

PRODERAI as a screening instrument: an educational control device

Chaimae El Jebary Amisnaou¹

ORCID: 0000-0001-5528-4205

Received: 20/10/19. Reviewed: 05/02/20. Accepted: 14/02/20

For citation: El Jebary Amisnaou, C. (2020). PRODERAI as a screening instrument: an educational control device. *Revista de Treball Social*, 218, 1-14. DOI: 10.32061/RTS2020.218.01

Abstract

The fight against violent extremism in Catalan society has led to the introduction of social surveillance policies within the educational field; the Protocol for the Detection of Islamic Radicalism (PRODERAI) is one example of this. This protocol applied to pupils (who are mostly underage), which is secret, based on police instructions conveyed verbally, and of doubtful effectiveness, illustrates legal significance in the educational field.

This article examines the substantial social impact of these policies at various levels through interviews and focus groups with different agents, such as young Moroccans, psycho-pedagogical teams from schools, Moroccan families and professional social workers.

The results explain how these measures bring about effects conflicting with those initially intended: firstly, the contradiction it comes up against in terms of ethical values and acknowledgment of diversity among the overall body teachers and social work professionals; secondly, families experience deeper confrontation with regard to their personal, religious and cultural values; lastly, the way in which this protocol has an impact on the development of the academic and social pathways of pupils subject to control, giving rise to processes of exclusion and stigmatisation.

Keywords: Radicalisation, prevention, Muslim community, racism.

¹ Social worker and researcher in educational inequalities. Cheima_95@hotmail.es

1. The conceptual construction of Islamic radicalism in Catalonia

Disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology, among others, have sought to address the issue of radicalism. Kundnani (2012) discusses how the concept is used to build an image of Muslim people as a suspicious community, tending towards a direct coercion on individual and civil freedom. In 2004, particular interest arose behind the establishment of a theory for and definition of the concept sustained by “new terrorism”: present in Islamic theology with the aim of paving the way for research, analysis and surveillance of the movements and attitudes of the Muslim population.

Pupils seen as being Muslim acquire a social representation that is historical, linear and colonial in nature. The socio-political process of unifying the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon which unfolded in the 15th century entailed the criminalisation of and enmity towards everything that was identified with Islam. When Islam and the Muslim people were kicked out of the Iberian Peninsula, the vision of the Moor began to gain heightened radicalisation.

Muslim pupils give rise to what Mateo (2000) refers to as the re-emergence of “new Mudejars”, which represent a concept of threat linked to religious fundamentalism.

According to Douhaibi and Amasian, the Moor is a classification built by colonialism “to dehumanise a group formed by a variety of cultures, peoples and “races” that share Islam and live in what is known as the “Arab-Muslim world”, another colonial construction” (2019, p. 23).

Accordingly, they constitute a threat and entail a return both to the formation of the figure of the Moor contrived in the 8th century and to the reconquest, as it became known. Mateo (2000) refers to the new *Moor* as being a representative of the old stigmas of the past and a means of social control characterised by: tendency to deceit and betrayal, religious fanaticism, filth and lack of hygiene, ignorance, and so on.

This contrivance serves to legitimise the stigmatisation of people who are contrived, conceived and seen as being Muslim. This becomes heightened whenever an attack takes place that is understood and conceived to be Islamic fundamentalist in nature. As indeed Agrela points out, it draws on “perceptions which, in the Spanish case and in the wake of the 3/11 attacks in 2004, are magnified (heightened by what took place in London in June 2005) and distorted with references to the Arab reconquest” (2006, p. 268).

2. Operationalisation of radicalism in classrooms through the Islamist Radicalisation Detection Protocol

This concept of Islamic radicalism has not merely remained in the social imagination; rather, it has implemented itself in a range of manners, one particular example of which is the Islamist Radicalisation Detection Protocol (PRODERAI, based on the Catalan) applied to children in school classrooms. This protocol appears to stem from the UK Prevent Strategy approach pursued since 2003. Prevent is built on three fundamental ideas: 1) Pursue – stopping terrorist attacks; 2) Protect – strengthening protection against terrorist attacks; and 3) Prepare – easing the impact of successful attacks (Rights Watch UK, 2016, p. 9).

The programme from the Government of Catalonia was initially implemented in 2015 following the events in Paris in order to detect violent Islamic extremism within the classrooms of all primary and secondary schools in Catalonia. The protocol is based on the imminent need to stop and control potential processes of Islamic radicalisation among young Muslims. It is structured into various modules, the first of which is entitled: “Module for preventing radicalisation processes in schools”; and it addresses the definition of the radicalism process and the indicators involved in it. It goes on to set out a host of indicators as potential risk factors present in various aspects of young people’s lives: firstly, personal development; secondly, aspects linked to the school environment and context; thirdly, those linked to family; and, lastly, the social context is addressed. The second module is a proposal for teaching intervention in the face of a potential terrorist attack or severe violent act in order to endow educational groups with guidelines and indications to deal with the impact of a terrorist attack on pupils in the three cycles of primary education and secondary education. The third module addresses the educational intervention in the face of radicalisation processes within schools, wherein measures of action are put forward for educational teams if they detect any potential radicalisation process. Also addressed are the educational measures to pursue individually, collectively (as a class group) and indeed as a family, including the services and resources available in the event of needing support. The protocol envisages transferring management of the school to a monitoring board (with the involvement of the Mossos d’Esquadra – or Catalan police force) and, beyond that, to the prosecutor’s office, if necessary, to pursue criminal proceedings (Douhaibi and Almela, 2017, p. 7).

Both the Muslim and the educational communities have been critical of the PRODERAI, deeming that it entails the transfer of a protocol conceived for prisons for application in primary and secondary schools. This criticism relates to a range of aspects: the role educators are expected to play as classroom police offices; the secretive nature of the protocol, simply conveyed verbally to school management teams; the actual preparation of

the protocol without reporting to or consulting the Muslim community for help; and the use of hugely simplistic indicators, such as not celebrating Christmas, not drinking Coca-Cola, returning from Morocco with henna applied to the hands, among others (Douhaibi and Almela, 2017, p. 4-8).

3. Methodology used

In order to investigate the social impact of the implementation of PRODERAI in the educational, family and personal sphere, cross-disciplinary research has been conducted. The key goal is to answer the following issues: to find out what social representation and perspective are held in relation to the pupils likely to fall under the control of PRODERAI. From the standpoint of these students, the aim will be to examine: 1) whether this issue actually exists; 2) whether its implementation is proving effective; and 3) the role that may be played by social work in the education sphere in light of the implementation of protocols such as PRODERAI.

The research envisaged falls within the field of educational research as it strives to gain new insight about education management and the social ties between the education sphere and policies to combat violent extremism (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003, cited in Sánchez, 2016). In terms of its timing, the study is cross-disciplinary in nature as we find ourselves at a specific, unique juncture (Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, 2014, cited in Sánchez, 2016) in order to be able to identify the outcomes of the implementation of PRODERAI in the education sphere. The chosen research method is a case study with a view to being able to identify the origin and application of the protocol with regard to children of Moroccan origin.

The research consists of a cross-disciplinary case study, involving a host of realities (Yin, 1989, cited in Sánchez, 2016). In order to compile direct data, I start with what Sierra Bravo (2001) names "primary sources", because I will use first-hand information based on individual interviews on a sample of 20 people formed by: 6 boys and 6 girls of Moroccan origin with whom two group meetings were held; 4 parents from the families of the boys and girls; 2 teaching coordinators from state secondary schools and 2 social work professionals. The names of the participants have been changed, along with certain references to guarantee their anonymity on such a sensitive issue.

The information analysis techniques are based on Simons (2011): I sought to organise and examine the information in order to find matches within the particular characteristics forming part of the cases.

Lastly, with regard to the information compiled during the fieldwork, it is necessary to point out that this has been carried out entirely voluntarily. The data provided by all parties interviewed has been compiled by means of an informed consent agreement – verbal and written – adhering to article 5 of the Personal Data Protection Act (Organic Act 15/1999, of 13 December).

4. Impact of the radicalism detection policies on educators

The education professionals interviewed indicate that school appears to be a hotchpotch where social, cultural and political changes intervene. The introduction of policies to combat violent extremism (LEV, based on the Catalan) is one example of this. It has led me to ask myself about the impact of this protocol within state and state-subsidised schools in Catalonia since the interventions implemented on a specific community are chiefly characterised by stigmatisation and the need to exhibit a perceptible environment of security to civil society.

Along these lines, it is necessary to highlight the expressions of the teaching coordinators regarding the scant information and training received in order to apply such a sensitive protocol. They contend that training concerning PRODERAI has only been given to head teachers, who are in fact the ones who have brought the existence of this protocol to their attention.

No one has authority to activate it; the headmistress is the only one who has received training. Because this is a responsibility, you have to be extremely thorough. There is a hugely extreme protocol, which is activated even if the slightest possibility is detected. The Mossos conduct an investigation. (Maria)

We've received training from the head teachers; they were the ones called. (Arnau)

As can be seen, implementation generates a degree of acceptance and indifference among teaching staff, because despite feeling that it is a protocol imposed on schools, the impact it brings about in pupils who are likely to be subject to this protocol is not given consideration or even debated.

I believe this arose at a specific point, and as always, the school acts like a sort of hotchpotch. We have to do everything, and this task is one further job. (Arnau)

One initial reaction appears to play down the protocol:

These protocols are a publicity stunt, they emerge at a specific time, they appear in the media and now this protocol has already been put in a drawer. (Arnau)

At other times, this monitoring is considered to be nothing beyond what is already conducted on the context of regular tutorial processes:

What we need to do is look out for this and other things that take place in school. If a tutor does his job and engages with the family, he will identify this and many other things. (Arnau)

I think that we teachers need to watch out very carefully for pupils (girls and boys) at risk. We also need to be attentive in order to find out what is going on. You can call upon the family and ask what is happening. (Arnau)

However, other educators do not appear to share this underestimation of the protocol, stating that they have implemented it:

We have experienced two cases and have activated it twice. (Maria)

Even though the education professionals interviewed affirm that they have no information, training or specific tools in order to accept the guidelines imposed by the protocol – or they even disregard it – one can see that they agree to incorporate it into their educational activity and how it ultimately gets implemented twice at least. This circumstance could lead one to understand the link between control policies and the education system. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to become better acquainted with the small group of teachers who did place themselves in opposition of the implementation of the protocol.

In any event, as indeed El Mouali pointed out when interviewed for *La Directa*, “what they want to achieve is for teaching staff to feel they are relied upon and responsible for the need for security in the face of this fear whipped up by the media” (Douhaibi and Almela, 2017, p. 9).

5. The impact on young Muslims and families

The Muslim and Moroccan origin families interviewed have felt deceived, instrumentalised and frowned upon, inasmuch as the protocol pursues, coerces and controls the movements of their children. One of the mothers interviewed states that:

هذا البروتوكول عنصري ، ولكن هذا شيء عادي، ولادنا كل نهار كيغشوا هادشي

This protocol is racist, but our children have always experienced that. It's par for the course. (Fátima)

In this respect, we see that educational interventions based on the protocol are exclusionary in nature. They end up triggering the naturalisation of racism and generating a major decline in the academic expectations of families of Moroccan origin in terms of the opportunities school may provide to their children.

At school, immigrant pupils of Moroccan origin are stigmatised, their actions are ridiculed and animalised, and this practice encourages the drop-out and expelling of pupils of Moroccan origin. One father interviewed confirms this:

واخا تخسر عليا ليخسرتي عنوصلو نعدم نلجامه عيقسيوني فالطريق، واخا نقرا ما يعطوني والو

In a conversation with my son, he told me: “Even if we could get into university and achieve success, our pathway would be marked by many discriminatory and racist elements”. (Ahmed)

When they are made aware of the protocol, their reply is resounding; their previous perceptions have just been confirmed:

كيعملوك مصيدة، كيصادو ولاد مسلمين و ولاد المغاربة

This is like a trap that serves to catch and condemn Muslim and Moroccan pupils. (Ahmed)

The participating parents state:

You’ve left me speechless, they hate us, we’ve naturalised racism and accepted our dehumanisation. (Naima)

It’s a crime and an attack on the individual, our grievance becomes heightened through protocols such as this. (Anouar)

Accordingly, as indeed Kundnani and Hayes point out, the LEV policies are drawn up with specific targets, including the expansion of surveillance which “allows communities to be supervised in the search for symptoms of radicalisation so that, subsequently, perhaps “soft interventions” may be carried out on individuals suspected of becoming extremist. The surveillance set out in the LEV does not seek to identify imminent criminal conduct; rather, a broad spectrum of indicators of concern which are ideological in nature” (2018, p. 4).

The boys and girls who took part in the study have wholeheartedly rejected it and, just like the families interviewed, have stated that they have witnessed and experienced various practices and interventions of a discriminatory nature within the education sphere.

The girls state:

During our teens, we have all been radical; being radical is a human trend. We have all been or we all will be at some point. (Safae)

I have never heard of this protocol. I don’t think it exists in my school. (Hamida)

I have heard of it a few times, but I’m not sure. (Wassima)

The boys interviewed state:

You mean less, to them. (Abdellah)

Once in class they wanted to hold a minute’s silence for Paris and I told the teacher that we should do another for the deaths in Syria. She was surprised and asked me questions to find out where I was going with this. (Omar)

It's the news; they manipulate things when something happens. It appears as if they were looking for something bad within us. To be able to say: see how bad you guys are! (Safouan)

They restrict our freedom; we are supposed to be in a free country. They try to find suspicious aspects about us. As a result, this causes us to avoid talking about our principles. (Amir)

Patel states that the racism suffered by Muslims is governed by structural racism that continues to operate in Western society in order to exert control over these people. "It is patent that race and racism continue to operate as a mechanism and instrument for social order and for criminalising BAME people seen as groups carrying Islamic baggage" (Patel, 2012, cited in Patel, 2017, p. 2).

PRODERAI would operate along the lines of involving surveillance of pupils of immigrant origin through what Patel (2017) refers to as "racialisation of Islam", and what Arun Kundnani, interviewed by *La Directa*, calls "the prism of radicalisation" (Douhaibi and Almela, 2017).

Professor Patel has studied *Prevent*, a protocol of similar characteristics implemented in England, and states that it reproduces the idea that within every Muslim person there is a potential criminal:

When a criminal event is explained in terms of race, i.e., that this particular crime is associated with a specific inborn cultural or biological trait of the perpetrator defined by race, criminal tendencies are assigned to everyone within this racialised group. This hinders the potential for these individuals to be seen as victims, for instance as being on the receiving end of racist hate crimes or excessive State surveillance and control measures (Douhaibi and Almela, 2017, p. 10-11).

The surveillance to which Muslim families and pupils are subjected becomes a way of exerting power and, moreover, of controlling the movements and freedom of expression of this group.

6. Consequences of the operative and conceptual construction of Islamic radicalism in Catalonia

The operative and conceptual construction of Islamic radicalism in Catalonia revealed above is bringing about severe consequences. As Carrasco, Pàmies and Ponferrada (2011) state, when a border/barrier is put up against an ethnic/religious/cultural variable, the difference is subject to decimation directly caused by the Muslim religion and Moroccan origin. These markers act to form a distance; they are constructed within a process of stigmatisation and inferiority, turning pupils into objects of educational attention, whereby the transformation or abandonment of the symbols that keep this difference alive is sought.

One example of this persecution is that of a girl who formed part of a group meeting:

The headmaster told me that in order to be able to wear my hijab I had to go around class-by-class collecting signatures. Every time I brought the subject up, he asked me about Morocco and women: why do you need to wear it now? Or, we need to speak with pupils' parents. I joined in the 2nd year of secondary education and until November when I was in my 4th year, the issue was not resolved. (Hamida)

Or one boy in the group meeting who explained that just after the August 2017 attack in Barcelona, he was spoken to by another one in the class:

We were playing hangman, it was my turn to go up to the blackboard, and one guy in class said to me: "Plane destroyer!". The teacher didn't say a thing, a classmate responded to him. (Omar)

In the face of circumstances such as these, Carrasco, Pàmies and Ponferrada (2011) claim that individuals of Muslim tradition and practice are subject to the most horrifying conceptions of otherness owing to the Moroccan ethnic variable, and that school stratification processes replicate social stratification processes. The host of education agents both heighten this while casting a veil over and naturalising it, as indeed the following social educator maintains:

Theories behind the prevention of radicalism start with the logic of racialised social control, they are preliminary, and there are many forms of social control. (Marta)

7. A call to antiracist educational social work: "Performing social work. Easier said than done"

Based on this point, and tying it directly in with the figure of the social work professional, it is necessary to consider the need to place ourselves in the context of and be present in settings such as schools.

Establishing and contextualising the implementation of protocols such as PRODERAI is tied in with and appeals directly to the professional practice of social work, placing specific emphasis on the ethical principles linked to social justice and educational equality. However, as intervention professionals we would be remiss if we failed to question ourselves, consider our approach to and re-conceive our professional weaknesses and potential. Below I shall try to first approach the role of power we have and, moreover, I will seek to put forward the notion of antiracism as a strategy for social intervention.

We should begin by considering the question raised by Faleiros (2011): could social work become a profession that succeeds in transforming the conditions for oppression? It is necessary to bear in mind that social

work is an outcome of this social order; it is deemed that, along with other professions, social work has come about or developed in accordance with scenarios adapting service users to these conditions.

One social work professional interviewed makes the following remark:

Performing social work. Easier said than done. Being aware that we are agents of social control constitutes the first step in being critical of this control we exert. It is somewhat ridiculous to believe that they pay you a wage to make the world a better place. (José)

It is necessary to consider what Favell alludes to as the productive nature of policies as a category that operates to form subjects and define them based on the *otherisation* of certain national identities which demonstrate differences with the outside. As a result, the effect triggered would be to open up distance, thus replicating spatial, cultural, social, economic and political borders (Favell, 2001, cited in Agrela, 2006).

In this respect, and as indeed the author points out, we the host of professionals act as government agents from a distance; said government delegates to us – through institutions – the function of oversight with regard to subjects that politics and society have classified as “dangerous”. Consequently, these are the settings where racism is latent, fed, reproduced and naturalised.

Pelegrí maintains the following in the *Revista de Treball Social*:

In any event, professional work must be subjected to the bureaucratic structure and – almost always – this structure will have an impact on how the social intervention unfolds (2018, p. 39).

In short, as indeed Agrela maintains: “Immigration boils down to a question of “public order”, of national and police security, which triggers social panic to a certain degree” (2006, p. 252).

José, a social worker and criminologist, affirms this pessimistic perspective:

Taking part in the formation of tools for risk management with certain groups, PRODERAIs and similar creations will endow you with a reputation, a good salary, an academic career path, open up doors to positions, etc. Performing the task of stopping this distinguished construction of the other that threatens their human rights may provide you with a lesser distinction but will no doubt involve more problems than benefits in practical terms when it comes to earning a living and one’s professional career. (José)

Even so, it is likely that it is precisely in cases such as PRODERAI that social work should re-capture and defend the political dimension of the discipline, along with the desire to exert political influence through our professional actions (Zamanillo and Martín, 2011, cited in Pelegrí, 2018, p. 43). Therefore, on the basis of this premise, Pelegrí (2018) claims that from this very stance social work can reconcile with the powers that

be. As professionals, we cannot base our practice on the social and educational oversight sought by PRODERAI; rather, we must commit to a position with a front of vindication, basing ourselves on the code of ethics of the US National Association of Social Workers, which includes ethos such as competence, and indeed social justice; we must also call on social work professionals to ensure change takes place, taking into consideration individual characteristics and oppressed groups (NASW, 1999, cited in Hamilton-Mason and Schneider, 2018).

In order to conceive of/suggest including social work within the education sphere, it is necessary to place under the microscope the imagination those of us in the field of social work have adopted with regard to immigrants and their children, and to analyse what social representation they acquire and how they are considered and interpreted by educational settings and institutions.

It may be necessary to call for an ability to cast doubt over every intervention where we are present as professionals if they seek to stigmatise certain individuals or place them in crosshairs:

I can only understand the alternative in preventing from the standpoint of work based on tolerance for everything that may appear different to us. We should understand that those we consider different are not radical or mentally ill. When approaching certain individuals, we may find scenarios for effective regulation rather than pseudo-regulation, such as PRODERAI, that in actual fact only turn out to be scenarios of repression. (José)

It would also be necessary to become involved in incorporating antiracism into social work, and to envision ourselves from the standpoint of professionals and outsiders. This is exactly what began to take place in the United Kingdom during the 1960s in order to combat racism as a practice of exclusion and inequality towards black people (Wainwright, 2009). Hamilton-Mason and Schneider (2018) note that social work must envisage specific interventions for working with, engaging with and accompanying individuals who experience racism on a day-to-day basis, especially taking into consideration the fact that the profession itself intervenes and adopts a stance in accordance with the powers that be, institutional racism and white privilege. According to Deepak and Biggs (2011), antiracism is described as a perspective that enables self-reflection, acceptance and acknowledgment of one's involvement in perpetuating racism in day-to-day practices (Brookfield, 2014), thereby contributing to bringing about a teaching based on antiracist ideals, endowed with specific tools and actions to reverse these practices.

Establishing antiracism as an inherent practice of social work should first compel us to consider the power we possess, strictly speaking, and how this replicates and operates under the guise of institutional racism.

8. Conclusions and proposals

The issue associated with “radicalism” in the first instance calls us to cast doubt on what is understood by *radicalism*. It is necessary to consider that this terminology is used in times of conflict to refer to the target of several intervention policies. Accordingly, I believe that radicalness is an inherent trait to human beings and societies, which may occur in various stages of the life process of any individual, regardless of creed, ideology or religion.

The social representation and vision to which pupils likely to be overseen by PRODERAI are subjected are characterised by being stigmatising and imbued with prejudice, as indeed we have been able to ascertain firstly from the members of the school management teams from the two secondary schools and from the families interviewed; and, secondly, based on the individual and collective experience of the boys and girls interviewed.

The formation of a protocol such as PRODERAI must allow for re-consideration of the strategies needed to address a political issue, and the potential alternatives to the “securitisation” of the education sphere in this case. Although it was implemented in 2015, to date the educational community and the media have still not had access and have not even been granted any kind of information to show the cases of “radicalism” identified in state and subsidised schools in Catalonia. Consequently, one may think that the protocol is an imposed element and that, as with most protocols, it serves to calm the general population. However, at the same time there is evidence that it has been applied, which would entail paving the way for a truly dangerous course for underage pupils when it comes to the justice system and stigmatisation of families and a culture that is in a position of weakness.

In the face of this protocol, social work must claim an active role against any action that seeks to single out, exclude and discriminate against any individual or group. The presence of social work in the education sphere can serve as a tool for action in this context. As social work professionals we benefit from sufficient tools in order to draw up a method for intervention that seeks to address any indication of racism, discrimination, exclusion or pointing out of specific groups, steering clear of any racist portrayal.

The education sphere becomes a micro-society that reproduces the array of racist, exclusionary and stigmatising practices and devices we find in western and mainstream society.

Bibliographical references

- Agrela, B. (2006). *Análisis antropológico de las políticas sociales dirigidas a la población inmigrante* (Ph.D. thesis). University of Granada, Granada. Retrieved from: <https://digibug.ugr.es/bitstream/handle/10481/1091/16430232.pdf>
- Brookfield, S. (2014). Teaching our own racism: incorporating personal narratives of whiteness into anti-racist practice. *Adult Learning*, 25(3), 89-95. DOI:1045159514534189.
- Carrasco, S., Pàmies, J. and Ponferrada, M. (2011). Fronteras visibles y barreras ocultas. Aproximación comparativa a la experiencia escolar del alumnado marroquí en Cataluña y mexicano en California. *Migraciones. Publicación del Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones*, 29, 31-60.
- Deepak, A. C. and Biggs, M. J. G. (2011). Intimate technology: A tool for teaching anti-racism in social work education. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 20(1), 39-56.
- Douhaibi, A. and Amazian, S. (2019). *La radicalización del racismo: Islamofobia de Estado y prevención antiterrorista*. Oviedo: Cambalache.
- Douhaibi, A. and Almela, V. (2017). Vigilancia de frontera aplicada a les escoles. *La Directa*, 443, p. 4-11. Retrieved from: <https://directa.cat/app/uploads/2018/07/Directa-443.pdf>
- Faleiros, V. de P. (2011). Desafios del Trabajo Social frente a las desigualdades. *Emancipação*, 11(1), p. 117-128. Retrieved from: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3852175.pdf>
- Hamilton-Mason, J. and Schneider, S. (2018). Antiracism Expanding Social Work Education: A Qualitative Analysis of the Undoing Racism Workshop Experience. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 54(2), 337-348. DOI: 10.1080/10437797.2017.1404518
- Kundnani, A. (2012). Radicalisation: the journey of a concept. *Race & Class*, 54(2), 3-25. Retrieved from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306396812454984>
- Kundnani, A. and Hayes, B. (2018). *The Globalisation of Countering Violent Extremism Policies: Undermining human rights, instrumentalising civil society*. New York: Transnational Institute.
- Organic Act 15/1999, of 13 December, on Personal Data Protection. Official State Gazette issue no. 298, dated 14 December 1999, pp. 43088-43099.

- Mateo, J. L. (2000). *El "moro" entre los primitivos*. Barcelona: La Caixa Foundation.
- Patel, T. (2017). It's not about security, it's about racism: counter-terror strategies, civilizing processes and the post-race fiction. *Palgrave Communications*, 3. Retrieved from: <https://www.nature.com/articles/palcomms201731>
- Pelegrí, X. (2018). Repensant el poder dels professionals del treball social. *Revista de Treball Social*, 212, 31-46. Retrieved from: www.tscat.cat/download/file/fid/8768
- Rights Watch UK (2016). Preventing Education? Human Rights and UK Counter- Terrorism Policy in Schools. Retrieved from: <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2016/jul/preventing-education-final-to-print-3-compressed-1.pdf>
- Sánchez Martí, A. (2016). Trajectòries d'èxit educatiu dels joves de famílies immigrades a secundària postobligatòria: centres educatius i agents institucionals (Ph.D. thesis). University of Barcelona. Retrieved from: <https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/400099>
- Sierra Bravo, R. (2001). *Técnicas de investigación social. Teoría y ejercicios*. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- Simons, H. (2011). *El estudio de caso: Teoría y práctica*. Madrid: Ediciones Morata.
- Wainwright, J. (2009). Racism, anti-racist practice and social work: articulating the teaching and learning experiences of black social workers. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(4), 495-516.