrington, & Gill, 2017). Generally, an optimization of exchange between all involved players from academia and practice seems to be crucial.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ A contribution to this is the publication of an information brochure for players in educational work dealing with school-based PVE by former right-wing extremists, which has been compiled within this research project based on the collected experiences and generated results; this information brochure also contains recommendations on the matter (Gansewig & Walsh, 2019). Furthermore, an English version of the recommendations has been published (Walsh & Gansewig, 2019b).

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