"By correcting disinformation and encouraging them towards tolerance" - Finnish educators' considerations of PVE-E

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Abstract

Educators are globally posited as central actors in implementing national policies to prevent and counter violent extremism (P/CVE). However, in Finland, there are no binding P/CVE programs for education, and thus, most educators implement P/CVE based on their intuitive responses. For developing policies and practices for preventing violent extremism through education (PVE-E) in Finland, this study examines how educators position themselves in response to PVE-E and their considerations of PVE-E measures. This multi-modal study utilizes quantitative (n=1149), and qualitative (n=650) datasets collected from Finnish educators through an online survey, and a qualitative dataset (n=57) gathered during a PVE-E-related professional development training for educators. The quantitative data were analyzed using crosstabulation, and the Chi-square test. The qualitative data were analyzed using theory-driven content analysis. As an analytical and theoretical framework in which to analyze the results and discuss the findings, a model that merged the public health model (e.g. Clemmow et al., 2022) and the social ecology model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) was created. When analyzing the educators' considerations of PVE-E measures, the public health model was used to analyze the timing of the preventative measures (primary, secondary, or tertiary level of prevention). The social ecology model was used to analyze the factors addressed through preventative measures (micro, meso, and macro-level). Based on the findings, a substantial majority of Finnish educators considered PVE to be part of their professional duties. Their views on relevant PVE-E measures comprised mostly of primary-level prevention measures that addressed micro and meso-level factors, i.e., broad-based prevention targeting all students and the school community. However, considerations of secondary-level prevention measures (CVE) were scarce, and tertiary-level prevention measures (deradicalization and disengagement) were practically nonexistent. The findings highlight the need to offer P/CVE-related professional development training and strengthen multi-professional cooperation at the national level to advance the whole-of-society approach in Finland.

Introduction

Education is recognized "as a crucial part of the PVE puzzle" (Christodoulou & Szakàcs, 2018, p.90) and educators are globally posited as central actors in implementing national

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policies related to the prevention and countering of violent extremism (P/CVE). The prevention of violent extremism through education (PVE-E) has become a new feature of educators' profession across the Western world (e.g. Niemi et al., 2018; Revell, 2019). However, in some countries, like Finland, PVE-E is a mere policy recommendation (Ministry of the Interior, 2020) and may thus remain distant and abstract from the everyday life of educational institutions (EIs). To gain more insights into this contemporary and prominent feature of educators' profession, this study investigates how Finnish educators position themselves in response to PVE-E and examines their considerations of how to implement PVE-E as part of their work.

EIs are considered key venues for the implementation of national P/CVE strategies for several reasons. First, EIs globally have historically been targets of extremist and terrorist attacks. For example, the Montréal massacre in 1989 in École Polytechnique (see Tonso, 2009), the Columbine school shooting in 1999, and dozens of ensuing post-Columbine school shootings all over the world (see Langman, 2018; Malkki, 2014), Beslan school siege in 2004 (see Moscardino et al., 2008), Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping by the terrorist organization Boko Haram in 2014 (see Maiangwa & Agbiboa, 2014), and the beheading of French teacher in 2020 (see Onishi & Méheut, 2020) have all shocked EIs, the communities around them, and the world at large.

Second, EIs, as microcosms of the surrounding society, face the same challenges occurring elsewhere in society, such as the polarization of worldviews, an increase in prejudices, and racism (Benjamin et al., 2021; 2022a; Vallinkoski & Benjamin, in press). Recent global developments have highlighted the importance of addressing the increasing conflicts between identities and the polarization of worldviews before these tensions turn into *us against them* thought constructs (see e.g. Berger, 2018), and through processes of derogation and dehumanization of the outgroup, to violent actions (McCoy & Somer, 2019).

Third, EIs are also used as platforms for the recruitment of new members and the promotion of extremist ideologies (Ghosh et al., 2017; Sas et al., 2020). Evidence shows that a number of students, or recently graduated students, have executed actions of extremist violence or left for conflict zones and joined terrorist organizations abroad (Elgot, 2015; Ghosh, 2020).

Considering these arguments, the novel responsibilities of EIs to take part in P/CVE policies seem to be well grounded. However, it is evident that complex issues related to violent radicalization and extremism "cannot be adequately addressed through single-sector approaches" (Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b, p. 275) and the education sector is not the sole actor at the national level expected to implement P/CVE measures among adolescents (Christodoulou & Szakàcs, 2018). The whole-of-society approach that is largely adopted in European societies (Kundnani & Hayes, 2018), has widened the P/CVE to include not only traditional *hard approaches* of surveillance and intelligence authorities but also *soft approaches* of first-line practitioners in education, social and health care, and youthwork (Christodoulou & Szakàcks, 2018; Niemi et al., 2018). By engaging the different sectors of society, prevention work can be defined as a collective task that seeks to accomplish long-lasting, sustainable, and comprehensive results through coordinated and inter-agency efforts (Christodoulou & Szakàcks, 2018; Kundnani & Hayes, 2018; Neumann, 2017). The wider adoption of soft approaches and the whole-of-society approach has also resulted in a perceptible shift to a new paradigm that focuses not only on impeding actions of ideologically motivated violence but also on those preconditions and environments that make individuals radicalize into extremism in the first place (see e.g. Bouhana, 2019; Gereluk & Titus, 2018).

Education and P/CVE

There are increasing global calls for education to accelerate and facilitate responses to current societal challenges (see e.g., OECD, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). Neumann (2017) argues that PVE-E seems to be one of the latest amendments in the long list of social ills that education is supposed to address. Adding responsibilities to education is, however, nothing new, as traditionally, educators have assisted with different national initiatives (Niemi et al., 2018). Educators have been, for example, asked to address and prevent substance abuse, bullying, online harassment, violence in all forms, addictions, grooming or sexual abuse, criminal and delinquent behavior, suicidal susceptibility, deviations of mental health, gang memberships, gun activity, trafficking, hate crimes, domestic violence, forced marriage, and female genital mutilation among their students (Aly et al., 2014; Busher et al., 2017; Gereluk & Titus, 2018; Weine et al., 2017).

While educators have long been key translators of different national policies into pedagogical practices (Niemi et al., 2018), implementing P/CVE through schooling is not a straightforward mission, because as put by Sjøen (2020, p. 92) "(...) people do not normally turn to teaching in order to prevent terrorism (...)". Yet, empirical research on different educational systems, suggests that despite the novelty of the mission, educators across continents have come to accept the PVE-E duty (e.g., Aly et al., 2014; Busher et al., 2017; Mattsson, 2018). Although many critical voices have raised concerns about how PVE-E is sometimes carried out (see e.g., Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2022; Jerome et al., 2019; O'Donnell, 2016), most educators seem to believe that they have a responsibility to safeguard students from extremism (e.g., Busher et al., 2017). However, as Sageman (2004) states that the availability of formal education cannot be considered a preventative factor *per se,* but the focus needs to be put on the quality, contents, and objectives of education. In line with Sageman, Rose (2017, p. 63) argues that "education itself is not the answer: it needs to be the right sort of education."

Hitherto, only the students' views about relevant PVE-E measures have been studied in the Finnish context (see Benjamin et al., 2020; 2021; 2022a). It is therefore of the utmost importance to get information on what educators consider relevant pedagogies and contents in PVE-E, as "how key ideas are understood matters to what happens in practice" (Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2021, p. 1). Studying educators' considerations of PVE-E is pivotal also because ultimately it is the individual educators who choose to embrace or reject the roles that society places upon them, and they, as street-level bureaucrats, bear the final duty of concrete implementation of these novel policies (Sjøen, 2020; Elliott, forthcoming).

Studies on educators' views about relevant PVE-E measures and interventions have been made in some other European countries. For example, in Falkheimer's (2022) study, Swedish teachers considered active and critical dialogue as the right strategy to prevent violent radicalization, whereas Estonian educators brought forth aspects like historical understanding and knowledge, fact-based approaches, and informed opinion-making as central (Maiberg & Kilp, 2022).

Ecological Systems Theory and Public Health Model as a framework for multilevel categorization of P/CVE measures

The intensification of P/CVE measures is grounded in the idea that violent radicalization and extremism, as highly complex issues, cannot be prevented and countered exclusively using hard approaches, including intelligence, criminal justice, law enforcement, and military means (e.g. Busher et al., 2017; Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b). Instead, these must be complemented with soft approaches that promote, for example, cultural, educational, or attitudinal change (Aly et al., 2015; Stephens et al., 2021). These soft P/CVE approaches, which have been called for, for example, in different national policy documents[2], contain notably divergent measures and interventions, and in their implementation correct *timing* is crucial. Soft approaches may include initiatives aiming to strengthen individual resilience (e.g. Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b; 2021; Stephens et al., 2021), build cohesive and resilient communities (e.g. Ellis & Abdi, 2017; Ghosh et al., 2017), support adolescents that are vulnerable to radicalization (e.g. Home Office, 2021), counter extremist ideologies through counternarratives (e.g. Ghosh et al., 2016), address risk factors of radicalization (e.g. Mercy Corps, 2015), promote civic engagement (e.g. Sas et al., 2020), rehabilitate, and reintegrate, as well as disengage and deradicalize offenders (e.g. Koehler & Fiebig, 2019; Koehler, 2021). Given the variety of soft approaches, it is evident that different societal actors are needed to effectively address and implement them (see e.g. Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b).

Nowadays, national P/CVE policies in many European countries are implemented broadly by first-line practitioners from the education, social, youth, healthcare, and police sectors (Baykal et al., 2021; Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2022; Niemi et al., 2018; Sivenbring & Andersson Malmros, 2021; Solhjell et al., 2022). For example, in the Nordic countries, multiagency collaborative teams, in which different societal sectors and agencies work together on issues related to violent radicalization and extremism, have been set up. Within these hybrid teams, different expertise, values, practices, and institutional logics are merged, and synergistic effects are pursued. (see Moilanen et al., 2019; Sivenbring & Andersson Malmros, 2021; Solhjell et al., 2022.)

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[2] For different EU member states' action plans for the prevention of violent radicalization and extremism, see European Commission (2022)

Finland, the context of this study, published its third, and currently valid National Action Plan for the Prevention of Violent Radicalisation and Extremism in 2020 (Ministry of the Interior, 2020). Finnish National Action Plan has been planned, drafted, and implemented in close cooperation between policymakers, authorities, researchers, non-governmental organizations, religious communities, and the third sector actors, to enhance the whole-of-society approach and promote participatory governance (see e.g. Baykal et al., 2021; Sivenbring & Andersson Malmros, 2021). Specific preventative objectives and measures have been set for different societal sectors, including education, police, migration institute, social and health care, and youth work. (Ministry of the Interior, 2020.)[3] By utilizing the diverse competencies of first-line practitioners from different societal sectors, a wide variety of factors that may contribute to individuals' radicalization will be addressed.

Bronfenbrenner's *ecological systems theory* (1979) helps identify the different levels of *factors* at which P/CVE measures need to be implemented and accordingly, which sectors and first-line actors within them are the best placed to implement these. The theory argues that the various environments individuals grow up in affect every facet of their life. The complex system of relationships between these environments shapes them into who they are. The theory divides these environments, or ecological systems into micro, meso, exo, macro, and chrono systems, which refer to the multiple levels of the surrounding environment ranging from the individual level factors to immediate family and other relevant communities, to broad cultural values, laws, customs, and to changes and continuities occurring over time, such as natural disasters, pandemics, wars or social movements (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; see also Doosje et al., 2016; Schmid, 2014). Utilizing the framework of the ecological systems theory in the context of P/CVE (see also Ellis et al., 2021; Koehler, 2021; Marsden, 2020), we are able to complement the paradigm of P/CVE from one which excessively emphasizes micro-level factors (see e.g., Malthaner, 2017; Stephens et al., 2021), such as individual vulnerabilities to one that pays attention also to wider meso and macro level factors. The wide-ranging factors, which need to be taken into account at meso and macro levels, may

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[3] The currently valid National Action Plan includes for the first time a separate chapter for the education sector. The first and second authors of this article have been involved in writing this chapter.

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include social and political grievances, triggering events, extremist narratives and networks, and other environment-related factors (e.g. Gereluk & Titus, 2018).[4]

In the prevention work, it is crucial to consider the various ecological systems and the factors therein that influence individuals' lifepaths and realities, as described above. However, it is also necessary to consider the timing in which the preventative measures and interventions are to be implemented. The same actors who aim to strengthen individuals' resilience against extremism are usually not the same actors who contribute to the initiatives aiming to deradicalize or disengage extremist individuals. Likewise, it is critical to consider who, at the national level, are the professionals equipped with the responsibilities and the right kind of competencies to act in the various situations or phases related to the radicalization process (see also Sivenbring & Andersson Malmros, 2021; Solhjell et al., 2022; Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b). To this end, we chose the *public health model* as another model for our multilevel categorization of P/CVE measures.

In the original formulation of the public health model (see Nutbeam, 1998), the aim is to facilitate multi-professional and multipurpose cooperation between actors from various sectors who are involved with supporting the well-being of individuals. Thus far, the idea of the public health model has been replicated also in the context of the prevention of gang violence (e.g. Eisenman & Flavahan, 2017) and delinquent behavior (Moilanen et al., 2019). More recently, the public health model has become an influential conceptual framework for elucidating and categorizing P/CVE strategies (e.g. Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2022; Clemmow et al., 2022; Ellis et al., 2021; Hardy, 2022; Koehler, 2021; Koehler & Fiebig, 2019; Marsden, 2020; Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022).

When accommodating the public health model to the context of P/CVE, primary prevention targets the general population who are not involved in extremism, nor at a heightened risk of radicalization (Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2022; Gielen, 2019; Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022). Secondary prevention measures are tailor-made and targeted at individuals causing concerns or displaying early 'symptoms' of radicalization. The individual may, for example, be in contact with extremism-endorsing networks (Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2022; Harris-Hogan et al., 2016; Koehler & Fiebig, 2019; Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022) and

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[4] In keeping with Schmid (2014) and Doosje (2016), we focus merely on micro, meso, and macro-level factors from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, and thus omit to use exo and chrono systems in this multilevel categorization.

thus benefit from anchors of various types outside the extremist community (Sivenbring & Andersson Malmros, 2021).[5] Tertiary prevention measures target individuals who already are in the process of radicalization (Gielen, 2019; Harris-Hogan et al., 2016; Koehler & Fiebig, 2019; Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022). Tertiary prevention measures usually include deradicalization, disengagement, and rehabilitation programs, which aim to support individuals to give up violence, promote ideological changes, and/or reintegration into society (Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2022; Koehler, 2021).

The concepts of PVE and CVE are often used interchangeably (e.g., Stephens et al., 2021), but in this study, we conceptually distinguish between PVE, CVE, and deradicalization/disengagement, and locate PVE in the sector of primary prevention, CVE in the sector of secondary prevention, and deradicalization/disengagement programs in the sector of tertiary prevention.

In summary, for analytical purposes of this study, we utilize the primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention levels of the public health model (e.g. Clemmow et al., 2022; Hardy, 2022; Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022; Weine et al., 2017) to discuss the appropriate timing of the various preventative measures. Likewise, we utilize Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979) to discuss the relevant factors that preventative measures and interventions aim to address at the micro, meso, and macro levels. Building from previous studies addressing both the public health model and ecological systems theory (e.g., Ellis et al., 2021; Koehler, 2021; Marsden, 2020), we merge these two models into a theoretical and analytical framework for a multilevel categorization of P/CVE and deradicalization/disengagement measures. This allows for different societal sectors to find one's position in the field of P/CVE and deradicalization/disengagement and for a comprehensive analysis of the coverage and gaps in the whole-of-society approach of P/CVE. For visualization of the analytical framework, see Table 1.

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[5] For a systematic review of the outcomes of primary and secondary prevention programs, see Brouillette-Alarie et al. (2022).

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Table 1. *An analytical framework for multilevel categorization of P/CVE measures and interventions in the 'whole of society' approach*

	TIMING OF PREVENTATIVE MEASURES AND INTERVENTIONS		
FACTORS ADDRESSED THROUGH PREVENTION	**PRIMARY PREVENTION**	**SECONDARY PREVENTION**	**TERTIARY PREVENTION**
MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS			
MESO-LEVEL FACTORS			
MACRO-LEVEL FACTORS			

Data and methods

To get more insights into the development of PVE-E policies and practices, this multi-modal study examines Finnish educators' views about PVE-E as part of their work through the following research questions: 1) How do Finnish educators position themselves in response to PVE-E? and 2) How do Finnish educators consider they can contribute to PVE-E?

Dataset 1: Online survey

Dataset 1 was composed of educators' (n=1149) answers to an online survey in the spring of 2018.

The principals or school leaders of the selected EIs[6] were approached by the corresponding author and asked to further the online survey to their personnel. The

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[6] To guarantee the national representativeness of the data, the sampling process was conducted following the principles of proportionate stratified sampling (see e.g. Lynn, 2016). In the first phase of the sampling process, all Finnish and Swedish language (the two official languages of Finland) EIs providing basic, upper secondary, or vocational education were listed. In the next phases of sampling, EIs were divided into categories based on the institution's education level and language, after which they were further categorized based on the region and the

respondents were informed about the focus of the study, as well as the fact that their EI was selected through proportionate stratified sampling. They were provided with information about the ethical principles of the study process and contact information in case of further questions regarding the study. Respondents had different professional titles such as 'teacher', 'principal', guidance counselor', 'member of school welfare group', or 'special needs assistant', but in this study, they are all referred to as 'educators'.

The survey mapped the educators' perceptions and views, perceived competencies, attitudes, and preparedness, as well as their experiences related to extremism and radicalization in Finland in general and in their EIs in particular. The questionnaire included both multiple-choice, and open-ended questions. As the term radicalization is used in a variety of different ways in different contexts (Sedgwick, 2010) the definitions for violent radicalization and extremism used in Finland were provided at the beginning of the survey.[7]

The data analyzed for the present study comprised responses to two multiple-choice variables and one open-ended question. The multiple-choice variables were *Schools have too many duties outside the curricular objectives* and *Prevention of violent extremism does not belong to the schools' duties.* The questions were answered using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). Altogether 1149 educators answered these questions. The open-ended question was *In my work, I think I can contribute to the prevention of violent radicalization and extremism in the following ways:.* As answering the open-ended question was optional, altogether 650 educators answered this question yielding 38 pages of text.

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statistical group of municipalities (urban, semi-urban, rural), in which the EIs were located. In the final stage, EIs were selected for the study sample using a random number generator. Research permission was acquired from the municipalities where it was required. Due to the sensitive nature of the themes in the survey, naming the respondents' municipality or the name of the EI was not mandatory, and thus no exact response rate of the sampled EIs can be measured.

[7] Based on these definitions, "Violent extremism refers to using, threatening with, encouraging or justifying violence based on one's own view of the world or on ideological grounds. Violent radicalisation is an individual process which may result in a person joining violent extremist groups or action. At its most extreme violent radicalisation can result in terrorist acts." (Ministry of the Interior, 2016, p. 9).

Dataset 2: Course assignments

Dataset 2 was composed of written course assignments (n=57) from Finnish educators, who took part in a university-based professional development training entitled *Prevention of violent radicalization in EIs* during the years 2017–2020.

The professional development training, organized by the University of Helsinki Centre for Continuing Education, comprised three onsite training days, three webinars, and a written course assignment. The idea was to implement the training using a deductive approach to progress from theory to practice. Hence, the aim was to first develop educators' science-based understanding of phenomena related to violent radicalization and extremism, and through that help them create sustainable pedagogies for PVE-E in their institutions. The first and second authors of this article participated in the planning and evaluation of the training periods' contents, worked as an instructor, and acted as tutors for the course assignments.

The broad objective of the course assignment was to develop ways to prevent violent radicalization within the EIs of the participants. The course assignments were developed in groups of about 1-4 participants under the guidance of a specialized tutor. The scope and the form of the course assignments were not fixed and could be designed by the groups themselves, according to their needs and wishes. The course assignments differed in terms of length, scope, goals, and methods of implementation. The content of the assignments varied between practical experiments, material packages, and the development of new materials, methods, or interventions. The course assignments resulted in 563 pages of data. As data for this study, we used only those participants' course assignments who signed the research consent form.

Data analysis

To answer research question 1 about Finnish educators positioning toward PVE-E, we analyzed data from dataset 1, which consisted of educators' responses (N=1149) to the online survey. The here-analyzed data comprised of responses to two multiple-choice variables, namely, *Schools have too many duties outside the curricular objectives* and *Prevention of violent extremism does not belong to the schools' duties*.

To start the analysis, descriptive statistical analyzes were carried out to obtain the frequencies and percentages of both variables (see Table 2). Before crosstabulation,

respondents' answers were summarized into three categories. '*Totally disagree*' and '*somewhat disagree*' were regrouped into the category '*disagree*'. '*Neither disagree nor agree*' was renamed into the category '*neutral*'. '*Somewhat agree*' and '*totally agree*' were regrouped into the category '*agree*'. Thereafter cross-tabulation with chi-square statistics was carried out (see Table 3). Statistical analysis was made with IBM SPSS Statistics, version 28.

To answer research question 2 about Finnish educators' considerations of their possibilities to contribute to PVE-E, we analyzed data from datasets 1 and 2 in parallel. The here-analyzed data from dataset 1 consisted of educators' responses (N=650) to the following open-ended question: *In my work, I think I can contribute to the prevention of violent radicalization and extremism in the following ways:*, and the data from dataset 2 consisted of written course assignments (N=57) educators produced during a PVE-E-specific professional development training. This type of data triangulation was considered especially relevant here, as responses given in surveys may be heavily marked by social desirability bias (e.g. Caputo, 2017). Also, there is a risk that educators stay at the level of ideas merely describing the type of education they consider to be relevant in the context of PVE-E even if they would not implement these kinds of measures in their work. The written course assignments thus helped examine the type of measures educators were willing to implement.

Here, datasets 1 and 2 were analyzed using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti. The theory-driven content analysis proceeded in three phases. In the first phase, the answers to the open-ended questions, as well as the foci of the course assignments were reduced and coded, i.e., their main contents were summarized, and similar themes were grouped. In the second phase of the analysis, codes that had similar underpinnings were clustered together into sub-groups (for the visualization of the first and second analysis phases, see Figure 1). The coding procedure was conducted by the corresponding author, with regular discussion with the second author. Based on these discussions, slight adjustments were made to the codes and the clustered sub-groups. In the third phase of analysis, a multilevel categorization was made, and clustered sub-groups were further categorized based on the public health model's (e.g. Clemmow et al., 2022; Hardy, 2022; Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022) primary, secondary, or tertiary levels (timing of preventative measures and interventions), and the social-ecological model's (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) micro, meso and macro levels (factors addressed through prevention). For example, the category *providing*

objective and relevant knowledge was categorized as primary-level prevention in the public health model, and as a micro-level factor in the social-ecological model. Similarly, the category *depolarization* was categorized as secondary-level prevention, and as a meso-level factor, as the measure was aimed to target community-level factors in EIs. This multilevel categorization and the main findings yielded from it, are presented in Tables 4-7.

Findings

As educators are posited as the key actors in many national P/CVE policies, we wanted to examine their positioning toward this new duty, as well as their considerations of PVE-E in the Finnish educational context.

Finnish educators' positioning toward PVE-E

The first research question was set to examine How do Finnish educators position themselves in response to PVE-E? Based on the data (see Table 2), Finnish educators consider that too many duties outside the curricular objectives are placed on EIs, as 61.6% (n=707) of respondents totally or somewhat agreed, and only 14.8% (n=170) totally or somewhat disagreed with this statement. However, Finnish educators do position themselves positively towards PVE-E, as only 7.3% (n=84) of respondents totally or somewhat agreed with the statement that prevention of violent extremism does not belong to EIs. Thus, we deduct that those 76.5% (n=879) of respondents who totally or somewhat disagreed with this statement, presumptively support the idea that PVE belongs to EIs.

Table 2. *Finnish educators' (N=1149) attitudes toward extra-curricular objectives and PVE-E*

	totally disagree	somewhat disagree	neither disagree nor agree	somewhat agree	totally agree	total
Educational institutions have too many duties outside the curriculum objectives	3,8% (n=44)	11,0% (n=126)	23,7% (n=272)	37,8% (n=434)	23,8% (n=273)	100% (n=1149)
Prevention of violent extremism does not belong to educational institutions	27,6% (n=317)	48,9% (n=562)	16,2% (n=186)	6,1% (n=70)	1,2% (n=14)	100% (n=1149)

To see how those educators who consider EIs to have too many duties outside the curricular objectives position themselves in response to PVE-E, cross-tabulation with chi-square statistics was carried out. When looking at cross-tabulated variables (see Table 3), 74.3% of those educators who agreed with the statement *Schools have too many duties outside the curricular objectives* disagreed with the statement *Prevention of violent extremism does not belong to schools*. It is thus intriguing to highlight that those educators who considered EIs to have too many extracurricular duties, nonetheless widely accepted PVE-E as part of their professional duties. Based on the Chi-square test (χ^2 (4) = 48.590, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .145), statistically highly significant differences among Finnish educators' views on extra-curricular duties and PVE-E existed.

Table 3. *Crosstabulation of the variables concerning extracurricular objectives and PVE-E*

Prevention of violent extremism does not belong to educational institutions	Educational institutions have too many duties outside the curricular objectives			
	disagree	neutral	agree	total
disagree	157 (92.4%)	197 (72.4%)	**525 (74.3%)**	879
neutral	4 (2.4%)	66 (24.3%)	116 (16.4%)	186
agree	9 (5.3%)	9 (3.3%)	66 (9.3%)	84
Total	170 (100%)	272 (100%)	707 (100%)	1149

$\chi^2 (4) = 48.590$, p = <.001, Cramer's V=.145

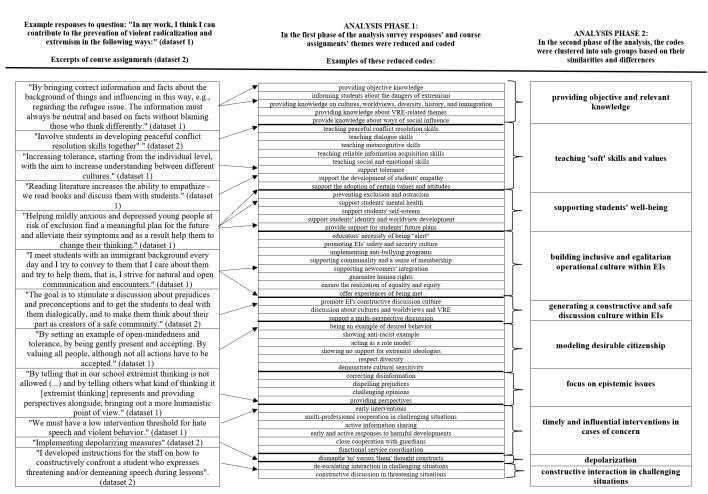| Example responses to question: "In my work, I think I can contribute to the prevention of violent radicalization and extremism in the following ways:" (dataset 1) Excerpts of course assignments (dataset 2)	ANALYSIS PHASE 1: In the first phase of the analysis survey responses' and course assignments' themes were reduced and coded Examples of these reduced codes:	ANALYSIS PHASE 2: In the second phase of the analysis, the codes were clustered into sub-groups based on their similarities and differences
"By bringing correct information and facts about the background of things and influencing in this way, e.g., regarding the refugee issue. The information must always be neutral and based on facts without blaming those who think differently." (dataset 1)	providing objective knowledge informing students about the dangers of extremism providing knowledge on cultures, worldviews, diversity, history, and immigration providing knowledge about VRE-related themes provide knowledge about ways of social influence	providing objective and relevant knowledge
"Involve students in developing peaceful conflict resolution skills together" " (dataset 2) "Increasing tolerance, starting from the individual level, with the aim to increase understanding between different cultures." (dataset 1) "Reading literature increases the ability to empathize - we read books and discuss them with students." (dataset 1)	teaching peaceful conflict resolution skills teaching dialogue skills teaching metacognitive skills teaching reliable information acquisition skills teaching social and emotional skills support tolerance support the development of students' empathy support the adoption of certain values and attitudes	teaching 'soft' skills and values
"Helping mildly anxious and depressed young people at risk of exclusion find a meaningful plan for the future and alleviate their symptoms and as a result help them to change their thinking." (dataset 1)	preventing exclusion and ostracism support students' mental health support students' self-esteem support students' identity and worldview development provide support for students' future plans	supporting students' well-being
"I meet students with an immigrant background every day and I try to convey to them that I care about them and try to help them, that is, I strive for natural and open communication and encounters." (dataset 1)	educators' necessity of being "alert" promoting EIs' safety and security culture implementing anti-bullying programs supporting communality and a sense of membership supporting newcomers' integration guarantee human rights ensure the realization of equality and equity offer experiences of being met	building inclusive and egalitarian operational culture within EIs
"The goal is to stimulate a discussion about prejudices and preconceptions and to get the students to deal with them dialogically, and to make them think about their part as creators of a safe community." (dataset 2)	promote EI's constructive discussion culture discussion about cultures and worldviews and VRE support a multi-perspective discussion	generating a constructive and safe discussion culture within EIs
"By setting an example of open-mindedness and tolerance, by being gently present and accepting. By valuing all people, although not all actions have to be accepted." (dataset 1)	being an example of desired behavior showing anti-racist example acting as a role model showing no support for extremist ideologies respect diversity demonstrate cultural sensitivity	modeling desirable citizenship
"By telling that in our school extremist thinking is not allowed (...) and by telling others what kind of thinking it [extremist thinking] represents and providing perspectives alongside, bringing out a more humanistic point of view." (dataset 1)	correcting disinformation dispelling prejudices challenging opinions providing perspectives	focus on epistemic issues
"We must have a low intervention threshold for hate speech and violent behavior." (dataset 1) "Implementing depolarizing measures" (dataset 2)	early interventions multi-professional cooperation in challenging situations active information sharing early and active responses to harmful developments close cooperation with guardians functional service coordination	timely and influential interventions in cases of concern
"I developed instructions for the staff on how to constructively confront a student who expresses threatening and/or demeaning speech during lessons". (dataset 2)	dismantle 'us' versus 'them' thought constructs de-escalating interaction in challenging situations constructive discussion in threatening situations	depolarization constructive interaction in challenging situations

Figure 1. *Summary of first and second analysis phases*

Finnish educators' considerations of PVE-E implementation

As positive attitudes without the implementation of relevant measures and interventions are not enough, we used two datasets, to investigate How do Finnish educators consider they can contribute to PVE-E? Based on findings, Finnish educators' considerations of PVE-E measures and interventions focused on primary and secondary level prevention and addressed micro and meso-level factors. Presented data quotes have been translated from Finnish or Swedish into English by the authors.

Primary-level prevention

A substantial majority of Finnish educators considered that they can contribute to primary-level prevention. Educators' ideas for primary-level prevention addressed factors mainly at the micro (individual) and meso-levels (school community). Measures and interventions at the micro-level typically aimed to strengthen students' resilience against radicalization and at the meso-level to develop wellbeing-enhancing school cultures.

Primary prevention measures and interventions addressing micro-level factors

When focusing on micro-level factors, Finnish educators emphasized the importance of providing students with objective and relevant knowledge, teaching them 'soft' skills and values, and supporting students' general well-being (see Table 4).

Table 4. *Finnish educators' considerations of their possibilities to implement primary prevention measures and interventions addressing micro-level factors*

	TIMING OF PREVENTATIVE MEASURES AND INTERVENTIONS		
FACTORS ADDRESSED THROUGH PREVENTION	**PRIMARY PREVENTION**	**SECONDARY PREVENTION**	**TERTIARY PREVENTION**
MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS	– providing objective and relevant knowledge – teaching 'soft' skills and values – supporting students' general well-being	– focusing on epistemic issues	
MESO-LEVEL FACTORS	– building inclusive and egalitarian operational culture within EIs – generating a constructive and safe discussion culture within EIs – modelling desirable citizenship	– implementing timely and influential interventions – depolarizing measures – interacting constructively in challenging situation	
MACRO-LEVEL FACTORS			

Unsurprising in an educational context, knowledge-related interventions received a lot of mentions in both datasets. Educators stressed the importance of sharing "fact-based", "appropriate", and "neutral and objective knowledge" as means to increase students' awareness, and abilities to identify "fake news and disinformation". Also, knowledge of diversities, such as different cultures (see quote 1), worldviews and ethnicities, as well as history, political systems, and violent extremism-related themes were emphasized. Knowledge of the Finnish culture and women's role in Finnish society was also considered important. This reflects a general belief that heightened awareness and knowledge base eliminates prejudices and widens students' worldviews.

Q1: I highlight e.g., themes related to different cultures in teaching, and I try to get students to think about the world also through the lenses of different cultures and religions. (Dataset 1)

The importance of a greater understanding of issues related to immigration, exile, and refugees was stressed in a course assignment that aimed to increase understanding between immigrant students and native Finnish students (see quote 2). Pedagogical tools, such as

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sociodrama and educational live-action roleplay, were also used to provide native Finnish students with opportunities to address inequalities in the world, empathize with refugees, understand their possible grievances, feelings of ostracism and exclusion, and the possible difficulties in integration.

Q2: Let's learn about the history of Finnish immigration and think about where people have moved to Finland from, why, and when. Also, the emigration of Finns will be addressed. Why have people left Finland to go abroad? Let's also think about why people move to another country nowadays. (Dataset 2)

Some educators pointed out that it is crucial to inform students about the "possible consequences of violent extremism, genocides, acts of terrorism or wars" and to tell them "where the idealization of such things or the silent acceptance of them may lead to in society". Also, the use of an authoritarian or preaching approach was suggested by Finnish educators:

Q3: [I inform them] by saying that it is not allowed to act in a way that offends others in our school, thus cutting off a possible extremist manifesto. (Dataset 1)

Overall, Finnish educators relied highly on knowledge-based interventions and thought that by prohibiting or providing certain knowledge, students' attitudes and beliefs can be effectively changed. Considering that radicalization and extremism are often associated with experiences of social injustices or grievances, and unsatisfied needs (Kruglanski et al., 2019), surprisingly few (n=2) educators emphasized the importance of providing knowledge, not to mention skills on democratic ways to pursue societal changes.

In addition to knowledge, Finnish educators considered the role of 'soft' skills in the prevention of extremism and radicalization as central. In the context of PVE-E, 'soft' skills refer for example to constructive ways to express opinions, media literacy, flexible and critical thinking skills (see quote 4), conflict resolution skills, self-regulation skills, and abilities to assist in dialogue.

Q4: Strong focus on the fact that the goal is to teach children to think with their own brains, to find out about things, to question, to investigate, to take others into account, and to ask for help. (Dataset 1)

Certain soft skills and values were deemed especially valuable, as they were seen as the way to understanding, empathy, compassion, open-mindedness, tolerance, and more prosocial attitudes. Educators also thought that the promotion of certain values, such as equality and equity, would be beneficial in PVE-E. However, values are caught, and not taught, and studies have found little evidence that teaching values could change individuals' mindsets or behaviors (e.g. Cassam, 2019).

Supporting students' well-being by preventing exclusion and ostracism and by recognizing students' strengths, supporting their mental health, self-esteem, positive identity, and worldview construction, as well as future plans, were considered important elements in PVE-E. Special attention was paid to refugees and immigrants, as many educators thought that a lack of identity and belonging caused difficulties in integration and impaired well-being, which in turn were seen as precursors to radicalization.

One pedagogical approach proposed in a course assignment utilized a narrative approach to address identity construction and emphasized its relevance to PVE-E:

Q5: Put yourself in the shoes of a student who is in the early stages of violent radicalization and write down what they would value, how they would justify their thinking, and what they see in their future or as their mission in life. (...) Write a story about how they think, speak, experience, and see things. Don't interpret or explain but describe what a student at the beginning of such a process would tell about themselves and their relationship with other people, and the environment in which they live in their everyday life. (Dataset 2)

Primary prevention measures and interventions addressing meso-level factors

At the meso-level, Finnish educators stressed the importance to build inclusive and egalitarian school cultures within EIs. Educators emphasized especially the importance of a

constructive discussion culture in EIs and highlighted the critical role of educators in modeling desirable citizenship behaviors (see Table 5).

Table 5. *Finnish educators' considerations of their possibilities to implement primary prevention measures and interventions addressing meso-level factors*

TIMING OF PREVENTATIVE MEASURES AND INTERVENTIONS

FACTORS ADDRESSED THROUGH PREVENTION		PRIMARY PREVENTION	SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
	MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS	– providing objective and relevant knowledge – teaching 'soft' skills and values – supporting students' general well-being	– focusing on epistemic issues	
	MESO-LEVEL FACTORS	– building inclusive and egalitarian operational culture within EIs – generating a constructive and safe discussion culture within EIs – modelling desirable citizenship	– implementing timely and influential interventions – depolarizing measures – interacting constructively in challenging situation	
	MACRO-LEVEL FACTORS			

Educators highlighted that students need to feel they are seen and heard at school (see quote 6) and have a sense of belonging to the school community. They also supported the implementation of anti-bullying programs, and the integration of newcomers. A school that takes care of everyone's mental and physical safety and guarantees the satisfaction of students' basic needs was seen as a central pillar in PVE-E.

Q6: I feel that encountering and paying attention to all the school's students daily is of paramount importance. It is important and the responsibility of the staff to make contact with the students so that they dare to talk about even difficult things. The presence of reliable adults also prevents the development of violent extremism, I believe. (Dataset 1)

Building an inclusive school culture that focuses on egalitarianism and inclusion of diversity, was a frequently cited theme in the educators' responses. For example, by using

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appropriate and inclusive language, and by actively acting against discrimination, racism, and bullying, educators considered themselves active agents in the prevention of student grievances.

The data also revealed that while some educators had rather naïve and straightforward views about relevant PVE-E implementations ("Chatting with them [students] from time to time is enough"), some respondents indicated a more comprehensive understanding of issues related to PVE-E. For example, in a course assignment, the participants drafted a poster with seven critical and though-provoking questions for their colleagues to consider while developing EIs' operational culture:

Q7: Seven key questions for teachers to consider when preventing violent extremism:
1. Is there room for the young person's thoughts in classrooms or the school's discussion culture?
2. Is the young person being labeled or judged based on their views without really being asked, why they think that way?
3. Does the young person have the ability and resources to communicate their thoughts constructively?
4. Are the young people given instructions on how to have an equal dialogue?
5. Are young people sufficiently supported in developing their critical media literacy skills, recognizing hate speech, or showing empathy?
6. Are young persons involved in making decisions about themselves or will things be decided for them?
7. Does the school's social environment offer youths experiences of belonging, a sense of membership, and inclusion? (Dataset 2)

Immigrants' integration was also frequently addressed in both datasets, and many course assignments focused on supporting educators' understanding and awareness of the specificities associated with it:

Q8: Remember that although supporting inclusion is similar in many ways regardless of the student's background, it must be taken into account that an immigrant student

does not only strive to be a part of their class/school but strives to adopt a completely new culture and ways of operating in it. (Dataset 2)

Finnish educators also highlighted the importance of creating positive discussion cultures in EIs (see quote 9). Based on the responses, this type of discussion culture in EIs refers to possibilities for constructive, open, safe, equal, dialogical, unbiased, age-appropriate, and profound discussions, within which topical events, societal issues, different emotions, extremism-related issues as well as issues related to cultures, worldviews, diversity, gender, and honor-related violence, are addressed (see also Vallinkoski et al., 2021). Educators emphasized the importance of "grasp onto moments", when VRE-related issues arise naturally from students' conversations, instead of planning special pre-planned lessons to do so. They also highlighted the importance of active discussion with students, so that the student would not need to look for answers to their questions elsewhere, for example, in unmonitored online forums or extremist movements.

Q9: [The goal is] to create an atmosphere [into EI] where you can be yourself and present even radical ideas, with respect to others and without offending them. (Dataset 2)

Discussions about worldviews were frequently brought forth in the course assignments. In one course assignment, the objective was to enable a critical examination of the beliefs and frames of reference inherited through socialization "in the spirit of Socratic dialogue." Students were taught to constructively discuss and argue their opinions about sensitive worldview-related issues, and to this end, polemical arguments were formulated for the basis of a discussion:

Q10: The use of religious symbols in public places should be prohibited; Children should not be brought up in the parents' religion, but instead the young person should be allowed to decide on their religion when they are ready for it. (Dataset 2)

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One course assignment was in the form of a pedagogical game. In the game, students encounter challenging situations (see quote 11) and are asked to discuss proper responses with their peers and educators.

> Q11: You come across a suspicious video on YouTube. In this video, an adolescent points a gun at the camera and pictures their school. [What could you do?]", "Few of your classmates have started to send strange symbols to your WhatsApp group. In addition, one of them writes racist comments next to the symbols. [What could you do?]", "You meet a person in town, and you start to discuss. You notice that they have radical, even frightening thoughts. [What could you do?]", "You think that the school produces propaganda that doesn't serve your views and worldview. It makes you angry. [What could you do?] (Dataset 2)

Some educators also considered more passive actions, such as students' exposure to certain types of behavior as relevant factors in PVE-E. To this end, educators thought they need to model desirable citizenship to the students, act as empathetic, culturally sensitive, and anti-racist role models, and show no support for extremist ideologies. Some called upon female educators to act as role models of "Finnish woman's position in the society".

Secondary-level prevention

Educators' suggestions for PVE-E measures and interventions to be implemented at the level of secondary prevention addressed factors at the micro (individual) and meso-levels (school community).

Secondary prevention measures and interventions addressing micro-level factors

In cases where an individual student shows signs of possible radicalization, for example, by expressing ideological support for an extremist ideology or group, educators emphasized the importance of focusing on epistemic issues, such as countering harmful ideologies (see table 6).

Table 6. *Finnish educators' considerations of their possibilities to implement secondary prevention measures and interventions addressing micro-level factors*

TIMING OF PREVENTATIVE MEASURES AND INTERVENTIONS

	PRIMARY PREVENTION	SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS	– providing objective and relevant knowledge – teaching 'soft' skills and values – supporting students' general well-being	– focusing on epistemic issues	
MESO-LEVEL FACTORS	– building inclusive and egalitarian operational culture within EIs – generating a constructive and safe discussion culture within EIs – modelling desirable citizenship	– implementing timely and influential interventions – depolarizing measures – interacting constructively in challenging situation	
MACRO-LEVEL FACTORS			

(left axis label: FACTORS ADDRESSED THROUGH PREVENTION)

Educators suggested that in such situations relevant measures and interventions would include "correction" of disinformation as well as approaches, through which students' opinions, attitudes, and views are challenged and different perspectives provided. As a result of these measures, students' prejudices were believed to be dispelled.

As an example of these approaches, some educators suggested for example critical questioning of religious scripts and the messages of holy books or attempts to guide discussions with controversial issues into an "appropriate" direction being relevant (see also quote 10 above). Others relied on more authoritarian approaches, such as on removal of the student from class when "behaving badly". Alike responses to difficult situations have also been reported in a study by Mattsson and Johansson (2020), who studied neo-Nazis in classrooms in the Swedish context.

Secondary prevention measures and interventions addressing meso-level factors

In cases of concern, i.e., secondary preventions, educators also highlighted the need for timely and influential multi-professional interventions, depolarizing measures for dismantling us against them thought constructs, as well as constructive interaction to be implemented within a whole school community, i.e., at a meso-level (see table 7).

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Table 7. *Finnish educators' considerations of their possibilities to implement secondary prevention measures and interventions addressing meso-level factors*

TIMING OF PREVENTATIVE MEASURES AND INTERVENTIONS

FACTORS ADDRESSED THROUGH PREVENTION		PRIMARY PREVENTION	SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
	MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS	– providing objective and relevant knowledge – teaching 'soft' skills and values – supporting students' general well-being	– focusing on epistemic issues	
	MESO-LEVEL FACTORS	– building inclusive and egalitarian operational culture within EIs – generating a constructive and safe discussion culture within EIs – modelling desirable citizenship	– implementing timely and influential interventions – depolarizing measures – interacting constructively in challenging situation	
	MACRO-LEVEL FACTORS			

According to Finnish educators, timely and influential interventions to be implemented in situations of concern included multi-professional cooperation, active information sharing between actors in different sectors, functional service coordination, and close collaboration with the student's guardians. Educators did, however, remark how challenging the collaboration becomes in cases of intergenerational transmission of extremist beliefs, i.e., in cases when the extremist rhetoric or worldview is endorsed at home by the student's primary caregivers.

Educators also emphasized the need "to know one's students well" to detect early signs of radicalization and sudden changes in behavior. They also stressed close interaction with other educators to discuss their possible worries and to get a more holistic picture of the situation. Related to this, the educators called for opportunities for multi-professional cooperation with other P/CVE actors in their school district and wished they had someone to contact in situations of concern. Some educators also highlighted the need to develop low-threshold opportunities and easy-to-use applications for students to "anonymously present their thoughts and concerns [about their peers] to the student care staff".

In course assignments, educators often mentioned depolarization as an approach that consciously seeks to resolve confrontations between social groups and dismantle us against

them thought constructs among students in EIs. Objectives attached to depolarization measures included aspirations to "learn to live with disagreements" and to "dismantle the black-and-white thinking that causes polarization, which is a fertile ground for violent radicalization."

Specific focus was given to mediation of conflicts that were perceived as multicultural conflicts, i.e., conflicts between different social groups:

Q12: We aim to develop a community-based and solution-focused action plan for the prevention, investigation, and aftercare of conflicts and bullying cases. We strive to create an action plan that would also work in so-called multicultural conflicts (...) (Dataset 2)

Few course assignments focused on drafting guidelines for constructive interaction when "confronting a hostile adolescent", using, for example, the tenets of non-escalating communication:

Q13: Surprise your interlocutor with kindness; Be aware of your own biases and don't transfer them onto others; Plant the seeds of doubt and empathy, bring forth the complexity of things; "Give the process some time, don't expect anything from the first meeting. Be patient, changing one's mind is a long process. (Dataset 2)

Discussion

To get more insights into the development of PVE-E policies and practices, this multi-modal study examined Finnish educators' views on PVE-E through the following research questions: 1) How do Finnish educators position themselves in response to PVE-E? and 2) How do Finnish educators consider they can contribute to PVE-E? To answer the questions, quantitative and qualitative datasets collected from educators in 2017–2020 were analyzed.

Considering the first research question, the findings are clear. Although Finnish educators generally think that EIs currently have too many duties outside the curricular

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objectives, based on our findings, most of them do still accept PVE-E as part of their professional duties.

As per answering the second research question, we studied Finnish educators' considerations on the implementation of PVE-E measures in the context of their work. To do this, a multilevel categorization was made utilizing the public health model (see e.g. Shanaah & Heath-Kelly, 2022) and the social ecology model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Merging these two models helped us create a framework in which we could examine the educators' ideas about the timing of the preventative measures and interventions, as well as the factors addressed through prevention. The primary (early and broad-based prevention), secondary (targeted, reactive, and tailor-made prevention implemented in situations of concern), and tertiary (prevention targeted towards already radicalized individuals) levels of prevention of the public health model served to analyze the timing of the PVE-E measures. The micro (individuals), meso (school communities), and macro (society) levels of the social ecology model helped to analyze the factors that were addressed in the preventative measures and interventions.

Based on the findings, Finnish educators mostly suggested PVE-E measures that targeted micro and meso-level factors at the primary level of prevention. At the micro-level, the interventions aimed to broadly strengthen students' resilience by providing objective and relevant knowledge, teaching 'soft' skills and values, and supporting students' well-being. The meso-level interventions mainly focused on developing inclusive and well-being-enhancing school cultures, which support students' growth and constructive dialogue. The educators also stressed the responsibility of teachers to act as role models of desirable citizenship.

Most of the educators' primary-level prevention suggestions involved objectives, contents, and practices that are already embedded in the Finnish national curricula, and therefore their implementation does not require additional resources. This is in line with the general idea that Finnish education contributes best to PVE-E by doing what it should be doing in the first place: to provide democratic, progressive, and inclusive education (Niemi et al., 2018). It also seems that Finnish educators' views on relevant PVE-E measures and interventions are aligned with what educational scholarly discussions consider relevant education and the competencies needed in the 21st century (see e.g. Geisinger, 2016, UNESCO, 2021). However, analyzing the extent to which Finnish educators' PVE-E

considerations are in line with international research findings on effective PVE-E measures is a subject of further studies.

While most Finnish educators' suggestions addressed primary-level prevention, some educators also considered the implementation of CVE measures, which we categorized as secondary prevention, possible. As relevant micro-level interventions to be implemented in cases of concern, educators emphasized epistemic questions and the importance to provide new perspectives and correcting disinformation when the students' rhetoric hints at extremism. This reflects the ethos of the Finnish education system, which relies much on strengthening the students' cognitive and epistemological abilities. As meso-level interventions are to be implemented in cases of concern, educators considered the implementation of timely, and influential multi-professional interventions, depolarizing measures, and the development of educators' abilities to act constructively in challenging interaction situations to be essential.

As important as it is to analyze what kind of interventions and measures the educators described as relevant for PVE-E, it is also of utmost importance to scrutinize what kinds of issues were left unaddressed. For example, despite the extensive attention paid to the prevention of conflicts between students, none of the educators brought up the importance of purposefully addressing conflicts between students and their educators. Sommer, Leuschner, and Scheithauer (2014) have noted that conflicts between students and their educators have a high prevalence among perpetrators who commit violent attacks in their schools. Similarly, while educators worried about immigrant students' integration, they showed limited concern about their colleagues' and other students' attitudes toward newcomers.

Furthermore, while the educators paid attention to epistemic issues at the secondary prevention level, specific counter-narratives that are central to deradicalization (Ghosh et al., 2016) were not mentioned. Approaches, that were based on "correcting" students' worldviews can also be questioned. For example, van San, Sieckelinck, and de Winter (2013, pp. 276–277) have stated: "A frank and constructive conversation with a young person ceases to be possible when his or her opinions are disqualified beforehand."

Overall, educators' focus on primary-level prevention and micro and meso-level factors leave tertiary prevention and wider macro-level factors largely unaddressed. This is problematic, as students who have grievances or needs created by injustices, ostracism, and

discrimination, will not benefit much from new knowledge or "corrective" discussions. It would be more helpful and constructive to identify their needs, examine the resources they have, and support them in finding democratic ways to address these grievances and needs (Benjamin et al., 2022b; Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019a).

As only micro and meso-level (namely individual and school community level) factors were emphasized by the Finnish educators, we accentuate the importance of broadening first-line practitioners' understanding also of macro-level factors contributing to radicalization (see also Vallinkoski & Benjamin, in press). Their understanding should be increased through professional development training, which needs to be strongly connected to evidence-based academic literature (see also Koehler & Fiebig, 2019) and contextualized in the Finnish societal and educational contexts.

However, we also acknowledge that it is impossible for one societal sector, such as education, to develop measures for all the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of prevention. Similarly, one sector can't address all factors in the micro, meso, and macro levels of the ecological system (see also Solhjell et al., 2022; Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b). That is why the adoption of the whole-of-society approach (Baykal et al., 2021; Kundnani & Hayes, 2018) is vital. Within the whole-of-society approach, understanding the complementary nature of the different societal sectors is central. For example, while education has an impact on macro-level societal issues in the long term, immediate effects on, say, current grievances over political or international conflicts, are hard to achieve through schooling (Nordbruch & Sieckelinck, 2018).

For the whole-of-society approach to be influential, different actors in society should recognize the key responsibilities, expertise, and limitations that are within their sphere of influence regarding P/CVE (see also Sivenbring & Andersson Malmros, 2021). Evidently, trust between different first-line practitioners in multiagency P/CVE-related collaboration is also vital (see Solhjell et al., 2022; Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2019b). Aly, Balbi, and Jacques (2015) propose that in the whole-of-society approach, the concept of *transversal politics* should be applied. In the ideal of transversal politics, the differing power positions of the societal sectors are acknowledged, a multilateral approach is adopted, and the expertise and competencies of policymakers, practitioners, police, intelligence, formers, NGOs, and so forth are brought together. As extremism and radicalization are marginal phenomena, learning from

experience is challenging (van de Weert & Eijkman, 2019) and only a few professionals are experts in this field. Therefore, societal-level cooperation, supervision, and professional guidance are necessary. For example, based on the findings of this study, Finnish educators do not consider prevention at the tertiary level, like deradicalization, disengagement, and rehabilitation, nor wide macro-level factors being in their sphere of influence. Therefore, educators should be cognizant of those actors who are responsible for tertiary-level prevention at a national level, so that functional and expedient service coordination can be realized in cases of radicalization of a student. Likewise, at the national level, actors who have jurisdiction over wider macro-level socio-political issues should be cognizant of the influence the societal structures and their decisions can have on citizens through generating possible grievances and, ultimately, radicalization.

Regarding the limitations of this study, it is important to keep in mind that the PVE-E interventions and measures presented in this study are not examples of best practices in the context of education. Rather, they offer a glimpse of Finnish educators' subjective views on PVE-E implementation. However, while the data were gathered in the Finnish educational context, we believe that the findings may have relevance beyond the national context regarding the international development of P/CVE approaches.

Given the strong focus on individual-level factors among Finnish educators, further studies should focus on analyzing the reasons behind this. For example, investigating ways to include reflection on macro-level factors in PVE-E policies and guidelines and to enhance students' growth toward democratic and active participation in society would be needed. Further studies should also address issues related to the radicalization of the students' caregivers, the intergenerational transmission of extremist views, and the possibility to maintain parent-school relationships, and educational contact with the student in such situations.

Conclusion

Based on our findings, Finnish educators accept PVE-E as a new feature of their profession. They have various ideas about implementing PVE measures in the context of their work, especially regarding early, broad-based prevention of radicalization of all students. Education

plays only one part in the whole of society approach, so the focus on primary prevention is understandable.

Based on the findings, we argue that Finland does not need any specific primary-level PVE-E programs, as the components of relevant PVE-E measures in the context of primary prevention already exist in the Finnish curricula. However, Finnish educators need more knowledge on the themes of radicalization and extremism and training on the action guidelines in the relatively rare cases of student radicalization (secondary and tertiary prevention). We thus highlight the need to develop P/CVE-related professional development training in all societal sectors in Finland and emphasize the need to strengthen multi-professional cooperation at the national level.

The theoretical and analytical framework developed in this study, combining the public health model and Bronfenbrenner's social ecology model, offers a prominent model for further development of the whole-of-society approaches for P/CVE. It allows for different societal sectors to find one's position in the field of P/CVE and deradicalization/disengagement. It also guides the development of PVE, CVE, and deradicalization/disengagement measures concerning the whole-of-society approach and enables a comprehensive analysis of the coverage and gaps of measures implemented at a national level.

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