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Comparative Study of the Approach to Terrorism in the Current Regional Curricula

Abstract

This article analyses the approach to terrorism in current regional legislation for compulsory and post-secondary education, in the context of a decentralised Spanish educational system, and its potential contribution to the history and prevention of terrorism. Results identify a limited approach focused on historical aspects, which are mainly reduced to a single subject in compulsory education. Terrorism also has a limited presence of ethical argumentation and an absence of the victims of terrorism as a central element that stands out. This is caused by an unequal interpretation of the minimum and common learning requirements set out by the government. It is concluded that students may receive insufficient training on terrorism, depending on teachers and territory, variables that, far from contributing to maintaining a collective memory, only favours ignorance and manipulation. In view of this, recommendations are included for consideration in future curriculum developments.

Keywords: terrorism, radicalisation, curriculum, prevention, history

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1. Introduction

Education is key to preventing violent extremism, radicalisation, and thus terrorism, with the curriculum being one of the most effective tools for promoting democratic values and active citizenship that contribute to resilience against violent narratives (Harris et al., 2013; Norbruch, 2016). In Spain, the curricular approach to terrorism primarily adopts a historical perspective, based on the understanding that knowing the history of terrorism prevents its repetition (Santayana, 1905). The curriculum includes a selection of historical facts related to terrorism in Spain and internationally that, due to their impact and significance, all students must know. In this regard, references to terrorism victims are essential, as they help keep memory alive and highlight its consequences (Jiménez, 2018; Milošević, 2024). However, there are other approaches more focused on identifying psychosocial risk factors and addressing them comprehensively and progressively to protect students from violent extremism. Some of these risks are currently found in digital environments where terrorist organisations operate to recruit and disseminate their narratives through manipulation and disinformation, making the development of digital citizenship essential (Council of the European Union, 2023).

Organic Law 3/2020, of 29 December, amending Organic Law 2/2006, of 3 May, on Education, defines the curriculum as the set of objectives, contents, methodologies, and evaluation criteria for regulated teachings. Its Article 6.3 establishes that the Government, after consultation with the autonomous communities, shall set the minimum teachings to ensure common education. These minimum teachings will require 50% of school timetables in autonomous communities with a co-official language and 60% in those without. These teachings, in turn, draw on international guidelines and determine the competences students must acquire at the end of different stages, among which civic competence stands out. Thus, Royal Decrees, and in their development regional regulations, establish the curriculum by articulating content, format, and timing to ensure students understand the most relevant historical processes, can reflect and dialogue on current ethical issues with an argumentative attitude, and show empathy. A study analysing the presence of terrorism in Spanish educational laws concluded that it is limited, as evidenced by the lack of explicit reference in the law itself and the scarce use of related terms (Gracia, in press).

2. Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical framework starts from considering terrorism as a global, complex, multifactorial, and constantly evolving phenomenon that requires a transversal curricular approach, starting from early stages and with terrorism victims as the central element. This framework is structured around seven interrelated areas, as shown in Figure 1 and described below.



Figure 1. Theoretical framework. **Source:** author's own elaboration.

First, the centrality of victims responds to Article 2 of Law 29/2011, of 22 September, on Recognition and Comprehensive Protection of Terrorism Victims, which includes among its aims the promotion of their dignity and memory. Their recognition delegitimises terrorism socially and politically, their testimony links memory and history, and they serve as an ethical reference for the democratic system (Jiménez et al., 2024).

Second, students must become familiar with the definition and radicalisation process, following the 3N model, which focuses on variables of needs, narrative, and networks, with primary prevention as a priority intervention (Kruglansky et al., 2019).

Third, although Royal Decrees partially include the history of terrorism among basic knowledge to be acquired, they should establish the context of the terrorist phenomenon to help students improve their understanding, including its definition, causes, and impact. Likewise, it is necessary to learn about terrorist organisations that have operated in Spain. Finally, students should be encouraged to develop their own arguments, which would reduce potential bias (Krause et al., 2022). Applied to our context, the history of terrorism should include an introduction addressing different types of terrorism, an analysis of the three historical phases in which it occurs: dictatorship, transition, and democracy; the centrality of victims through their accounts to delegitimise violence; and the impact of police work and social mobilisation (López Romo, 2020).

Fourth, ethical argumentation against terrorism must be reinforced, starting from inquiry into the phenomenon, considering the plurality of students' opinions, learning to disagree reasonably, and

being able to work together overcoming differences (Clifton, 2017). From a curricular perspective, this approach expands the study of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from an ethical viewpoint, reasons why terrorism is necessarily evil and unjust, and analyses the importance of the rule of law in countering terrorism (Roca Jusmet, 2021).

Fifth, terrorist organisations are evading content moderation and removal by using encrypted platforms and social networks, extremist websites, encrypted messaging, coded material, and constant migration for recruitment, propaganda, and financial transactions. There is a knowledge gap across all sectors of the educational community about how terrorists exploit digital platforms, necessitating greater awareness and training to identify these risks and know protection strategies through digital mentoring, as well as implementing age restrictions and verification to hinder access (OECD, 2024).

Sixth, the need to adopt a gender perspective and highlight leaders from victims' associations when analysing the history of terrorism must be made visible, especially from women's accounts, as failing to do so would overlook this important group. Although most fatal victims of terrorism in Spain have been men, women have been "collateral victims" (Jiménez y Martínez, 2023): mothers, widows, daughters, sisters, or granddaughters, experiencing double victimisation and, sometimes, abandonment. Women have been represented as victims and fighters but also as terrorists or recruiters (Plaza et al., 2017). Regarding women, the global incel (involuntary celibate) movement is also concerning, promoting hatred and dehumanisation of women, whom they blame for their distress, validating violence against them (Aiolfi et al., 2024).

Seventh and finally, we highlight the growing relevance of a culture of prevention and preparedness, as evidenced by the implementation of mandatory Civil Protection emergency training plans in non-university educational centres, delivered by experts to prepare students to prevent and respond to emergencies mainly caused by natural factors. Although self-protection recommendations in case of terrorist attacks published by the Intelligence Centre for Counter-Terrorism and Organised Crime (CITCO) exist, there are no specific protocols for educational centres promoted by educational administrations that include procedures for terrorism- and radicalisation-related situations in schools, favouring early and multidisciplinary detection. The existence of grief protocols and terrorist attack drills is positively valued, as far from creating alarm, they contribute to developing resilience in students.

Of the seven areas comprising the theoretical framework, most are not present in the current Royal Decrees or regional regulations developing them, as terrorism is only addressed in Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO) and upper secondary education stages, not transversally and competence-based, but in specific subjects analysed below.

Among the limited scientific literature on curriculum and terrorism, a study analysing the presence of death in the curriculum stands out (Herrán et al., 2019), and another studying radicalisation

prevention in formal education (Doñate, 2025). The gap in scientific literature on terrorism's presence in formal curricula motivated this research.

3. Methodology

This study aims to analyse the approach to terrorism in the curriculum within ESO and upper secondary education stages to identify similarities or differences that may guide future developments, using a comparative methodology (Raventós, 1983).

The sixteen units of analysis are framed within Organic Law 3/2020, of 29 December, amending Organic Law 2/2006, of 3 May, on Education (LOMLOE), and in its development, Royal Decree 217/2022, of 29 March, establishing the organisation and minimum teachings of Compulsory Secondary Education, and Royal Decree 243/2022, of 5 April, establishing the organisation and minimum teachings of upper secondary education. The LOMLOE, influenced by the 2030 Agenda, recognises the importance of education for peace and human rights, including it in education for sustainable development and global citizenship, present in plans and programmes across all compulsory education. It also includes the development of civic competence oriented towards civic literacy and the adoption of democratic values by students, showing empathy and an argumentative attitude.

The following table briefly shows the units of analysis or regional regulations studied.

Educational Administration	Secondary Education Curriculum	Upper secondary education Curriculum
Andalucía	Decree 102/2023, of 9 May	Decree 103/2023, of 9 May
Aragón	Order ECD/1172/2022, of 2 August, and Order ECD/867/2024, of 25 July	Order ECD/1173/2022, of 3 August
Principado de Asturias	Decree 59/2022, of 30 August	Decree 60/2022, of 30 August
Illes Balears	Decree 32/2022, of 1 August	Decree 33/2022, of 1 August
Canarias	Decree 30/2023, of 16 March	Decree 30/2023, of 16 March
Cantabria	Decree 73/2022, of 27 July	Decree 73/2022, of 27 July
Castilla y León	Decree 39/2022, of 29 September	Decree 40/2022, of 29 September
Castilla-La Mancha	Decree 82/2022, of 12 July	Decree 83/2022, of 12 July
Cataluña	Decret 175/2022, of 27 September	Decret 171/2022, of 20 September
Comunitat Valenciana	Decree 107/2022, of 5 August	Decree 108/2022, of 5 August
Extremadura	Decree 110/2022, of 22 August	Decree 109/2022, of 22 August
Galicia	Decree 156/2022, of 15 September	Decree 157/2022, of 15 September, and Decree 118/2023, of 27 July
Comunidad de Madrid	Decree 65/2022, of 20 July	Decree 64/2022, of 20 July
Región de Murcia	Decree no. 235/2022, of 7 December, and Decree no. 158/2024, of 1 August	Decree no. 251/2022, of 22 December
Comunidad Foral de Navarra	Decree Foral 71/2022, of 29 June	Decree Foral 72/2022, of 29 June
País Vasco	Decree 77/2023, of 30 May, and Correction of errors of Decree 77/2023, of 30 May	Decree 76/2023, of 30 May
La Rioja	Decree 42/2022, of 13 July, and Decree 30/2025, of 1 July, amending Decree 42/2022, of 13 July	Decree 43/2022, of 21 July
MEFPD	Order EFP/754/2022, of 28 July	Order EFP/755/2022, of 31 July

Figure 2. Current regional regulations governing the Secondary Education and upper secondary education curriculum. **Source:** Author's own elaboration based on data published on portals of different educational administrations.

4. Results

Another analysis confirms the absence of terrorism in Infant and Primary Education curricula (Gracia, in press). Regarding Vocational Training, despite being a teaching modality that helps reduce vulnerability to social exclusion and school dropout, with enrolment exceeding one million

students (Gamboa et al., 2023), only one explicit reference to terrorism was found in the Technician in Emergencies and Civil Protection qualification, related to collecting incident information as part of an operational intervention.

Once ESO and upper secondary education stages are identified for analysis, we proceed to examine terrorism's presence in regional regulations developing the minimum teachings established in corresponding Royal Decrees.

4.1. Secondary Education

In ESO, after analysing Royal Decree 217/2022, of 29 March, terrorism is addressed in two subjects: Civic and Ethical Values Education, and Geography and History, with two aspects to highlight. On one hand, Civic and Ethical Values Education may be taught in any ESO year, and in Geography and History only in 3rd and 4th years, so some students may leave or change their educational path without receiving terrorism education. On the other, as shown in Table 2, Civic and Ethical Values Education has an average weekly load of one to two hours, and Geography and History three to four hours, which, considering all basic knowledge to include, could relegate terrorism study. Nevertheless, Geography and History is the main subject for students' first approach to the terrorist phenomenon.

Subject	Geography and History				Civic and Ethical Values Education or for Citizenship and Human Rights (some year or established)			
Year Autonomous Communities	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
AND	3	3	3	3	0	1	0	0
ARA	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	1
AST	3	3	3	3	0	0	2	0
BAL	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
CAN	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
CANT	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	0
CYL	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	0
CLM	4	3	3	3	0	2	0	0
CAT	4	4	4	3	1	1	1	1
CVAL	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	2
EXT	3	3	3	3	0	2	0	0
GAL	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	0
MAD	3	3	3	3	0	1	0	2
MUR	3	3	3	3	0	1	0	0
NAV	3	3	3	3	1	1	0	0
PVAS	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1
RIO	4	4	4	4	0	2	0	0

Figure 3. Weekly hours for Geography and History and Civic and Ethical Values Education subjects in Secondary Education and upper secondary education. **Source:** Author's own elaboration based on data published on portals of different educational administrations.

In the Civic and Ethical Values Education subject, minimum teachings related to terrorism establish:

Basic Knowledge. B. Society, justice, and democracy. Politics [...] The rule of law and constitutional values. Democracy [...]. Democratic memory. War, terrorism, and other forms of political violence.

These basic knowledge items maintain the full or partial wording of the Royal Decree in eleven autonomous communities (65%), except six (35%): Canarias, Cantabria, Cataluña, Comunitat Valenciana, País Vasco, and La Rioja, which eliminate explicit reference to terrorism. To illustrate this omission, the example from Decree 30/2023, of 16 March, of Canarias is shown:

Basic Knowledge. II. Society, democracy, and justice. 2.1. Recognition of democracy and its principles, procedures, and institutions, valuing democratic memory. 2.2. Valuation of citizenship and democratic participation.

In Civic and Ethical Values Education, there is a majority but lower percentage of uniformity in terrorism's presence in the curriculum, as shown in the following map:



Map 2. Presence of terrorism in regional curricula. Civic and Ethical Values Education subject for one ESO year. **Source:** Author's own elaboration based on analysis of regional decrees.

In the Geography and History subject, the Royal Decree establishes the following minimum teachings related to terrorism:

Specific Competence 7. Identify the foundations sustaining various identities [...] the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [...] and the need to recognise the suffering of victims of violence and terrorism.

Basic Knowledge. A. Challenges of the contemporary world. [...] Wars, terrorism, and other forms of political violence. Alliances and international institutions, mediation, and peace missions [...] C. Local and global civic commitment. [...] support for victims of violence and terrorism.

Most autonomous communities (15, or 88%) maintain this wording fully or partially, except Cataluña and Comunitat Valenciana (12%), which eliminate specific mention of terrorism, as shown in this excerpt from Decree 107/2022 of Comunitat Valenciana:

The world after the Second World War: The “Cold War” and decolonisation of Asia and Africa. The historical process of European Union construction. The Spanish Civil War and Francoist dictatorship. The Transition. Democratic Spain. Democratic memory.

A double nuance should be introduced. On one hand, the Basque curriculum for 4th ESO includes a reference to terrorism but only in the international sphere, hindering addressing domestic terrorism precisely where it would be most necessary. On the other, although Comunitat Valenciana omits that mention, it is one of the autonomies that has most promoted educator-victim programmes and use of teaching units from the “Memory and Prevention of Terrorism” programme. In any case, tools exist to address this topic in the classroom beyond its curricular presence, whose inclusion remains the most solid and stable path.

In addition to comparison between regional regulations and the Royal Decree, absences in basic knowledge are notable when contrasting with the teaching unit for 4th ESO Geography and History (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2019), as the following are not established as minimum teachings: a definition of terrorism, affected areas, classification and names of main terrorist organisations, social movements against terrorism, and references to terrorism victims, attacks, or kidnappings, given these variables are used as indicators of students’ knowledge about terrorism (Rodríguez Fouz et al., 2021).

4.2. upper secondary education

After analysing Royal Decree 243/2022, of 5 April, establishing the organisation and minimum teachings of upper secondary education, in this post-compulsory stage, terrorism is addressed in three subjects: Philosophy (1st upper secondary), Contemporary World History (1st upper secondary), and History of Spain (2nd upper secondary).

In the Philosophy subject, minimum teachings establish:

Basic Knowledge. C1. Human action: Ethical and political philosophy. Major ethical issues of our time: inequality and poverty; effective equality of rights between men and women; war, terrorism, and other forms of violence [...].

This wording is maintained in 12 autonomous communities (71%), except five (29%) that eliminate specific mention of terrorism (Canarias, Cataluña, Extremadura, País Vasco, and La Rioja). As an example of this omission, Decree 171/2022 of Cataluña establishes:

Basic Knowledge. What must I do? Evaluation of situations posing ethical problems through analysis of the duality between being and having to be, moral deliberation, ethical dialogue, and characterisation of moral judgements.

Philosophy is one of the subjects with least uniformity, as illustrated in the following map:



Map 2. Presence of terrorism in regional curricula. Philosophy subject for 1st upper secondary. **Source:** Author's own elaboration based on analysis of regional decrees.

On the other hand, in Contemporary World History, Royal Decree 243/2022 establishes:

Specific Competence 2. The Holocaust experience [...] and the threat of terrorism linked to political movements of various kinds must generate an attitude of rejection towards all types of violence and a firm conviction regarding recognition of victims and the right to truth, justice, reparation, and guarantees of non-repetition.

[...] The Holocaust experience [...] and the threat of terrorism linked to political movements of various kinds [...].

Basic Knowledge. B. Challenges of the contemporary world. Regional and planetary threats: terrorism, organised crime, radicalisms, cyberthreats, and weapons of mass destruction.

In this subject, 15 autonomous communities maintain this wording partially or fully (89%). However, Comunitat Valenciana and País Vasco (11%) eliminate specific mention of terrorism. This omission is shown in this excerpt from Decree 76/2023 of País Vasco:

Know and analyse the causes and consequences of major conflicts in the Contemporary Age and their high degree of violence and destruction [...]

[...] fundamental conditions were designed for genocides and extermination with their concentration camp system.

Basic Knowledge. B. Challenges of the contemporary world. Regional and planetary threats.

Some absences in minimum teachings should also be highlighted in this subject, such as specific mentions of significant attacks like 9/11 (New York), 11-M (Madrid), 7/7 (London), or waves of international terrorism – aspects included in the specific teaching unit for this subject (Prieto, 2020).

Finally, in History of Spain for 2nd upper secondary, minimum teachings establish:

Basic Knowledge. B. Challenges of the contemporary world. [...] Recognition, reparation, and dignification of victims of violence and terrorism in Spain. Memory policies in Spain. Places of memory [...] The Transition and the 1978 Constitution. [...] Democratic normalisation and the threat of terrorism.

These basic knowledge items are maintained in 14 autonomous communities (82%) fully or partially. However, three (18%) – Cataluña, Comunidad Valenciana, and País Vasco – eliminate this specific mention. Thus, Decree 76/2023 of País Vasco establishes:

Recognition of actions and movements in favour of freedom in contemporary Spanish history, awareness of traumatic past events and non-repetition of violent and painful situations.

Reparation of violence victims. The Transition: from the Political Reform Law to the 1978 Constitution. The State of Autonomies, universal democratic suffrage, violent opposition, and political-social consensus. The Moncloa Pacts.

Another important aspect regarding History of Spain is that it may have the highest number of basic knowledge items related to terrorism. However, it also has the greatest number of basic knowledge items overall and shorter duration due to University Entrance Examinations, in which questions related to terrorism are rarely included, marginalising the topic in favour of others.

5. Conclusions

This study reveals how the curricular approach to terrorism remains insufficient and uneven in implementation (Doñate, 2025). On one hand, terrorism is not addressed transversally or competence-based and is limited to the five subjects mentioned: Geography and History and Civic and Ethical Values Education in ESO; and Philosophy, Contemporary World History, and History of Spain in upper secondary education (Harris et al., 2013). This limitation overshadows other subjects with great potential, such as Spanish Language and Literature, Foreign Languages, Digitalisation (Pérez-García y Barragán, 2025), or even Plastic, Visual, and Audiovisual Education, which could explore cultural and artistic aspects.

On the other, in terms of timetable load and considering the breadth of basic knowledge in subjects like Geography and History, restricting terrorism treatment to them does not seem effective, especially in 2nd upper secondary, where University Entrance Examinations prioritise other topics with higher likelihood of appearing (Serrano y García, 2014). This is another indirect element to address.

Beyond these aspects, results analysis shows that while most autonomous communities guarantee basic knowledge established by Royal Decrees for addressing terrorism, some, in a legitimate but questionable interpretation, avoid including the term in their curricula. This strategy only contributes to terrorism remaining taboo and deepens students' ignorance (Mota Zurdo, 2022). Indirectly, it may also stem from teachers' rejection due to insecurity from fear of unexpected effects, partly from lack of training to manage controversial topics in the classroom (De Miguel Yubero, 2023). This difficulty worsens in regions where a "battle over the narrative" persists, preventing students from developing capacity to know unbiased history and form their own ethical argumentation (Pinilla Gómez, 2023). This conflict again highlights the importance of access to firsthand terrorism victim testimonies, recognising their value and contribution (Jiménez, 2018). The fact that names of victims, attacks, kidnappings, and social movements against terrorism are not included as minimum teachings only contributes to erasing them from collective memory we must preserve to prevent repetition.

Although progress has been made in access to specific curricular materials on terrorism, a retrospective view concludes no advance in its curricular approach, requiring consensus to avoid political dependence, firmly convinced that terrorism demands far more technical, broad, and integral treatment – not limited to Secondary Education and upper secondary education curricula but open to other teachings and stages, especially initial teacher training, where practitioners must implement it.

This study can serve as a starting point for future research lines analysing other international curricular proposals, realistic studies evaluating what works, in which contexts, and under what conditions (Gielen, 2019), and more qualitative studies to understand perceptions of all educational community sectors. Therefore, these suggestions should be considered by future technical teams involved in drafting and improving future curricular specifications on terrorism.

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