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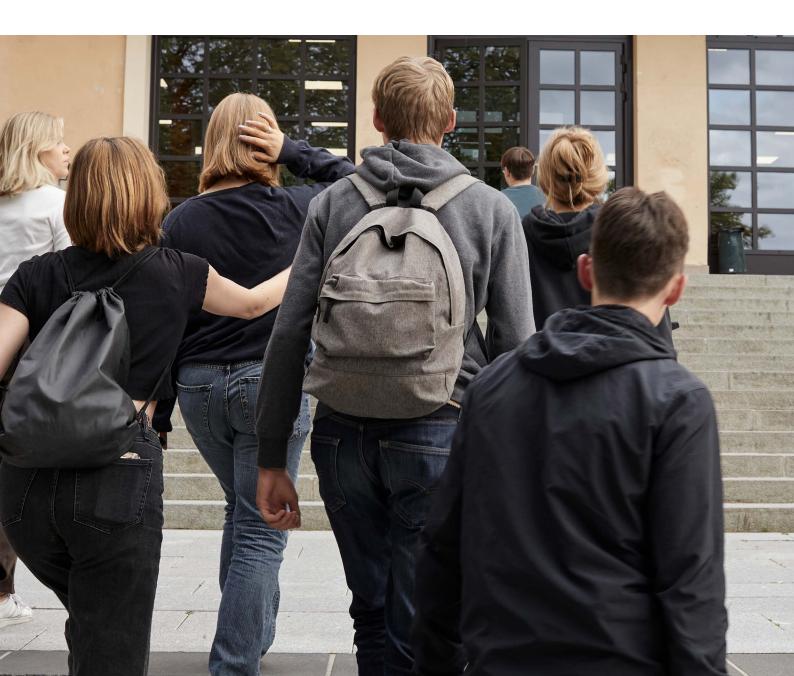Center for preventing violent extremism

Support model to strengthen schools' work to prevent violent extremism and school attacks

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Preface

In June 2022, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) was commissioned by the Swedish Government to develop a support model and an information material to help handling concerns about violent extremism and radicalisation in schools. This will be carried out within the Swedish Center for Preventing Violent Extremism (CVE) and will be based on previous method support material that the Center has produced for the social services and the police. It will be specially adapted for use in schools.

Schools should be safe places for children, students and staff. A completed education with passing grades is important in forming proactive and informed citizens. However, sometimes this sense of safety is undermined. The fact that some students have chosen to attack their schools raise questions about how to prevent this kind of violence. Sometimes these attacks are motivated or inspired by violent extremism.

To strengthen schools' preventive work against violent extremism and school attacks, this support model is aimed at school staff and provides support on how to respond to and handle concerns about a student. The model is based on the schools' promotion and prevention work and is intended to contribute to improving knowledge in this subject. Researchers Lenita Törning and Edvin Sandström have been responsible for the project with the support of the Center's other staff.

Stockholm, 1 December 2023

Jonas Trolle

Head of the Swedish Center for Preventing Violent Extremism

Concepts and abbreviations

Explanation of concepts

Child: a person who has not reached the age of 18.

Lone actor: a person who carries out an act of violence on their own, without direct assistance from a group.

Prevention: identifying, addressing and countering the risk of an individual becoming radicalised and committing school attacks.

Ongoing deadly violence: police term for an ongoing deadly attack, for example at a school.

Radicalisation: a process through which a person adopts certain ideas that ultimately lead to the acceptance and/or use of violence based on ideological or religious beliefs.

School attack: an act of violence, sometimes fatal, committed at a school.

Terrorism: ideologically-motivated acts of violence with the intent to instil fear and destabilising democracy.

Violent extremism: an umbrella term for movements, ideologies or actors that do not accept a democratic social order or constitutionally protected freedoms and rights, and regard violence and crime as legitimate methods to achieve ideological and political objectives.

Abbreviations

Brå	The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention
CVE	The Swedish Center for Preventing Violent Extremism
MSB	The Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency
PDV	Ongoing Deadly Violence
SoL	Social Services Act
VBE	Violent Extremism

Introduction

About the Center

The Swedish Center for Preventing Violent Extremism (CVE) was established on 1 January 2018 at the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå). The Center is tasked to develop knowledge-based, cross-sectoral expertise in order to preventing violent extremism at national, regional and local levels. This is achieved through providing needs-based support to local actors, acting as a knowledge hub and contributing to a higher degree of efficiency and coordination in prevention efforts. Ultimately, the Center's work aims to prevent ideologically motivated crime and terrorism.

CVE has four main responsibilities:

- Further the development of preventive work at national, regional and local levels.

- Improve the degree of coordination and efficiency in prevention work.

- Provide needs-based support to municipalities, authorities and other actors who in their work deal with issues related to preventing of violent extremism.

- Collect and disseminate knowledge on the prevention of violent extremism based on research and good practice and promote knowledge-based practice.

CVE works with national, regional and local actors involved in the prevention of violent extremism.

Increasing concerns about violent extremism in schools[1]

As several students in Sweden have carried out violent attacks on their schools, questions have arisen how this type of violence can be prevented and how it is linked to violent extremism. Since 2022, CVE has handled a number of cases from schools around Sweden who have requested support and advice on how to act when they are concerned that a student might want to carry out a school attack. This has involved everything from early and vague concerns for a student, to serious cases with concerns of a planned school attack. Some of the cases have come to CVE's attention via the Center's helpline, others have come directly from the police, social services, psychiatry or other actors.

The Centre's experience is that concerns about school attacks rarely involve specific incidents of crime, violence, threats or weapons. More often, there is a vague concern that

something might happen. Common questions the Center receives from school staff are: Is this dangerous? What are the risks? Can the student remain in the school? What do we do if something happens? What can we do? What is our mandate? Who should speak with the student? Schools sometimes find themselves in situations where they do not know if they should suspend a student or not, or if a student should come back to school after a suspension or not. Concerns about school attacks can generate strong emotions, even when they are vague. This creates challenges for schools and uncertainty about how to deal with these situations.

The Centre emphasises the importance of cooperation between authorities so that the school is not left alone with a case. Today, many schools and municipalities lack collaborative structures to handle concerns about school attacks. There are also differences between municipalities in terms of resources and preconditions for collaboration. In addition, some schools lack procedures on what to do when a student is arrested by the police and then returns to school, either because they have not been prosecuted or after time served. Returning and completing their education can provide a strong protective factor for the student, but it may also cause anxiety and uncertainty among school staff and other students of what might happen in the future. How should schools deal with such situations? It is important not only to focus on how it should be, but also on the actual reality for schools.

The Center's most common advice to schools are as follows:

- The school should first and foremost be a school. School professionals ought to keep their roles and support other actors in their roles. The student health services play an important part using their interdisciplinary expertise.

- When concerns have arisen, schools are recommended to seek support, in-house or externally. Not everything can be solved by schools alone and external support might be needed.

- The social services and the police are resources that ought to be used. If necessary, the school should not wait to contact them.

- A concern report must be submitted to the social services if there are concerns for a student. If the report is closed without action or if new concerns arise, a new report should be made.

- It is important to work long-term and to persevere. Prevention takes, and must take, time.

The support model's purpose and target group(s)

In order to meet the concerns from schools, CVE has developed this support model with the purpose of strengthening the schools' preventive work against violent extremism and school attacks. The model focuses on various parts of schools' preventive work where support may be needed – from considerations when school staff is talking to students to rules and advice that apply when reporting concerns to the social services and when reporting to the police. The support model enhances knowledge and aims to contribute to the systematic management of concerns regarding violent extremism and school attacks in schools. One important objective is being able to identify the student and help them before the situation goes too far. The model includes suggestions on how it can be used by different professions within the school, such as school management, student health services, teaching staff and other staff.

How the support model has been developed

In order to develop a user-friendly and tailored support model for schools, the Center has consulted with relevant authorities, trade unions, experts and school staff. In the initial phase of the work, discussions were held with education advisors from the Swedish National Agency for Education and representatives of the Swedish Teachers' Union to gather knowledge and good practice. These discussions showed the importance of developing a model that can be used within the framework of the school's regular work. A needs inventory was then carried out among school staff from preschool to adult education to get a better understanding of existing structures, ideas concerning the design of the support model and what they did not want to see in such a document. The Center interviewed principals, counsellors, special educators, study and vocational guidance counsellors and teachers from schools in different parts of Sweden, and through this gained a better understanding of the different professional needs within the school system. The interviews showed that school staff feel uncertain on how to deal with a student who expresses extreme views or a fascination with violence, and that support may be needed in order to know what questions to ask. Similar to the Swedish National Agency for Education and the Swedish Teachers' Association, the needs inventory showed the need for flexible support that can be used within the framework of ordinary procedures in schools. The support model also needs to strengthen collegial collaboration within the school and collaboration with other actors (e.g. the social services and police). The design of this support model is intended to meet these needs and wishes.

The Center has also studied support materials, handbooks and guidelines provided by other public authorities with the intention to strengthen schools' promotion and prevention efforts. Further, the Center has reviewed Swedish and international research on violent

extremism, school attacks and schools' preventive work to embed the support model in knowledge-based, proven practice.

In September 2023, a first draft of the support model was sent to the National Agency for Education, trade unions, relevant civil society actors, experts and selected schools for feedback. Their responses have been extremely valuable in identifying strengths and areas for improvement and have been used to develop the final design of the support model.

Content of the support model

The support model consists of two parts: a literature review and a conversation guide. Instructions on how these parts can be used are described under each part. Below is a brief description of its various components.

Literature review

The support model begins with a literature review based on Swedish and international research and is divided into three chapters:

The first chapter focuses on **violent extremism** and provides a brief description of the phenomenon, the three violent milieus in Sweden, lone actors and the radicalisation process. The importance of the Internet is also emphasised. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further reading.

The second chapter provides a review of **school attacks**; what it is, as well as possible overlap with violent extremism. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further reading.

The third looks more closely at **risk and protective factors** associated with violent extremism and school attacks. The questions in the conversation guide are based on these factors. The chapter emphasises the importance of protective factors in prevention, and how schools' preventive work can be strengthened through knowledge of risk and protective factors.

Conversation guide

The second part of the support model is a conversation guide, which includes questions to ask when speaking to the student and recommendations on further support provided by other authorities and actors. The conversation guide begins with suggestions on how different school professionals can use the material. The rest of the guide is divided into five parts:

Speaking to the student who school staff are worried for/about. Speaking to the student is an important intervention but may also cause concerns for school staff. This section includes a range of questions that may be relevant to address concerns of violent extremism, fascination with violence and school attacks, mental health and internet habits. The questions are open-ended, low-affective and non-judgmental, and may be used to understand the student better to provide appropriate support.

Speaking to people around the student, such as worried classmates or friends and parents, guardians or family members. These are often among the first to notice changes in an individual but may not always know what to do with that information. Classmates and friends may be afraid to be seen as snitching to adults at school. Parents, guardians and/or family members can feel ashamed and not know what to do. This part of the conversation guide provides suggestions on questions to ask, but also how the school can work to create a safe environment where students dare to come to adults with their concerns. There are also recommendations on support for family members from civil society organisations and support material from the Swedish National Agency for Education.

Collegial conversations and collaboration, for example in teaching teams, with the student health team or in collaboration with other authorities and actors. This part provides suggestions on how to manage concerns among colleagues about a student. This may provide the support needed for individual school staff, enabling them to share their concerns for a student, but also to gain a better overall understanding of the student. The importance of student health team and its interdisciplinary expertise is emphasised. Co-operation with other authorities and actors is addressed, as is the question of consent.

Reporting concerns to social services is something schools are obligated to do if they know or suspect that a child is at risk. This section focuses on how to make a concrete and detailed concern report in relation to violent extremism and school attacks. It provides questions and recommendations and refers to reports produced by the National Board of Health and Welfare to streamline the process.

Filing a police report may also be relevant in cases of concerns related to violent extremism and school attacks. This section provides information on when schools are obliged to make a police report and how they can proceed if they need to contact the police in cases of concern for a student. There is also reference to support and recommendations from the Swedish Police Authority.

The two parts of the support model – the literature review and the conversation guide – are designed to improve school staff's knowledge on violent extremism and school attacks, and to make them better prepared to deal with concerns for a student. The model is flexible and may be used within the framework of regular structures and practices within schools.

Scope of the support model

The government commission intends to strengthen schools' work on preventing violent extremism and radicalisation, as well as collaboration between schools, social services and the police. Consequently, activities that fall within the framework of averting or managing acts of violence in schools - such as safety planning and lockdown or evacuation of students – is not included in this support model. However, there has been collaboration with authorities responsible for these areas of work and references are made to relevant support material from the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) and the Swedish National Agency for Education.

The Center further chose to include a wider focus on school attacks than the original terms of reference stated. The mission statement mentioned that a number of fatal acts of violence have been carried out in Swedish schools and that in some cases the perpetrators have been inspired by violent extremist ideologies. As it is not always clear what role violent extremism plays in school attacks, the Center chose to highlight both violent extremism and school attacks.

School work for the prevention of violent extremism and school attacks

- More can be read about preschool and school work for the prevention of violent extremism in support material, including recommendations, materials and in-depth information, produced by the Swedish National Agency for Education.

- The Swedish National Agency for Education has also produced support material on school safety and crisis plans in schools, including how to prevent armed violence.

- CVE has a helpline that professionals may call if they have questions about violent extremism or school attacks, or if they need support in a case. Telephone number: 08-527 44 290 (9 AM – 3 PM on weekdays).

- CVE, the Swedish National Agency for Education, the National Board of Health and Welfare, the Swedish Police Authority, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKR) and the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency have developed a joint information page on preventing school attacks: Skolattack.se

- More on how schools can deal with social crises can be found in the book *Skolans värld möter samhällskriser* [The school world meets social crises]. The book was published in 2022 by Studentlitteratur and was written by Magnus Persson, Aida Alvinius and Frida Linehagen.

Part 1:
Literature review

→

How to use the Literature review

The literature review can be used in several ways:

- It may be read in its entirety to provide a basic introduction to violent extremism, school attacks and relevant risk and protective factors.

- It may be used to address specific queries that arise in the course of work and serve as a support when meeting with the student.

- It may also help gaining a comprehensive understanding of risk and protective factors involved in violent extremism and school attacks.

If you wish to deepen your knowledge on violent extremism and school attacks, suggestions for further reading are given at the end of the literature review. For those interested in the research behind the literature review, references can be found in the endnotes and reference list.

Violent extremism

This chapter provides an overview of violent extremism in Sweden. It begins by describing what violent extremism is and the three main violent extremist milieus. It also focuses on 'lone actors' and the radicalisation process. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main themes and provides recommendations for further reading.

Violent extremism in Sweden

Violent extremism is a collective term for movements, ideologies or milieus that do not accept a democratic social order and constitutional freedoms and rights, and regard violence and crime as legitimate methods to achieve ideological and political goals. Violent extremists engage in, encourage or otherwise promote violence to influence and change society.[2] These crimes are thus ideologically motivated and can take different forms, from financial crime, undue influence, threats and harassment to serious violent crime or terrorist attacks.

At the moment the Swedish Security Service primarily monitors three violent extremist milieus within the framework of its mission to protect democracy and counteract ideologically motivated crime intended to change the social order. These are the violent Islamist milieu, the right-wing extremist milieu and the left-wing extremist milieu.[3] Within these groups, there is a wide variety of ideological variation and views on how to achieve their objectives. These milieus consist of actors (individuals, groups, networks and organisations) which are linked together by a common understanding of how society should look and function. The offences committed within these milieus are often systematic. Each individual crime may not be regarded as particularly serious, but could ultimately contribute to normalising, fuelling and influencing decision-making, the exercise of authority or the work or commitment of individuals.[4]

The three violent extremist milieus that the Swedish Security Service is currently monitoring:

• **The violent Islamist milieu** includes actors who want to replace democracy with a regime based on harsh and literal interpretations of Islam. A dominant ideological orientation is Salafi jihadism, which is a minor orientation within the Salafist movement. Salafism is a revival movement within Sunni Islam, which wants to return to the Muslim religion as they perceive it was lived and practiced by the first three generations of Muslims after the Prophet Muhammad. Salafists oppose democracy as a form of government, advocate strong gender segregation and a value conservative lifestyle. What distinguishes Salafi jihadists from most Salafists is that they advocate the use of violence to establish an Islamist social order.[5]

- **The violent right-wing extremist** milieu includes a number of actors who are driven by authoritarian, radical nationalist, racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic ideologies and ideas, such as national socialism and ethno-nationalism. The actors' world view also includes hate for the establishment, the LGBTI movement, feminism and women's individual right to start a family. There are also those devoted to animal rights and climate and environmental issues such as eco-fascism.[6]

- **The violent left-wing milieu** includes libertarian left-wing actors and ideologies that regard violence as a legitimate method to influence society. These ideologies, such as anarchism, are characterised by an anti-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian approach, which strongly questions authoritarian ideologies and systems, state structures and the role of capitalism in society. These actors strive to establish a classless society characterised by socio-economic equality and inclusive views on identity and rights, anti-racism, feminism and LGBTI rights. They reject the Swedish democratic model through which representatives are elected to govern. Instead, they want to see direct democracy without elected representatives, where citizens participate directly in decision-making processes and political governance.[7]

There are also various issue-based movements that use violence and other forms of criminality to promote specific issues, such as animal rights, anti-abortion or climate and environmental questions. These actors can sometimes be part of one of the violent milieus, but do not necessarily have to be organised as an extremist movement or milieu.[8]

Something that has got attention lately is 'hybridisation'. Hybridisation means that extremist milieus in their propaganda use conspiracy theories from milieus that are not necessarily violent but are strongly critical of society.[9] The distinction between what is violent and not has become more diffuse, which has been recognised by the Swedish Security Service in its annual situational assessment.[10]

Lone actors

It is not necessarily individuals who belong to a group or organisation who are most likely to commit ideologically motivated crimes. Actions may also be carried out by people who act without the support of a specific group or organisation. These are known as lone actors, although it is uncertain how lone these individuals actually are.[11] They are often part of, and inspired by, digital communities which advocate for the use of violence and the need to take matters into their own hands to polarise, fuel tensions and incite societal collapse.[12]

A number of terrorist attacks have been planned and carried out by lone actors with links to violent right-wing extremism and violent Islamist extremism. These have often been inspired by violent extremist ideologies, pro-violence propaganda and previous attacks, but do not necessarily have to be part of a violent extremist milieu. A relatively common feature among lone actors is mental health issues. Ideological motivations are often mixed with underlying personal problems, which can make the actual motives behind their actions unclear. Similar signs can also be seen among perpetrators of school attacks, as discussed in the next chapter.

What is radicalisation?

Radicalisation is used to describe a process through which a person adopts ideas that ultimately lead to the acceptance and/or use of violence based on ideological or political beliefs. The term may also describe the process an individual goes through before committing a school attack. The radicalisation process is neither linear nor stable and can vary from person to person.[13]

Radicalisation can be cognitive (thoughts) and behavioural (actions). Radicalisation can begin with thoughts of, for example, destroying property, injuring or even killing someone who represents a group or cause the individual finds offensive. Most people will never plan to carry out their violent fantasies, let alone act on them. However, a small minority go beyond radical thoughts and choose to act.[14]

People are drawn to extremism for different reasons and often with different expectations. In order to understand radicalisation processes better, research has sought to identify risk factors associated with violent extremism. These are described in more detail in Chapter 3. There is often a set of risk factors present in those who become radicalised, but not all the factors are equally important for everyone. They may vary from case to case. There is no consistent pattern nor perfect profile that distinguishes them from each other or from those not involved in extremism.[15]

The radicalisation process is influenced by personal factors as well as socio-political and organisational contexts. People can be radicalised in different social contexts, such as by family members or friends, through direct contact with extremist groups, in prisons or on the internet. Some extremist groups have also recruited people in places such as schools, universities and places of worship.[16]

Internet has become a key arena for radicalisation. Digital platforms have made it easier for extremists to communicate across borders and spread extremist propaganda to vulnerable individuals. Gaming platforms can be used by extremists to radicalise, recruit, incite violence and facilitate the execution of serious violent crimes and attacks.[17] Game logic and aesthetics have characterised the planning and execution of some terrorist attacks. Some terrorist attacks have been broadcast live via a camera on the perpetrator's head, allowing viewers to follow the events as if they were in a game.[18]

Summarising points

• Violent extremism is an umbrella term for movements, ideologies or milieus that do not accept a democratic social order and constitutional freedoms and rights, and regard violence and crime as a legitimate method of achieving ideological and political objectives.

• Currently, the Swedish Security Service primarily monitors three violent milieus: the violent Islamist, the violent right-wing extremist and the violent left-wing extremist milieus.

• Violent Islamists are driven by a will to govern society according to an extreme and harsh interpretation of Islam. Targets include the general public, Jews, LGBTI people and Christians.

• Violent right-wing extremists are driven by anti-Semitic, racist and anti-democratic ideas. Targets include Muslims, Jews, immigrants, LGBTI people, politicians and public officials.

• Violent left-wing extremists are driven by anti-democratic ideas that political opponents such as right-wing extremists and capitalists should be met with violence. Targets include right-wing extremists, supporters of right-wing parties and representatives of certain companies and authorities.

• It is not necessarily the individuals belonging to a group or organisation who are most likely to commit ideologically motivated crimes; it may also be people acting without the support of any specific group or organisation.

• Radicalisation is a complex process and there is no single reason why someone is (or is not) radicalised.

Further reading

CVE has produced several literature reviews on violent extremism and the CVE publication tool includes other government and research reports that may be of interest.

In 2018, the Swedish National Agency for Education published a report on the role of schools in preventing violent extremism.

Every year, the Swedish Security Service publishes a situational assessment and a review of current security threats to Sweden.

We also recommend the reference list at the end of the support model.

School attacks

Different types of violence can occur in schools. These can be conflicts between students, sexual harassment, bullying, racist statements or physical assault.[19] However, sometimes these may also involve armed violent attacks that could result in a fatal outcome. This is the type of violence referred to here.

What is a school attack?

There is no common definition in the scholarly literature on what constitutes a school attack, but some common denominators are highlighted:

- The first is that a school attack is often committed by students or former students at the school. This does not mean that the offence cannot be committed by people who have no connection to the school. The school attack in Trollhättan in 2015 is one such example.[20] However, the most common scenario involves a person with some form of relationship to the school.

- The second is that the victims are chosen randomly (also known as randomised violence) or because they have a symbolic role in the school (e.g. the principal, school nurse, teacher). Sometimes the perpetrator has decided in advance who to attack, but often the victims are chosen because they are in the wrong place at the wrong time.

- The third is that the violence is directed at the school as an institution. The location is chosen strategically and not by chance. Perhaps the perpetrator wants revenge for perceived injustices, but it may also be because the school represents a social development that the perpetrator dislikes. Personal and socio-political motives are often mixed, which can also be observed in the cases of lone-actor terrorists.[21]

American researchers have identified five criteria that are commonly found in school attacks: 1) the perpetrator experiences social marginalisation or exclusion (e.g. as a result of bullying), 2) there are psychosocial vulnerabilities that make it difficult for the perpetrator to cope, 3) there are cultural scripts that make school attacks a possible option, 4) the perpetrator remains under the radar to avoid detection, and 5) the perpetrator has access to weapons, such as firearms or knives.[22] While these five preconditions are not sufficient to lead to a school attack – there is always an interplay of other factors, that may vary [23] – they do identify patterns that may be helpful in prevention work.

Cultural scripts are interesting. Those are popular culture and socio-cultural frameworks that explain not only why a school attack should be carried out, but also how. They include explanatory models, clothing, symbolism, weapons and approaches. References to other school attacks are common.[24] One influential school attack is the school massacre at Columbine High School in Colorado, USA in April 1999, where two students brought firearms to school and killed 10 people. The attack is often cited as a source of inspiration for later school attacks. Several perpetrators who have committed school attacks since 1999 have worn similar clothing to the Columbine shooters, such as a black coat or trench coat and t-shirts with messages, they have listened to the same type of music during the school attack, and written diaries, manifestos and made video recordings to justify their actions.[25] Wearing similar attributes and symbols creates perceived social ties between those who commit school attacks.

Cultural scripts are mainly produced online. Not only do school attackers disseminate their manifestos and video recordings in digital forums, but some also broadcast their attacks live and encourage others to commit similar attacks. Although most people in these digital forums do not plan to commit or carry out a school attack, research has shown that they can play a role in romanticising and glorifying school attacks and violence.[26] Digital forums can also provide young people with a social community they may lack at school. It is not uncommon for perpetrators of school attacks to have previous experience of bullying and victimisation at school. On the internet, they can find explanatory models for why they were targeted and the importance of revenge, which is similar to a radicalisation process.[27]

As with lone actors, young people planning a school attack may be difficult to detect. They may remain under the radar and plan the attack alone or together with someone. However, research has shown that they often leak information about their upcoming action, both offline and online. This may range from subtle forms of leakage – such as saying that they admire former school shooters and that someone should do something similar at their school – to actual details of their plan to commit a school attack. Past school attacks have shown in retrospect that leaks were rarely taken seriously; instead, they were regarded as a joke or an attempt to get attention. Research on prevention emphasises the importance of taking leaks seriously and creating structures and procedures to catch them. In the case of schools, it is important to raise awareness of school attacks and integrate this knowledge into prevention and promotion work, but also to encourage students to come to an adult if they hear or see something that concerns them.[28] This support model aims to strengthening these efforts.

Similarities between school attacks and violent extremism

School attacks and violent extremism are not necessarily related, but there have been cases where there are similarities in the planning, motivation and execution of attacks. Research in this area is still limited, but has identified some similarities that are worth highlighting:

- Sometimes, perpetrators of school attacks can be inspired or motivated by violent ideologies. This includes symbols the perpetrators wear during the attack (e.g. swastikas), but also writings they leave behind. Even if school attacks are not necessarily ideologically motivated, there is often strong social criticism present. It may be that young people's vulnerability is viewed as acceptable by society or that society is heading in the wrong direction. Just as with lone actors, the attacks are often motivated by both personal and socio-political factors.[29]

- There are similarities in the type of violence used by perpetrators. Both school and ideologically-motivated attackers use violence to send a message - termed symbolic violence. In the case of school attacks, the violence is often directed at the school as an institution. There have been school attacks, as well as several terrorist attacks by lone actors, that have been broadcast live on digital platforms.[30]

- School attacks and ideologically-motivated acts of violence are often planned over a long period of time, from a few months to several years. They are rarely random acts of madness as there is a plan on how, when and where to carry out the attack. The perpetrators also know that their actions may attract media attention and make them famous. Many offenders prepare manifestos, media texts or other products explaining why they have committed their offences.[31]

- Another similarity between school attacks and ideologically motivated violence is the way perpetrators dress. As previously mentioned, perpetrators of school attacks sometimes follow a cultural script, where clothing and symbolism from previous school attacks may play important roles. Some also use symbolism seen among lone-actor terrorists, such as black skull masks. Sometimes school attackers refer to terrorists as sources of inspiration.[32]

Summarising points

- There is no common definition in research on what constitutes a school attack, but there are some common denominators that are often highlighted: the perpetrator is often a student or former student at the school, the victims are randomly selected or because they have a specific role at the school, and the violence is targeted at the school as an institution.

- Research has identified criteria present in several school attacks: experience of exclusion, psychosocial vulnerabilities, cultural scripts, isolation and access to weapons.

- Cultural scripts are popular culture and socio-cultural frames of reference that explain not only why a school attack should be carried out, but also how. They include the choice of clothing, symbolism, weapons and procedures, and sometimes also make references to other school attacks.

- The link between violent extremism and school attacks is often vague, but there are similarities in how attacks are planned, motivated and carried out.

Further reading

In June 2023, the School Safety Commission published an interim report on how to strengthen schools' preventive work against school attacks.

The Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material on school safety and crisis preparedness.

The Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB), in collaboration with the Swedish Police Authority and CVE, has produced a guide entitled Våldshandlingar med stora konsekvenser i skolan - En vägledning för skolledning, skolpersonal och säkerhetsansvariga [Violent acts with major consequences in school – a guide for school management, school personnel and health and safety officers].

More research on school attacks from a Swedish perspective can be found in the book Kriminologiska perspektiv på dödligt skolvåld [Criminological perspective on fatal school violence] by Charlotta Thodelius, Hans-Olof Sandén, Carl Besslinger and Peter Währborg published in 2021 by Liber.

A compilation of Swedish and Nordic research on school violence - from everyday violence to school attacks - can be found in Policing Schools: School Violence and the Juridification of Youth published in 2019 by Springer and edited by Johannes Lunneblad.

Knowledge on how schools can prevent everyday violence can be found in the book Hot och våld i skolvardagen: Att förstå och hjälpa utsatta elever [Threats and violence in everyday life at schools: understanding and helping vulnerable students] by Ylva Odenbring and Thomas Johansson published in 2019 by Natur och Kultur.

A comprehensive international compilation of research on school attacks can be found in the research anthology School Shootings - International Research, Case Studies, and Concepts for Prevention published in 2013 by Springer and edited by Nils Böckler, Thorsten Seeger, Peter Sitzer and Wilhelm Heitmeyer.

Risk and protective factors

This chapter takes a closer look at risk and protective factors that may increase or reduce the risk of a person being radicalised into a violent milieu and/or committing a school attack. There is no single factor that can explain the move towards radicalisation and violent extremism. Instead, it is a process in which several preconditions, prerequisites and circumstances tend to be interlinked and reinforce each other. An individual's life situation is characterised not only by their own conditions (individual risk and protection factors), but also by the social contexts (family, friends, school and society in general) they are part of.

The chapter is divided into two parts. It first describes what appear to be relevant individual and social risk factors in relation to violent extremism and school attacks. This is followed by a similar description of protective factors. Please note that there may be factors other than those mentioned here that are important to understand an individual's situation. It is not possible to create a complete checklist of risk and protective factors that will always be present.

There are some risk and protective factors that go directly into the main missions of schools. These involve providing the best preconditions for a student to graduate with passing grades, preventing violations and offences in school (such as bullying and social exclusion), and creating good, trust-based relationships. Other risk and protective factors fall under the different missions of other authorities, such as the social services, police and psychiatry. These factors can be supporting a student with destructive family relationships, exposure to violence and crime, mental illness or psychiatric diagnoses. Knowledge of risk and protective factors can help strengthen schools' preventive measures against violent extremism and school attacks. School should be a protective factor in the lives of young people, and this requires measures to counteract aspects that could make the school a risk factor, such as exposure to bullying, failure to perform well academically or experiences of social exclusion. Having this knowledge can hopefully also lead to clearer concern reports to the social services and police reports.

Risk factors

Risk factors can briefly be described as the factors that increase the risk of an individual being radicalised into a violent milieu or committing a school attack. Research on risk factors is more extensive than that on protective factors. This is problematic as promotion and prevention work is as much about strengthening protective factors as it is about taking action against risks.[33]

There are individuals who share several of the risk factors listed in the bullet list below but never become violent extremists or commit a school attack. It is not possible to determine the development of any particular individual. What consideration of risk factors does, however, is to identify what can increase the risk of an individual becoming radicalised and resorting to violence.

Swedish and international research on violent extremism and school attacks has identified several **individual risk factors:**

- **The matter of age and gender** frequently arises as possible individual risk factors. Often young men in their teens or twenties are more likely to be involved in violent milieus and school attacks (as in other forms of crime). However, it is important not to be too generalising. Although men are still over-represented in violent milieus, women can be active and play very prominent roles, both ideologically and socially.[34] When it comes to school attacks, women are heavily underrepresented, but there are women in these milieus, and they often share the same risk factors as men.[35] Perceptions of what it means to be a woman and women's roles may have implications for women's radicalisation, just as destructive notions of masculinity and manhood can be risk factors for men.[36] Research on young people who commit school attacks has emphasised the importance of masculinity. School violence may be linked to a heterosexual male ideal that the perpetrator wants to achieve and feels he does not fulfil. It may be about glorifying the use of violence, showing strength and not appearing weak. This could be a reason why some perpetrators choose, for example, to not seek help for mental health problems.[37]

- Other risk factors highlighted are **previous experience of violence, abuse and criminality**. It could be that the individual has had such experiences in the past, for example being part of a gang, having knowledge of violence (including the use of and access to weapons) or glorifying the use of violence to achieve political and personal goals.[38] Fascination and interest in weapons, violence and terrorist acts and/or school attacks may also be risk factors. The individual may also have suffered physical or emotional abuse leading to a desire to seek revenge or retribution, either against specific individuals or groups or against society. Research on school attacks indicates that some of the young people who choose to commit a school attack have previously shown a strong interest in weapons and armed violence, verbal and/or written. Revenge in order to establish a reputation and retaliate against those who have caused personal suffering may be central.[39]

- **Mental health problems and psychiatric diagnoses** can be potential risk factors for both radicalisation into violent extremism and school attacks. Low self-esteem, low self-control, thrill-seeking, aggression, identity crisis, lack of a sense of belonging and

neuropsychiatric disabilities (NPF e.g. ADHD and autism spectrum disorders) are all factors that can contribute to an individual being attracted to an extremist environment or committing a school attack. However, while these factors may cause individuals to be vulnerable, they are not decisive. Instead, it is vital to examine the interplay of different risk factors, of which mental illness, NPF or psychiatric diagnoses form one of several pieces of the puzzle.[40]

- **Unemployment and failure to complete school or higher education** may form individual risk factors. This situation may result in a sense of alienation and failure that can lead to (or result from) mental health problems, and (in the case of unemployment) also financial difficulties. Failure itself can create a desire to seek compensatory contexts for perceived or real shortcomings.[41]

- **Perceived or actual social and political marginalisation and exclusion** have been identified as individual risk factors for both violent extremism and school attacks. This may involve a feeling of exclusion from other groups, the experience of not being allowed to speak, being silenced or in some other way not being allowed to express your opinion. There are also overlaps with social risk factors, such as a lack of political representation and perceptions that specific issues or political views are not included in the public

debate.[42] Research on young people who have committed school attacks shows that several experienced strong social alienation at school as the result of bullying and social exclusion, and that these experiences played a considerable role in why they committed school attacks. As shown in the previous chapter, these attacks are not only about taking revenge for themselves but a form of social critique. The lack of real participation should not only be recognised as a risk factor, however; it can also be translated into preventive and promotional activities. More generally, this can involve creating contexts where people feel involved and are regarded as positive resources.[43]

- **Crisis and trauma** can be risk factors for radicalisation. Experiencing a personal crisis can create strong emotions that make an individual vulnerable to radicalisation. This may involve the loss of something important such as a job, a friend or a partner or personal failures that the individual cannot cope with. Experiences of trauma – especially from childhood - can also make an individual vulnerable to radicalisation. Untreated post-traumatic stress can lead to difficulties in regulating emotions and increase the risk of resorting to violence, either against themselves or against others.[44]

If the individual risk factors help to explain what makes an individual more vulnerable to radicalisation, the social risk factors help to understand the social context in which the individual lives. It is often difficult to separate individual and social risk factors as they tend to interact. An individual's mental health and sense of self is shaped by the social environment in which they live. Social risk factors help us to gain a broader and more comprehensive understanding of an individual's life situation.

Swedish and international research on violent extremism and school attacks has identified several social risk factors:

- **Destructive family relationships** such as physical or psychological abuse in the home, social and economic vulnerability, death in the family, or lack of support from carers may, together with other factors, contribute to an individual seeking to join a violent group or committing a school attack. Family relationships may also be affected by poor parenting skills or a parenting style that lacks warmth, attention and care.[45] Research on young people who have committed school attacks shows that many have grown up in nuclear families, but that their parents have lacked insight into their children's lives, and some perpetrators have described that they felt that their parents did not care about them.[46] Family circumstances may interact with a desire for social belonging and safety.[47] Family members or close relatives who are active in violent milieus can also be social risk factors. This could provide individuals with a more direct route into violent contexts and create strong emotional ties with a violent group and/or ideology. These ties could make it more difficult for an individual to leave violent extremism, even if they want to, as it can involve breaking up with family.[48]

- **Friends and acquaintances who are active in violent milieus** can also be a social risk factor. Through friends, individuals can come into contact with radical and violent ideologies and materials. Friends' commitments and stories give meaning to the young person's life and can stir up curiosity that could lead to an individual choosing to become part of a violent milieu.[49] This may occur also in the case of school attacks. In the Swedish context, there have been examples of young perpetrators who knew and communicated with each other. Research on school attacks also shows that some offenders have para-social friendships with former offenders. Para-social friendship is defined as a perceived friendship despite never having met or spoken to each other. The two students who carried out the school attack at Columbine High School are often mentioned in this context. Several perpetrators describe them as friends and sources of inspiration and want to continue what they started.[50]

- **Lack of social relationships** can also form a social risk factor that causes an individual to choose to join violent milieus and ideologies or digital forums advocating school attacks. Lack of a social context may lead to increased hatred towards those whom the individual regards as the reason for their perceived or actual exclusion. For some (but of course far from all), this may result in the individual beginning to sympathise with ideologies that dehumanise such groups (e.g. immigrants, Swedish society, women, schoolmates, teachers, the school as an institution) and lead to the person choosing to resort to violence. Dehumanisation is, in itself, a risk factor and may be a sign that an individual is becoming radicalised. For some, expressing sympathy for violent extremist ideologies and school attacks may also be a cry for help linked to mental health problems.[51]

Protective factors

Protective factors are factors that can reduce the risk of radicalisation. These are sometimes seen as the opposite of risk factors - what works versus what does not - but this is not always the case. These are factors that often exist parallel with risk factors. Furthermore, protective factors are not static throughout an individual's life. Life events can lead a person to develop protective factors or strengthen existing protective factors that improve their life situation. Protective factors can also fade if something negative happens in an individual's life.

Protective factors in relation to violent extremism and school attacks are still a relatively unexplored area, but in recent years a number of research studies have focused on this field. This knowledge is very important in terms of prevention and promotion. If the school becomes aware of what works for the student at school, measures can be taken to strengthen these and thus increase their ability to handle challenges. Without knowledge of protective factors, the picture of the individual's situation is incomplete.[52]

As with risk factors, the following list of protective factors is not exhaustive. As before, individual protective factors are presented first, followed by social protective factors.

- **Success in school, education and work are** identified as individual protective factors, especially if the person feels strong motivation and social attachment to the place of education and/or work. School and work can also contribute to a desire to leave a violent milieu.[53] When it comes to preventing school attacks, it is important to make sure that school is a protective factor in the students' lives and that bullying, exclusion and academic failure are counteracted.[54]

- **Cognitive skills, such as critical and complex thinking**, can be individual protective factors. Violent groups and ideologies are often characterised by black-and-white, conspiratorial thinking that provide simple answers to complex problems. A capacity for critical and complex thinking increases the likelihood that an individual will see through these simplistic explanatory models. At the same time, critical thinking may also become a risk factor if it becomes conspiratorial.[55]

- Studies have shown that psychological protective factors such as **positive self-esteem, self-control, healthy self-confidence** and **empathy** can reduce the risk of both violent extremism and school attacks. This is partly related to a sense of security in knowing who you are as a person – with strengths and weaknesses – but also a sense of being valuable and appreciated. Empathy, the ability to put yourself in other people's shoes, may also form a protective factor. This challenges the dehumanisation and stigmatisation of specific individuals and groups by violent extremist milieus. However, these psychological factors have been criticised for being vague and difficult to work with. Exactly what "healthy self-confidence", "self-control," and "positive self-esteem" and "empathic ability" are difficult to assess and may be interpreted differently depending on social context and profession.[56]

There are many **social protective factors** that can prevent an individual from being drawn into a violent milieu or committing a school attack. At first glance, they can appear to be the opposite of risk factors. They include secure family relationships, close and stable friendships and good role models.

- **Secure family relationships**, such as supportive and good relationships with parents and/or guardians, good parenting/guardianship and a safe environment to grow up in, can be social protective factor.[57] While individuals who grow up in secure families still can choose to engage in violent milieus or commit school attacks, a secure family environment with committed and caring carers is important to form safe attachments. Having a family and family members to talk to also provides a good basis for liaising

with an individual. It may be helpful to encourage parents and/or guardians to become involved and interested in their children's lives, especially what they do online in order to prevent school attacks.[58]

- **Close, stable relationships outside the family** – with relatives and friends – can be important. Friends and relatives who are not part of violent milieus can be important reasons for not joining, or for leaving, these environments. Friends, classmates and good adult contacts at school can provide the individual with sound, secure contexts. They can also be among the first to recognise when something is not right.[59] Identifying and strengthening these contacts can be important if there are concerns for an individual.[60] They are also overlap with the school's mission to create a good and secure working environment and build trust-based relationships between students and staff.

- There are also some societal protective factors worth mentioning. Studies have highlighted **good role models in the neighbourhood and at school**. These could be teachers, youth leaders, sports coaches or religious representatives who have formed good and trustful relationships with an individual. These people may also be important if the individual's home environment or circle of friends is destructive.[61]

Summarising points

This chapter has taken a closer look at risk and protective factors that can increase or reduce the risk of an individual becoming radicalised and joining a violent milieu or committing a school attack. Focusing on both risk and protective factors provide a more coherent understanding of an individual's life situation. Some conclusions can be drawn from this chapter:

- Risk factors are those that can increase the risk of an individual being radicalised and becoming part of a violent milieu or committing a school attack. There are individual risk factors relating to the individual and social risk factors relating to the individual's social environment.

- Protective factors are those that can prevent an individual from becoming radicalised. Again, there are both individual and social protective factors that influence an individual's life.

- Risk and protective factors are not static. Negative events in an individual's life may make a person more vulnerable, while positive experiences can be empowering. Protective factors can be built up through action, intervention and treatment.

- When concerned about violent extremism and school attacks, it is important to take into account both risk and protective factors in relation to the individual's life situation. Within the framework of the school's mission, this could involve supporting the student at school, helping them to cope with their academics and improve their sense of belonging. However, it may also be necessary to report concerns to the social services, contact psychiatric care or report to the police. We encourage you to take action if you have concerns for a student and to seek help from outside the school. The conversation guide may support you in this.

Part 2:
Conversation guide

→

How to use the conversation guide

This section introduces the conversation guide and describes it can be used. The guide is designed to identify, understand and concretise concerns for a student. This can lead to measures taken within the school, but also to a concern report or police report.

The conversation guide is not intended to investigate your concerns or suspicions of crime. That is the job of the social services or the police. Do not remain alone with your concerns. Get help from the student health service and contact social services, the police or other actors in the municipality if you need support and help with a case. If you need advice on how to work together to deal with concerns about violent extremism and school attacks, you are welcome to contact us at the CVE. Information can be found on our website.

The conversation guide is divided into five areas:

- **Conversations with the student**: the guide provides examples of questions to ask the student you are concerned for. The questions are divided into four categories: concerns about violent extremism, concerns about fascination with violence and school attacks, concerns about mental health and concerns about internet habits. The purpose of these questions is to capture the essence of the student's situation and gain a better understanding of their behaviour. Not all questions need to be asked; it is possible to select those that are most relevant at the time. It could take several sessions to build trust and confidence. The student ought to have a good relationship with the person they are having the conversation with.

- **Speaking to people around the student:** the guide provides questions, tips and recommendations for speaking with friends and classmates. There is also advice on how to speak with parents/guardians and family members, as well as tips on various support services available.

- **Collegial conversations and collaboration:** the guide includes suggestions on questions and recommendations for how to bring together the teaching team or student health services when there are concerns for a student. The questions focus on obtaining an overall picture of the student and finding out what other adults have seen. This may be the first step in identifying measures to be implemented in school and also lay the groundwork for a concern report. This section further includes information on cooperation with authorities outside the school, such as the social services and police.

- **Concern report:** the guide provides advice on questions to answer when reporting concerns to the social services, as well as information on the duty to report and the duty

for the school to provide information to the social services. If you suspect or know that a student is being at risk, you must immediately report the matter to the social services.

- **Police report:** the guide provides information on what to consider when making a police report. It also provides recommendations on how to proceed if you need to contact the police.

The different parts complement each other and do not have to be followed in the order listed above. Sometimes reporting a concern or reporting to the police may be the first thing you do. In other situations, the concern may come from classmates, colleagues or be something you as an individual feel when meeting a student. The conversation guide is flexible and may be adapted to various individual situations.

Different ways to use the support model

The conversation guide is designed to be used by a wide range of professionals in schools. Consequently, it needs to be adapted to the context in which it is used and may have different purposes depending on who is using it. The same applies to the information you receive when using the conversation guide. Depending on your role in the school, you may need to process the information in different ways. Use your regular structures and procedures.

Here are some suggestions on how the conversation guide can be used by different professionals at school. If your role is not included, choose the category closest.

- **If you work as a preschool teacher, teacher or other teaching staff at the school,** the conversation guide may be used when you need to speak with a student who you or others are concerned for. It may also be used when dealing with your concern. For example, in discussions with the teaching team or the student health team, and when making a concern report or a police report. It is important that you, as an individual professional, do not remain alone with your concerns but act on them. Turn to your colleagues, principal, student health team or others who can provide support. If you suspect or become aware that a student is being at risk, you or your principal must immediately report your concern to the social services.

- **If you work in student health care**, the conversation guide may be used in different ways. If you work as a school counsellor, questions from conversation with the student may be used to improve your understanding of their situation. Questions may also be used together with other support material that you may have. Other parts of the student health service – special education teacher, school doctor, school nurse or school psychologist –

may also use questions from the conversation guide if concerns about violent extremism and school attacks arise in their work. If the teaching team identifies concerns for a student, the section on collegial conversations may be used in meetings in order to gain a better understanding of the situation. The student health team may also use collegial conversations in their own meetings, so far as confidentiality allows.

- **If you work as a principal,** the conversation guide may be used in the same way as for teachers and student health services. It could also be used to improve the preventive work at the school, identify concerns among students and staff and strengthen systematic quality work. As with teachers, it is important that you, as principal, do not remain alone with your concerns and seek support if you need it, in-house or externally.

Conversation with the student

If you are worried about a student, talk to them. Talking not only helps you to understand the student better, but it also allows you to raise your concerns and show that you care. Early conversation can be preventive and keep the situation from getting worse. An important purpose of the support model is being able to understand and help the student properly before things go too far. Focus is on the best interests of the student and to prevent that their situation get worse.

Below are suggestions for questions that may be asked in conversation with the student. They link back to the risk and protective factors associated with violent extremism and school attacks. They can be used together with more general questions about the student's situation, behaviour and social situation. If you have general support materials in your school, please use them too.

These questions are designed to be asked to children, adolescents and adults. Adapt the questions to the maturity level of the person in question.

Concerns about violent extremism

This section addresses concerns about radicalisation and violent extremism. This can involve suspicions that the student is becoming radicalised, that the student expresses sympathy for violent ideologies and/or groups or otherwise sympathises with this type of violence. Sometimes these are concrete statements made during lessons, but they can also be concerns from others inside or outside the school (see Conversation with people around the student).

Talking about opinions can be uncomfortable. It interferes with constitutional rights. Schools have an important democratic mission to educate and nurture active, competent and responsible citizens. This includes influencing and encouraging students to respect democratic and fundamental rights and freedoms, including emphasising the fact that violent extremism is contrary to school values. However, schools are not entitled to force students to support democratic values. Extremist views are permitted in Sweden, and this also applies to schools. Students are entitled to refuse to say where they get their opinions and values from. The Swedish National Agency for Education emphasises the importance of schools promoting an open climate of dialogue where it is possible to discuss different ideas, perspectives and approaches.[62]

At the same time, the student's opinions and sympathies can lead to a deterioration of the peace and safety of other students and adults at the school. They may also cause concern for that the student is at risk of being harmed. This means that it can be necessary to speak to the student about these issues. After the next paragraph there are suggestions for questions to ask. These are deliberately open and can be adapted to the individual situation.

Don't forget to ask about the Internet. Being active, writing and sharing information on online forums and social media can be a form of social involvement. This is based on the importance of Internet in the student's social life and is, for some, just as important as involvement in physical organisations. Some violent milieus are also partly, or fully, online. If you wish to focus the conversation on Internet use, there are examples of specific questions further down in the conversation guide.

 Suggestions for questions to ask:

- Have you been thinking about these questions for long or is this something new?[63]

- Can you tell us how you became interested in these questions? Why, why not?

- Do you realise that others may feel worried and sad when you say this? Why, why not?

- What does social involvement mean to you?[64]

- In what ways would you like to change society?

- What does your ideal society look like?

- How do we achieve such a society?

- Are there obstacles to achieving such a society?

- Who poses a threat? Why do you feel threatened?

- Who do you trust?

- Who do you not trust?

- What role does Internet play in your social activism?

- Are you active in any forums or social media?

Concerns about fascination with violence and school attacks

This section deals with fascination with violence and school attacks. Sometimes students may express a fascination with violence and a desire to commit violence against themselves or others. This is important to explore. When it comes to school attacks, there are students who express admiration for previous school attacks and perpetrators and say they would like to carry out something similar. Experience of violence can be a risk factor for violent extremism and school attacks. It can also provide an insight into whether the student is part of a criminal milieu or a victim of crime. Students may express a fascination for violence in order to attract attention because they are feeling bad or for other reasons, but they may also have plans that require rapid action. This may require reporting concern to social services, filing a police report, or contacting psychiatry.

Suggestions for questions to ask:

• What is violence to you?[65]

• When do you think it is okay to use violence? Why do you think it is okay?

• Is there anyone who it is not okay to use violence against? If so, why?

• Do you know why it is not okay to use violence against others?

• What do you think would happen if someone used violence in the way you say?

• How would you feel if someone used violence in this way?

• Could you use violence against others? Why?

• Why do you think violence would solve the problems in the way you say?

• Is there a risk that it would make things worse? Why, why not?

• You say you want to carry out a school attack. Why do you want to do that?

• You say that you admire NN for carrying out a school attack. Why do you do that?

• What do you admire about this person?

• Do you realise that we get worried when you say that?

• Have you been subjected to violence by someone? Where? By whom?

• Have you been physically or emotionally harmed by another person? Where? By whom?

- Have you been a victim of domestic violence?

- Have you experienced domestic violence? Are you currently living with domestic violence?

- Have you been abused by your friends?

- What does humiliation mean to you?

- Have you felt humiliated by others?

- Have you been insulted by someone? What does being insulted mean to you?

- Have you been victimised at school? Outside of school?

- Have you physically or emotionally harmed someone else?

- Have you experienced difficulties in controlling violent behaviour?

Concerns about mental health problems

Mental health problems can be a risk factor for violent extremism and school attacks. It can contribute to the student becoming radicalised into a violent milieu or choosing to commit a school attack. Gaining insight into the student's emotional life is important to understand the emotional and psychological impact and meaning of a violent milieu or ideology. However, it is important to stress that mental health problems alone rarely lead to radicalisation or a school attack. It is often a combination of several other risk factors and needs that must be understood in conjunction with them.

Here are suggestions for questions to ask to understand how the student is feeling. These questions are most relevant for school counsellors in the student health services, but they can also be asked by other school staff if necessary and in a situation where there is a trusting relationship with the student. Furthermore, this is important information to include in a concern report to the social services or when contacting psychiatry.

Suggestions for questions to ask:

- Would you say you feel good? Why, why not?

- Have you felt depressed recently?

- What do you do when you feel bad?

- Do you have someone to talk to when you feel bad? Who?

• Have you got help from or talked to a therapist in the past? Are you currently receiving help?

• Do you have any healthcare contacts today? Where or who?

Concerns about Internet habits

This section focuses on concerns for online habits or what the student does online. Many young people live their lives online, but the adult world does not always know what young people encounter there or what the digital environment means to them. It is not uncommon for young people to come into contact with violent extremism and school attacks online. Sometimes it is because they seek these issues out themselves, but sometimes they can come into contact with them by chance.

If there are concerns about what the student is doing and writing online, it is good to talk about it. After the next paragraph, we provide suggestions for questions for starting a conversation. They are general and relate to student Internet habits in general. These questions can be combined with questions from the categories presented above to make them more specific. They can also be used in conversations with other students to gain a better understanding of what young people do online.

The final questions in this checklist relate to whether the student has been victimised online. These questions can be important to explore to understand if the student has experienced victimisation online and if this is also happening at school.

Suggestions for questions to ask:

• Are you active online? What do you like to do?

• Do you spend a lot of time online?

• Do you play any online games? Which ones?

• What are your favourite forums to visit? Why?

• Are there any other social platforms or social media that you use?

• What do you like best about Internet? Is there anything you do not like?

• Do you have any online friends? What do you usually do?

• Do your parents know what you write online? What do they say about it?

- Has anyone been bad to you online? How?

- Have you been victimised online? If yes, would you like to tell us who did it?

- Does this also happen at school?

- Is there anything we adults at school should know about what happens online?

Other support materials and knowledge reviews:

- The Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material on how school staff can talk to children and young people about crises and controversial issues.

- The Swedish National Agency for Education has also developed a learning module on building trusting teacher-student relationships.

- The Swedish National Agency for Education has also produced support material on disciplinary measures, such as when it is possible to suspend a pupil who threatens the safety of other pupils and staff.

- The book Känsliga frågor, Nödvändiga samtal - Att lära om och av kontroverser [Sensitive issues, necessary conversations – learning of and about controversies]. presents various research chapters. The book was published in 2021 by Studentlitteratur and is compiled by Karin Flensner, Göran Larsson and Roger Säljö.

Conversation with people around the student

Other people around the student can come to you with concerns. They may be friends or classmates who have seen things that worry them. Parents, guardians, relatives or other adults outside the school can also express concerns for the student. Having the courage to come and talk about concerns requires trust and confidence. These conversations can be challenging and may be characterised by fear of being a snitch, fear that the concern is not true, and feelings of shame. At the same time, these conversations are important to understand the student's situation and to be able to help them.

Talking to worried friends or classmates

Research has shown how important friends and classmates can be in preventing a radicalisation process or a school attack. They are often close to the student and know what is happening during breaktime, on social media and in other places where adults are not present. At the same time, there may be a fear among young people of being regarded as a snitch and concerns about how the information will be received by adults.[66] As a result, they may choose not to tell an adult at school, and important information may fall through the cracks.

Creating the preconditions for young people to come forward and talk about their concerns requires trust-building at school. Good relationships between school staff and students not only lead to better communication, but also to a better study environment and learning. The Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material to promote this and gives some examples of initiatives:

• Involve students in school activities.

• Show that you see your students.

• Take time to listen, ask about student interests and behaviour.

• Help solve and resolve conflicts if they arise.[67]

These points are important to create a social environment where young people feel confident to come forward and share their concerns. By showing that you care and are there, they are more likely to turn to you, both with their concerns and other things that may be good for you to know. It is also advantageous to include these perspectives in the work of creating

safety and preventing insulting behaviour. If students do not dare to come and talk about their concerns because they are afraid of being seen as a snitch, this may indicate that there is a problematic social culture at the school. Show students that going to an adult with concerns about a classmate or friend is caring, and that the school staff are supportive if anything happens. Clear and confident adult responsibility can lead to more students or outsiders feeling confident to talk about their concerns.

If students come to you to talk about their friend or classmate, build on the procedures you already have in place. It is important to emphasise that these conversations should take place at the initiative of the student and with respect for the integrity of the person concerned. School staff should not initiate conversations with classmates or friends out of concern for a student. The following are examples of questions that can be asked, but there may be other questions that are equally important.

Suggestions for questions to ask:

• Why are you worried?

• How long have you been worried?

• Is what you are worried about present at school?

• Is it online? Social media?

• Do your parents know about it?

• Have you talked to anyone else?

• Have you talked to the student about your concerns? If so, how did they react?

These conversations may be sensitive, and some young people may feel vulnerable and unsure what happens afterwards. Tell the young person that adults at school will take over the issue. It may also be useful to have a follow-up conversation to make sure the young person is doing well and to hear if anything else has happened.

Conversations with parents, guardians and relatives

Talking to student's parents or guardians about concerns about violent extremism and school attacks can be challenging, especially if the concerns are not concrete or clear. At the same time, parents. guardians, family members and other adults around the student can be important in detecting early signs, and they are often among the first to recognise that

something is not right. Committed parents and/or guardians are protective factors in a student's life, and good cooperation between school and parents/guardians is important to help the student in the right way.

If you are the person initiating the conversation with the parents/guardians, it is best to do so as early as possible. Conduct the conversation in a non-judgmental manner. Some parents/guardians may react with dismay, shame and denial when told that there are concerns that their child is being radicalised. If you have procedures or good practice in place, these can be used for sensitive conversations with parents/guardians, for example by enlisting a person who has experience of talking to parents/guardians. Avoid being alone in such a conversation and inform beforehand who will participate in the conversation. Make it clear that the purpose of the discussion is to help the student in the right way and that it is important to work together.

If the parents, guardians or other relatives come to you with concerns for the student, the school will decide the best way to handle the situation. This may include making a report to the social services with the permission of the parents/guardians or relatives. There is also support for family members, such as the Save the Children helpline, to refer to.

Sometimes situations may arise where it is not appropriate to speak to the parents/guardians. There may also be concerns that they share the student's views and may be the reason why the student has become radicalised. If you are concerned that the student is being harmed at home, immediately report your concern to the social services (see the chapter on Reporting concerns).

Support from other authorities

- The Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material on how your school can work against insulting behaviour. Talk to the students about the difference between snitching and caring.

- The Swedish National Agency for Education also has support material on responsibilities and regulations concerning safety and disciplinary measures at school, including what applies when a student is suspended.

- The Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material on cooperation between schools and guardians.

- The Swedish Agency for Special Needs Education (SPSM) has developed support for dialogue with newly-arrived guardians.

Support for friends and relatives

- Save the Children has a helpline and support materials for children, young people and adults who are concerned that they or someone close to them is being radicalised. Callers may remain anonymous if they wish.

- Extremkoll.se is a digital platform for young people against violent extremism (run by Flamman Socialt förebyggande centrum [Flamman Social Problem Prevention Centre] and Agera Värmland [Action Värmland]) and also provides support for school staff.

- Exit at Fryshuset provides free support to relatives of people who are concerned about radicalisation and violent extremism. Those who contact them can remain anonymous if they wish. Exit also helps people who want to leave violent extremism.

- Agera Värmland provides free support to relatives of people who are being or have been radicalised. They also help individuals who want to leave violent extremism.

Collegial conversations at school

This section focuses on conversations within the teaching or work team, or between the teaching team and student health services in response to concerns about violent extremism and school attacks. If you have structures or procedures for colleague-to-colleague dialogue in your school, use them. If you are looking for help and support, the Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material focusing on peer learning and controversial issues. Feel also free to contact CVE for support and advice.

Below are some suggestions for questions. You may also use the questions in the next section on **Reporting concerns** or the questions from **Talking to the student**. The purpose of these questions is to concretise the concern for the student and identify ways to help them within the framework of the school mission. If you become aware of, or suspect, that a student is at risk, immediately report your concern to the social services.

Suggestions for questions to discuss:

• What are we worried about?

• Does everyone share this worry or are there differences of opinion?

• What is the student doing that makes us worried?

• How long have we been worried for the student?

• How do we perceive the student's life situation?

• Is there anything that has happened in the student's life recently?

• Have any measures been put in place to support the student?

• How do classmates perceive the student?

• How do we perceive the student's social life at school?

Concerns about violent extremism and school attacks may also lead to concerns for personal and workplace safety. Even diffuse concerns can be perceived as unpleasant and frightening. This can make it difficult to go to work and interact with the student. Other students may also become anxious and fearful. Create space to discuss how you perceive and deal with the situation. If there are no procedures in place, you may want to develop them or consult with the principal.

Suggestions for questions to discuss:

- How do we feel about the situation?

- Do we feel safe?

- What needs to be done to make us feel safe?

- Are there procedures in place if any of us feel worried for ourselves or others?

The importance of student health services

Student health services play an important role in schools' preventive work against violent extremism and school attacks. The interdisciplinary competence with psychological, psychosocial, medical and special education initiatives creates good preconditions for dealing with concerns for a student. These services can be used to strengthen prevention work at the school and contribute to feelings of safety and a calm study environment. School nurses can identify signs of concern through their health talks with students. Student health services may also, on their own initiative, collaborate with other actors to promote student health and school attendance, and to prevent crime or mental health issues.[68]

We recommend that you use the student health service if you are concerned that a student is becoming radicalised. This may involve contacting an individual student health service officer, such as the school counsellor or school nurse. It may also involve the entire student health team according to your school's procedures. Remember to also inform the principal of your concerns for the student.

If you wish to read more about the interdisciplinary work of student health care, the National Board of Health and Welfare and the Swedish National Agency for Education have produced a guide. You can find it here and in the reference list of this support model.

Forms of cooperation and consent

There are also other forms of cooperation outside the school that may be helpful when there are concerns about violent extremism or school attacks. There are several different models of how collaboration around an individual can be conducted between the school and other actors, such as SSPF, SIG, SIP or TSI. It is not possible to find a model that works for every situation everywhere, as situations differ in different municipalities. The important thing is to find a local model that works for you and use it. Virtually all municipalities have collaboration agreements with the police in their municipality, and this structure

can be used even for overall collaboration. There is a crime prevention coordinator in each municipality who can provide more information about local collaboration in your particular municipality.

Regardless of overall cooperation or cooperation at individual level, it is valuable and essential to gather knowledge and information based on the responsibilities and roles of different authorities in order to achieve an overall picture and make assessments. Always strive for consent as it makes collaboration easier.

One important aspect is to avoid 'information fragmentation', that is, information about an individual's behaviour being split between different actors (internally within an organisation or with different external actors) and not shared between them. The school may have received information that a student has shown a fascination with acts of violence in the school environment, and the social services may have handled concern reports regarding parents/guardians or other people's worries that the student is isolating themselves from the outside world. The police may have information that there are weapons in the home, as well as other history linked to the individual. The health service may have knowledge that this person has had thoughts of committing suicide linked to poor mental health.

One important purpose of collaboration is to enable these actors to come together and jointly address the circumstances that have given rise to concern for an individual. This provides them with an overall picture and reduces the risk of missing or underestimating concerning behaviour.

In order to interact at the level of the individual, consent of the individual or their parents/guardians is required. However, it is always possible to contact the police and social services to consult, gain knowledge and discuss at a case at a comprehensive level, without sharing any personal data of the individual.

No consent is required to make a concern report. If the social services have initiated an investigation, the school is obliged to provide all the information they have that may be of importance to the social services' investigation of a child's need for protection and support. This obligation applies even when consent is not given by the child or the child's parent(s), and regardless of whether the information is covered by confidentiality. The next chapter focuses on what applies in the case of a concern report.

If there is no ongoing investigation by the social services, an applicable confidentiality waiver in the Public Access to Information and Secrecy Act (OSL) is required in order for the school to be able to share information about individuals without consent. The school needs to be able to decide whether information can be disclosed in the current situation, based on the circumstances. Feel free to contact your municipal legal advisor or lawyer within the organisation if you are unsure of what information the school can provide within the framework of collaboration if there is no consent.

The social services cannot share information with the school without the consent of the child or the child's parent(s), but under certain conditions with the police for crime prevention purposes according to Chapter 10, Section 18a OSL.

Concern reports

If you are concerned that a student is at risk of causing harm or being harmed, report this concern to the social services. This may involve the student being radicalised into violent extremism or planning to commit a school attack. According to Chapter 14, Section 1, first paragraph of the Swedish Social Services Act (SoL) a report must be made immediately upon knowledge or suspicion that a child is being at risk. Difficult to assess or unconfirmed information must also be reported if it indicates that a child may need support or help from the social services. You do not have to be certain that the child is being harmed; suspecting it is enough. It is the task of the social services to investigate the child's situation and whether they need support or protection.

It is important to report concerns as early as possible. By intervening early using the correct interventions adapted to the child's individual needs, positive development can be promoted without excessive measures.

If you are unsure whether to report a concern, consult with the social services in your municipality without revealing the identity of the child. However, a consultation never replaces a concern report. You can also consult with your principal, student health services, experienced colleagues or other support available at the school if needed. Start from the procedures in place at the school. The Swedish National Agency for Education also recommends that you must, as long as is appropriate, cooperate with the student's parents or guardians and inform them about why a concern report is being made and what it says. Read more about the Swedish National Agency for Education's recommendations on reporting concerns in their support material on school responsibility if children are in trouble.

The obligation to report under Chapter 14, Section 1 of the Social Services Act only covers children up to the age of 18. Concern reports can also be made for people over the age of 18, but the consent of the individual is required in order for social services to initiate an investigation. The social services may only initiate an investigation without the consent of an adult in the cases under the Care of Addicts Act (LVM). In the case of adult individuals who have reached the age of 18 but not 20, the Care of Young Persons (Special Provisions) Act (LVU) may also be applied. If you have concerns about an adult student, consult the social services without revealing the identity of the student.[69]

Read more about the reporting obligation for authorities and other actors in the National Board of Health and Welfare handbook Anmäla oro för Barn – Stöd för anmälningsskyldiga och andra anmälare [Concern reports for children – support for those with a duty to report and others submitting such a report].

What should a concern report contain?

A concern report should contain as many details as possible about your observations and concerns for the child. The more information the social services receive about the student, the better the investigation conditions for the social services. In order to create a good foundation, below are some questions to answer. It is also good to prepare the answers to these questions before a report meeting with social services.

Suggested questions to be answered in the concern report:

• Why are you worried about the student?

• How long have you been worried for the student?

• What is the student doing and/or expressing? When has this happened?

• How do you feel about the student's life situation in general?

• What is the student's relationship with their parent(s) or guardian(s)?

• How are the student's other social relationships?

• Have you been in contact with the student's parent(s) or guardian(s) regarding your concerns for the student? How have they reacted?

• Have you been in contact with other actors or people regarding your concerns for the student? What was the outcome of this contact?

What happens after a concern report?

After you have submitted your report, it will be sent to the social welfare committee for a preliminary assessment. You may be invited to a report meeting. If the social services initiate an investigation, you are obligated to provide all the information you possess that may be relevant to the investigation of the child's need for protection or support. This is called an obligation to provide information and breaks any confidentiality that may exist. This also applies if someone else has made a report or if the social services have initiated an investigation on their own initiative. If you wish to read more about what happens after a concern report has been received by the social services, read the chapter "Vad gör socialtjänsten?" [What does the Social Services do?] in Anmäla oro för barn [Concern reports for children]. The investigation process is also described in the National Board of Health and Welfare's handbook Utreda barn och unga [Investigating the situation of children and young people].

If you would like feedback on the progress of a report or whether an investigation has or has not been initiated or is ongoing, include this in the report, along with the contact details of the person who is to receive the feedback.

After a concern report has been made, continue working with the student. It is important to follow up and offer support to them and to cooperate with parent(s) and guardian(s) in accordance with regular procedures. You should also continue to cooperate with colleagues and collaborate with other authorities to gather the expertise necessary to manage the situation. As mentioned in the previous chapter, student health services can also, on their own initiative, collaborate with other actors to promote student health and school attendance or to prevent crime or mental health issues.

If the concern report does not lead to an investigation, if your concern about the student remains or new circumstances have emerged, make a new concern report to the social services. This can provide valuable information for the social service decision on whether or not to initiate an investigation and for further investigative work.

Aspects to consider when reporting concerns

- Describe your concerns in as detailed and practical a manner as you can.
- Follow your school's established procedures for reporting concerns.
- If you are not sure whether to report concern, consult your local social services without revealing the identity of the child.
- You can also consult your local social services if you are not sure what information you should provide for the guardians.

Source: Anmäla oro för barn [Concern reports for children]

National Board of Health and Welfare.

Police reports

If you suspect that a student has committed, or will commit, an offence, contact the police. If the offence is ongoing or if it is an emergency situation, call 112. If the offence is not an emergency, call 114 14, visit your local police station or make a report online. Reporting a crime early can help secure evidence and witnesses and prevent the situation from escalating.

If you have seen or heard something that could help the police detect, prevent or investigate crime, report it on their website.

According to the Education Act, there is a regulated obligation for schools to report if stolen goods, narcotics, doping substances, knives or other weapons or goods hazardous to health have been seized from a student. The principal must rapidly report the seizure to the police. In other cases, if a student does something that could be a criminal offence, it is up to the principal or other school staff to decide whether a police report should be made. The school should not assess whether what has happened is a criminal offence or prove its suspicions. It is the task of the police to assess whether a crime has been committed.

The school does not have to report to the Swedish Security Service. If it appears that the individual is planning to carry out a school attack on an ideological basis, the Police Authority will refer the matter to the Security Service. The school should also not report concerns about students' opinions to the police. Concerns that a student is being radicalised into violent extremism or is otherwise at risk of harm should be reported to the social services. Read more about this in the Swedish National Agency for Education support material on Förskolans och skolans arbete mot våldsbejakande extremism [The work of schools and pre-schools to counter violent extremism].

What happens after a police report?

When a police report has been made, the police or prosecutor assesses the possibilities of investigating the offence. They decide whether a preliminary investigation (also called a criminal investigation) should be initiated. This is only implemented if it is possible to solve the offence. If there is insufficient evidence, a preliminary investigation may be closed.

If new information is received, a new police report can be filed or a previous report can be reopened. The police make a new assessment based on the information received as to whether or not a preliminary investigation should be initiated.

If you have made a police report that has been closed and you are still concerned, we recommend that you consider making a new report. Use your regular procedures and structures. The school's work needs to persevere. The principal must always judge on a case-by-case basis. New circumstances may have arisen that can help the police obtain a better picture of the situation. As mentioned above, student health services can also, on their own initiative, cooperate with other actors to promote student health and school attendance, and to prevent crime or mental health issues.

If you continue having concerns and are unsure how to deal with the situation, please contact the relevant authorities for consultation and advice, such as the police or CVE. The police work preventively and benefit from information at an early stage in order to liaise with other relevant authorities and put support measures in place to help the individual.

Things to consider when reporting to the police

- If it is an emergency, always call 112. Otherwise, contact the police on 114 14, visit their website or visit your local police station.
- The principal (or the person designated by them) is obliged under the Education Act to report to the police if the school has taken possession of stolen goods, drugs, doping substances, knives, other weapons, hazardous goods or objects that have been used as aids to crime.
- In other cases, if a pupil does something that could be an offence, it is up to the principal or other school staff to decide whether to report it to the police.
- You may contact the police for consultation and advice.
- You do not have to prove your suspicions in the police report. It is up to the police to assess whether an offence has been committed.
- The school need not contact the Swedish Security Service. This is done by the Police Authority.
- If the police report is closed down and you are still concerned, file a new police report with new information.

Other government support

- CVE, the Police Authority, the National Board of Health and Welfare, the National Agency for Education, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKR) and the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) have developed a joint information page on preventing school attacks.
- The police authority has an information page on police work to combat school attacks.
- The Swedish National Agency for Education has produced support material on security, calm study environment and disciplinary measures.

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Slutnoter

1 The term school is used to describe all types of schools within the educational system – from pre-school to adult education.

2 Berger, 2018.

3 Swedish Security Service, 2023.

4 Rostami et al, 2018.

5 Maher, 2017; Ranstorp & Ahlerup, 2022; CVE, 2020a; see also Olsson, 2019 for a discussion of non-violent Salafism.

6 Mattsson & Johansson, 2020; Ranstorp & Ahlin, 2020; CVE, 2020b.

7 Wennerhag et al, 2019; CVE, 2020c.

8 See e.g. CVE (2020d); Gottzén, 2022; Pollack-Sarnecki, 2021; Pollack-Sarnecki et al, 2023.

9 NCT, 2023; see also Swedish Security Service, 2023 and Pollack-Sarnecki et al, 2023.

10 Swedish Security Service, 2023.

11 Hofman, 2020; Lindekilde et al, 2019.

12 Swedish Security Service, 2023; Nilsson, 2021; Clemmow et al, 2020; Clemmow et al, 2022; Gill et al, 2016; Gill et al, 2021; Kehlet-Ebbrect & Lindekilde, 2023; Spaaij, 2010.

13 Borum, 2011a; Borum, 2011b; Koehler, 2017.

14 McCauley & Moskalenko, 2014; see also McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008.

15 Chenoweth et al, 2019; Gill et al, 2014.

16 Berger, 2018; see also Chenoweth et al, 2019, Mattson & Johansson, 2020 and Maher, 2017.

17 Aly, 2016; see also Chenoweth et al, 2019.

18   Lakhani, 2023; see also Lakhani et al, 2021.

19   Odenbring & Johansson, 2019; Thodelius et al, 2021; Böckler et al, 2013.

20   Erlandsson, 2017.

21   Thodelius, 2017; see also Thodelius et al, 2021.

22   Thodelius, 2017; Newman et al, 2004.

23   Thodelius et al, 2021.

24   Thodelius, 2017; Böckler et al, 2013.

25   Thodelius et al, 2021; see also Böckler et al, 2013 and Malkki, 2014.

26   Kiilakoski & Oksanen, 2011; Raitanen & Oksanen, 2018.

27   Malki, 2014; Nilsson, 2021; see also Thodelius, 2017.

28   Böckler et al, 2013; see also Rose & Morrison, 2021; Lindekilde et al, 2017.

29   Malkki, 2014; Pollack-Sarnecki et al, 2023; see also Malkki, 2017, Böckler et al, 2013 and Kehlet-Ebbrecht & Lindekilde, 2023.

30   Malkki, 2017; Böckler et al, 2013; see also Nilsson, 2021 and Fast (2008).

31   Nilsson, 2021; Böckler et al, 2013; Thodelius, 2017; Malkki, 2017.

32   Pollack-Sarnecki et al, 2023; Thodelius, 2017; Malkki, 2014; see also Böckler et al, 2013 and Nilsson, 2021.

33   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Marsden & Lee, 2022; see also Kehlet-Ebbrecht, 2023.

34   Wolfowicz et al, 2021.

35   Böckler et al, 2013.

36   Gottzén, 2022; Pollack-Sarnecki et al, 2023.

37   Gottzén, 2022; Malkki, 2017; Böckler et al, 2013.

38   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Rostami et al, 2018.

39   Thodelius, 2017; Böckler et al, 2013; Malkki, 2017; see also Lindekilde et al, 2017.

40   Meloy & Gill, 2015; Spaaij, 2010; Simi et al, 2016; Lankford, 2016; see also Wolfowicz et al, 2021.

41   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Böckler et al, 2013.

42   Wolfowicz et al, 2021.

43   Böckler et al, 2013; Thodelius, 2017; Malkki, 2014, 2017.

44   Vecchi et al, 2022.

45   Simi et al, 2016; Wolfowicz et al, 2021.

46   Böckler et al, 2013; Thodelius, 2017; Thodelius et al, 2021.

47   Böckler et al, 2013.

48   Simi et al, 2016; Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Carlsson, 2016.

49   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Carlsson, 2016.

50   Böckler et al, 2013; Thodelius, 2017; see also Malkki, 2014.

51   Meloy & Gill, 2015; Spaaij, 2010; Lankford, 2016.

52   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Marsden & Lee, 2022; Lösen et al, 2018; see also RAN (2018).

53   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Lösen et al, 2018.

54   Böckler et al, 2013.

55   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Lösen et al, 2018.

56   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Lösen et al, 2018.

57   Ellefsen & Sandberg. (2022).

58   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Lösen et al, 2018; Böckler et al, 2013.

59   Ellefsen & Sandberg. (2022); Williams et al, 2016.

60   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Lösen et al, 2018; Böckler et al, 2013.

61   Wolfowicz et al, 2021; Lösen et al, 2018; Böckler et al, 2013.

62   Read more in the Swedish National Agency for Education report Skolans roll i arbetet mot våldsbejakande extremism. [The role of the school in work aimed at countering violent extremism].

63   This question requires that the student has said or expressed something, for example in the classroom or at break time. It is a low-affective method of managing the situation and starting the conversation.

64   This and subsequent questions are more general and may be a method of getting the student to talk more openly about their views on society. It can also be a way of getting the student to talk about their involvement in their own words and identify prosocial ways of doing so.

65   Starting by allowing the student to define what violence is for them is one way to understand what lies behind their fascination with violence. It is possible that the student's way of regarding violence is different to yours.

66   Böckler et al, 2013. See also Odenbring & Johansson, 2019.

67   See also the Swedish National Agency for Education's support material.

68   For those who wish to read more about student health and school social work, see Backlund et al. (2017) and Persson (2022) in the reference list.

69   National Board of Health and Welfare, 2022, p. 21.

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