KNOWLEDGE SYNTHESIS

Mapping of knowledge on extremism and prevention of extremism

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CONTENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and purpose

Denmark is generally a country characterised by high levels of security and low levels of crime. However, recent challenges such as people travelling to combat zones and attempts to plan terrorist attacks have resulted in greater focus on the need for effective prevention of extremism on both a local and a national level. There ought to be a firm knowledge base for a prevention effort of this kind so that preventive measures have the greatest possible impact.

With this in mind, the Danish Centre for Prevention of Extremism (referred to below as the Centre) has commissioned a knowledge mapping which aims to identify and map the currently best available knowledge as regards extremism and radicalisation and the prevention thereof. The basic aim of this knowledge mapping is to reinforce the knowledge base for the preventive effort in Denmark, and with this in mind a panel of experts made up of selected researchers and practitioners has contributed input on topics governing the mapping of knowledge. Relevant knowledge has been searched for in research-based literature supplemented by analyses and evaluations from comparable countries, favouring European literature.

The knowledge mapping effort is an important stepping stone for one of the key tasks of the Centre, which is to gather relevant national and international knowledge of relevance as regards the prevention of extremism. The aim of this is to be able to provide knowledge-based support to municipalities and other relevant stakeholders working to prevent extremism and radicalisation in Denmark. At the same time, the objective has been to gather knowledge of and describe what is to be referred to as the knowledge landscape in the field, that is to say the nature and strength of the available knowledge in the field. It also aims to indicate areas where there is a lack of sound knowledge, what are known as knowledge gaps, in order to define the future gathering of knowledge and prioritisation of research into and analysis of the field. Hence this knowledge mapping effort is an initial step in a process that began with the establishment of the Centre; and the knowledge and knowledge gaps described in the knowledge mapping effort will be updated as further knowledge is gathered, just as new knowledge gaps may emerge.

The knowledge mapping effort focuses on two overall research questions[1]:

1. What knowledge is available with regard to extremism and radicalisation that is relevant to the prevention of extremism in Denmark? This knowledge synthesis focuses on a number of specific subtopics that have been assessed as being of particular relevance to the Danish prevention perspective.
2. What knowledge is available with regard to the prevention of extremism, including knowledge of target groups, recruitment operations, methods and initiatives, that is relevant to the prevention effort in Denmark?

The research questions will be described in further detail in the following section, where the thematic framework for the assignment will be developed.

The results of the knowledge mapping effort will be reported in the following products:
- This **knowledge synthesis**, which summarises the mapped knowledge of extremism and the prevention of extremism in a readily accessible manner. This knowledge synthesis will also include a general characteristic of the knowledge landscape in the field.

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[1] The search strategy has focused on literature and knowledge from a number of Western countries, including Denmark. The fact that knowledge must be transferable and relevant in relation to the context of Danish prevention has been a key starting point for the literature search, selection and analysis in the elaboration of the synthesis.

- The results of the knowledge synthesis will be summarised in two **easy to read short summaries**, one of which summarises knowledge of extremism, the other summarising knowledge of the prevention of extremism.
- As part of this assignment a **knowledge catalogue** has been prepared which lists and summarises the studies included in the field.

The knowledge synthesis, knowledge catalogue and synopses can be read together or separately, focusing on particular topics or publications.

In connection with this mapping effort, a broad literature search and screening of relevant international research and knowledge published between 2010 and 2017 has taken place, which can be divided into peer-reviewed journal articles, research-based publications and evaluation reports. A total of 1709 publications have been reviewed as part of the broad screening operation. Of these, 65 publications have been selected as a basis for the preparation of the knowledge synthesis. These were selected on the basis of a number of thematic and methodical quality criteria, including the fact that the publications had to be based on empirical data. Moreover, articles focusing in particular on the European prevention context and/or extremist groups or individuals in western countries were selected with transferability and relevance to the Danish prevention context in mind. Attempts have also been made to include studies that reflect knowledge of various extremist environments, specific right-wing and left-wing extremism and Islamist extremism, or knowledge that relates to general features across extremist environments. Section 1.3 and the methods appendix describe the approach and results of the screening process in greater detail.

It is important to emphasise that the knowledge synthesis provides a review of the current and identified knowledge base in the field from a Danish prevention perspective. The existing and identified knowledge is limited or not included at all in a number of cases, not because the knowledge is not relevant, but because it does not exist as yet and hence cannot be mapped. At the same time, given the approach to the Danish prevention perspective, a number of choices have been made in relation to the focus and delimitation of the knowledge synthesis (see section 1.3 and the methods appendix). Thus, the knowledge sought and mapped is by no means exhaustive in terms of knowledge of extremism and the prevention thereof, but expresses the knowledge that is deemed most relevant from a Danish prevention perspective.

Who is the knowledge synthesis aimed at?
The knowledge synthesis is aimed primarily at professionals in Denmark such as SSP consultants (SSP refers to a partnership between schools, social services and the police for crime prevention purposes), welfare staff, police officers working with crime prevention, the PSP cooperation (PSP refers to a partnership between the psychiatric services, social services and police), outward-facing and advisory consultants from agencies, etc. The intention is to provide professionals with a stronger knowledge base for their work. Moreover, the synthesis may be of relevance to a broader circle of practitioners and researchers in the field.

1.2 Thematic delimitation of the knowledge synthesis

The knowledge synthesis is limited to the two general research questions as specified above. These two questions are in turn divided into a number of subtopics identified and qualified in consultation with the Centre and an associated panel comprising researchers and practical experts:

Research question 1: Knowledge of extremism focuses on mapping knowledge of extremism of relevance to the Danish prevention effort. The following six subtopics are emphasised:
- Factors of significance in the surrounding society
- Emergence of extremist environments
- Recruitment, propaganda and communication
- Ideology and narratives
- Individual risk factors, and
- Pathways to and from extremism.

While significant factors for extremism can be stated to play out at a societal level, the emergence of extremist environments, recruitment, propaganda and communication, and ideology and narratives are related to a group level, individual risk factors are related to an individual level, and pathways to and from extremism take place across these three levels. The reporting of the results from research question 1 are built up around societal, group and individual levels by extension, and the results for the six subtopics are reported within the scope of this framework. Although not as much knowledge has been found relating to all three of these levels, the knowledge indicates that all these levels and topics are of significance but that there may be more or less knowledge about the specific role played by each level or topic

Research question 2: Knowledge of the prevention of extremism and radicalisation focuses on studies that examine various target groups, approaches, methods and initiatives that support the prevention of extremism and radicalisation, along with experiences/results relating to this. The starting point for the selection of studies relating to prevention was that the studies in question had to examine the effect of the initiatives; but the synthesis also includes studies that focus on experiences with the implementation of initiatives. The results of this research question are reported around three general target groups, namely the individual(s) in need of a prevention effort, the social surroundings of the individual and the professionals who support or implement the initiative.

The boundary between the two research questions is fluid in some cases, as knowledge of extremism and prevention of extremism are interlinked by the very nature of the matter. However, as most publications do not explicitly link knowledge for the two research questions, the results are reported separately for each of these. However, attempts are made as far as possible to relate the mapped knowledge of prevention of extremism to the mapped knowledge of extremism.

1.2.1 Key concepts

In the synthesis, the understanding of the terms "radicalisation" and "extremism" follows the understanding specified in the government's national action plan on the prevention of extremism and radicalisation, 2016[2]. See the box below.

It must be emphasised that researchers and practitioners do not have a collective understanding of the terms radicalisation and extremism. In a number of the texts read, therefore, other terms were used to denote extremism and radicalisation; or else the terms extremism and radicalisation were used in different senses. However, given the need for knowledge for the Danish prevention approach, we have attempted to analyse and synthesise across research that does not work with the government definitions and is not necessarily framed as relating to extremism, as knowledge is seen as relevant to the Danish prevention effort. For the same reason, the terms in these other texts have been translated to the Danish framework and presented by means of the terms used in the context of the Danish prevention effort; that is to say, the terms used in the national action plan (2016). However, it is possible that nuances have been lost for the purpose of the summary.

For the sake of simplicity in the synthesis, "prevention of extremism and radicalisation" will be referred to as "prevention of extremism".

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[2] https://www.stopekstremisme.dk/ekstremisme-og-radikalisering and https://www.stopekstremisme.dk/ekstremisme-og-radikalisering/forebyggelse

Box 1_1: Definitions of extremism and radicalisation

This study is based on the following definitions of extremism and radicalisation:

- **Extremism** refers to persons or groups that commit or seek to legitimise violence or other illegal acts, with reference to societal conditions that they disagree with. The term covers e.g. left-wing extremism, right-wing extremism and Islamist extremism.

- **Radicalisation** refers to a short- or long-term process where persons subscribe to extremist views or legitimise their actions on the basis of extremist ideologies.

(Source: National action plan on prevention of extremism and radicalisation, 2016)

1.3 Method applied to the selection of texts

The method used for the searching and selection of publications for the knowledge synthesis will be described in brief below[3].

Overall, the publications are identified by means of a three-part search approach:
- A systematic database search across a number of databases covering prominent journals and periodicals in the field.
- A network search among researchers and experts in the field, referring to key literature.
- A snowball approach where further literature is identified on the basis of reading of literature.

When mapping literature, attempts were made to include works that can be characterised as peer-reviewed journal articles, research-based publications and reports, analyses and evaluations published by consulting firms or non-research-based publications. See the box below.

Literature types searched, screened and included in the mapping of literature

- Peer-reviewed journal articles: articles published in recognised journals with double-blind peer review.
- Research-based publications: publications published by recognised research institutes or research-based think tanks. This may, for example, include PhD theses, monographs by researchers, reports published at research institutes and suchlike. These may have undergone a peer review process, but not a double-blind peer review.
- Reports, analyses and evaluations published by consultancy firms, non-research-based institutes, NGOs, etc.

The initial search found a total of 1709 references to publications in the field of knowledge of extremism and knowledge of prevention of extremism[4]. These references have been reviewed in a screening and assessment process and described below. See also Figure 1-1.

Following the initial search, all studies were assessed on the basis of an abstract (i.e. a summary of the study) in an initial screening process. This led to initial elimination of 1212 studies that did not meet a series of general inclusion criteria based on topic, year and geographical location. In specific terms, the mapping of literature has been limited to studies from Western Europe, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US that were published between 2010 and 2017. Another criterion is that the studies had to be in Danish, English, Norwegian or Swedish. The abstracts and conclusions of the remaining 497 texts were then screened with a view to eliminating studies that clearly fell beyond the scope of the two research questions of the literature survey. This allowed a further 325 studies to be eliminated.
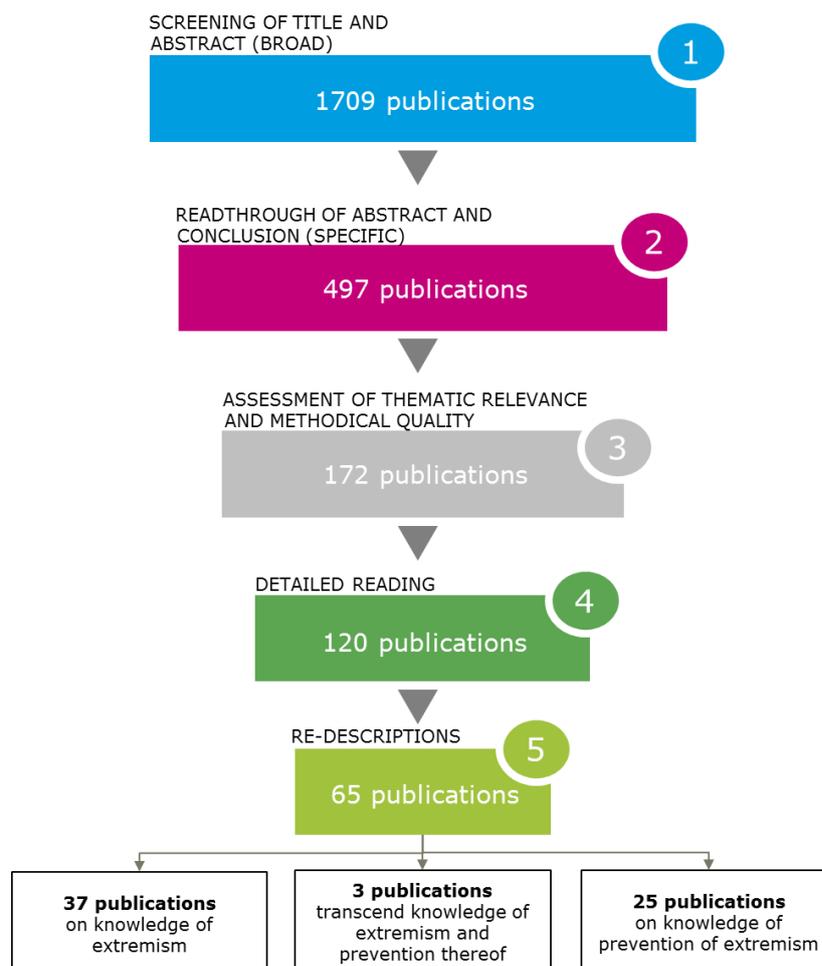
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[3] The methodical approach is described in further detail in the methods appendix.

[4] The 1709 references include a number of repetitions of the same studies, but all references have been checked.

In the next part of the screening process, the remaining 172 publications were read through in greater detail in order to assess their thematic focus in relation to the research questions. The studies were also screened according to a general methical criterion relating to an empirical foundation; that is to say, the study either had to be based on the researcher's own gathering of empirical data, or it had to be based on the empirical findings of other studies (such as meta-analyses). Studies with no empirical foundation were eliminated. A total of 52 studies were ex-cluded during this third part of the process.

120 studies were assessed in depth, both thematically and methically, in the final part of the screening process. As regards the methical assessment, the screening operation focused on the methical quality of the studies across four criteria: reliability, transparency, validity and trans-ferability to a Danish context. The thematic assessment then focused on the further relevance of the studies to the research questions and subtopics, as well as the preferred balance of knowledge across these questions and topics. The aim of the knowledge mapping effort has been to cover the subtopics indicated in the research questions with the best possible methical quality; although with the proviso that the methical quality had to reach a minimum threshold for inclusion. As the best texts in terms of methodology were selected for each subtopic, the methical quality is not the same for each of the subtopics on which the mapping effort has been based (see section 1.2). Finally, selection also focused on the resource-related framework for the task[5]. Based on this process, 65 publications were eventually included in the synthesis.

Figure 1 Overview of the screening and assessment process

SCREENING OF TITLE AND ABSTRACT (BROAD)
1
1709 publications

READTHROUGH OF ABSTRACT AND CONCLUSION (SPECIFIC)
2
497 publications

ASSESSMENT OF THEMATIC RELEVANCE AND METHICAL QUALITY
3
172 publications

DETAILED READING
4
120 publications

RE-DESCRIPTIONS
5
65 publications

| **37 publications** on knowledge of extremism | **3 publications** transcend knowledge of extremism and prevention thereof | **25 publications** on knowledge of prevention of extremism |

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[5] The resource-related limits of the synthesis have permitted inclusion of around 60 publications.

The methodical criteria for screening and selection of publications have undergone quality assurance in consultation with the Centre and a panel of experts made up of selected researchers and practitioners. Drafts of the catalogue and knowledge synthesis have undergone quality assurance with the assistance of external researchers.

1.4   Brief information on the knowledge landscape and points to note for the synthesis

As stated in section 1.1, the purpose of the knowledge synthesis – besides gathering knowledge on the two research questions – has been to describe the knowledge landscape in the field, that is to say the nature and strength of the relevant knowledge in the field. The characteristic of the knowledge landscape involves not only the publications included, but also knowledge from the broader search and screening process.

Overall, the research and screening process has outlined a knowledge field that broadly branches across a number of different fields and disciplines. The knowledge landscape can further be described as fragmented, implying that there is no clear consensus with regard to terms and that knowledge and research within the various fields are not necessarily based on or qualify any existing knowledge base. In other words, new research or knowledge production does not necessarily relate to existing knowledge to any great extent (in other words, the field's knowledge production is not cumulative).

This implies a number of key reservations for the synthesis: Firstly, the publications mapped and included are not exhaustive in terms of all the existing and relevant knowledge in the field. Hence the broad literature screening relates to a selection of publications that have been assessed, on the basis of the professional focus of the knowledge synthesis, to be of thematic relevance while also having the best possible methodical quality within each of the two research questions/subtopics. The assignment has also been subject to limitations in terms of time and resources. This implies that by no means all relevant publications are included in the synthesis, and that it is possible that not all relevant publications have been identified in the initial search.

Moreover, the fragmented nature of the knowledge landscape implies that there may be relevant literature that has not been identified, despite the broad search of the literature. This is because knowledge is published – for example – using terms, search terms or publications or in research environments other than those used or consulted as part of this mapping of the literature.

Secondly, the mapping of the literature has made it clear that the knowledge base is not equally robust across various research questions and subtopics: while there are publications within some topics (such as knowledge of the significance of group dynamics to extremism [see section 2.3]) which make it possible to refer to a more robust knowledge foundation, knowledge within other topics (such as knowledge of significant factors of extremism [see section 2.2]) is based on a more fragile foundation. Reference can be made within some fields to actual knowledge gaps, in the sense that there is insufficient knowledge available to state anything collectively with regard to the field. Therefore, the thematically relevant publications that are also strongest in terms of methodology have been selected within each subtopic. This means that the material for each of the various topics is not necessarily of the same knowledge-related quality and weight. Attempts have been made in the synthesis to clarify where knowledge is more robust, less robust and not available, and every topic begins with a characteristic of the included literature.

Thirdly, the fragmented nature of the knowledge landscape means that it has been complicated to draw final conclusions on some of the topics in focus: occasionally, different parts of the research point to conflicting tendencies with no chance of arriving at final conclusions. This is applicable to research into the effect of counter-narratives, for example. In this sense, the synthesis indicates a need to reinforce the existing knowledge by means of further research or knowledge production; and also to collate knowledge production in the field in the sense that new knowledge production relates to and qualifies existing knowledge.

In this connection, the knowledge synthesis must be viewed as an expression of the best available knowledge at present: the fact that knowledge has not yet been identified or mapped does not necessarily mean, therefore, that the knowledge is not relevant. Rather, it means that the knowledge is difficult to explore or has not yet been explored. Thus, the knowledge synthesis also provides an indication of where best to consolidate knowledge going forward, from a prevention perspective.

The overall knowledge landscape – that is to say, the strength and nature of knowledge in the field – is described in the following chapter. This characteristic is based on the broad knowledge mapping effort and screening. In addition, the strength and characteristic of the included literature have been described for each research question and subtopic as part of the synthesis.

1.5   Reading guide

Following this initial chapter, the next chapter presents the overall knowledge landscape followed by the results of the synthesis for the two research questions, divided over two chapters. This synthesis is finally put into perspective in a final chapter 5. The table below summarises the structure:

Chapter	Contents
Chapter 1	Introduction to knowledge synthesis
Chapter 2	Knowledge synthesis on extremism
Chapter 3	Knowledge synthesis on prevention
Chapter 4	The knowledge landscape
Chapter 5	Perspectives
Appendix 1	Methods appendix
Appendix 2	Bibliography

2. KNOWLEDGE SYNTHESIS ON EXTREMISM

Research question 1

The first research question in the synthesis focuses on revealing existing knowledge of extremism that is of relevance to the Danish prevention effort. The synthesis focuses on the following survey topics:

- Factors of significance in the surrounding society
- Emergence of extremist environments
- Recruitment, propaganda and communication
- Ideology and narratives
- Individual risk factors, and
- Pathways to and from extremism

The results of the synthesis are presented within an analytical framework developed in connection with the assignment on the basis of the subtopics for research question 1 and the analysis of the publications included. The general synthesis for the question is presented below, followed by the results divided into three levels: societal, group and individual level. Each section describes the methodical nature and strength of the literature included.
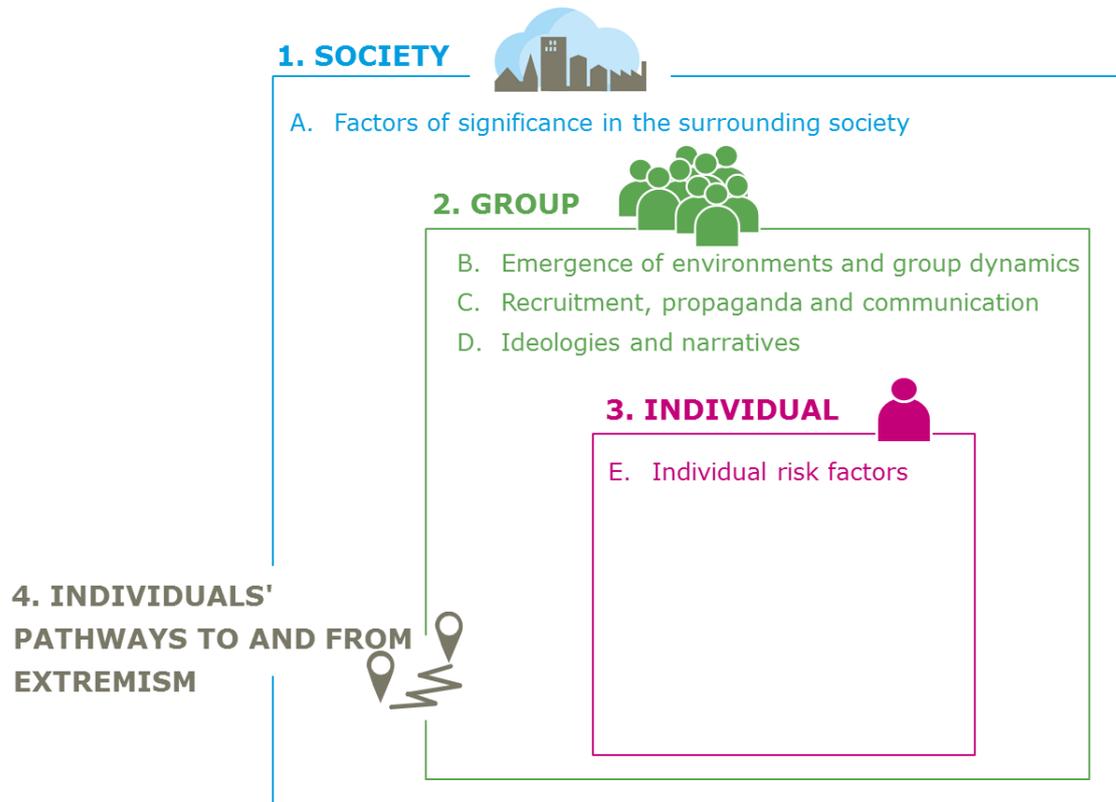
2.1 General knowledge synthesis

Generally, the knowledge gathered indicates that extremism and radicalisation are phenomena that take place in a complex interplay involving factors at a societal level, group level and individual level. This can be illustrated within a framework; cf. the figure below, where the various subtopics are positioned on the levels where they primarily apply. The analysis of the knowledge gathered indicates that the societal level constitutes the broader framework for the emergence and maintenance of the extremist group, both ideologically and socially, and for the recruitment, propaganda and communication activities of the extremist group. Within the same framework, the vulnerability of the individual to extremism and what the extremist group has to offer may be perceived as conditional upon a series of risk factors. Similarly, the pathways taken by individuals to extremism may appear to differ considerably, although they are typically conditional upon interaction between factors at these three levels; individual, group and societal.

It must be emphasised that the figure provides an analytical framework with the purpose of systematising and conveying the results of the analysis. The interaction of extremist groups and individuals with one another and the surrounding community is more complex than can be indicated in the figure, and the subtopics typically overlap on a number of levels. However, the subtopics in the analytical framework and the figure are placed at one specific level, namely the level where the primary focus of the topic can be found, in order to make the information easier to read and convey. When reviewing the results of the knowledge synthesis, an attempt has been made to explain the various interfaces and interactions between levels and subtopics.

The identified knowledge of the various levels and subtopics in the research question is of different strengths. In particular, knowledge of the entirely specific role and significance of factors at a societal level is limited. The strength of knowledge is explained further in each of the subsections to the chapter.

Figure 2: Overall model for knowledge of extremism at societal, group and individual levels and pathways to and from extremism

The various levels in the analysis are described below, along with a general outline of the results of the analysis. The individual's pathway to extremism is described as a separate topic as this transcends and binds the other three levels together.

The societal level focuses on the general social dynamics that define the framework for the interaction between extremist groups and individuals. Based on the analysis of the publications included, the emphasis has been on identifying knowledge of significant factors in the surrounding society with regard to extremism, according to the research. Here, some of the publications included – but not all of them – conclude that individuals' perception of external social pressure against groups or against political/religious matters may be a significant factor in extremism.

The group level focuses on the dynamics and factors of significance to the emergence and maintenance of extremist groups. Specifically, knowledge has been explored in relation to the topics: *Emergence of environments and group dynamics, ideologies and narratives*, and *recruitment, propaganda and communication*. In that regard, the knowledge synthesis points out that group dynamics are of significance to the development of individuals and groups in an extremist direction, and that the individual's network and surrounding environment may be of significance to the radicalisation of the individual. Parts of the literature indicate that disadvantaged environments such as prisons, for example, constitute a substantial foundation for recruitment. Various perspectives on the significance of the Internet and social media in the recruitment process have been found in the literature included. As regards ideology and narratives, the knowledge synthesis concludes that the ideological aspect of extremism is part of a broader interaction with other factors and is not necessarily significant to the individual's pathway to and from extremism.

The individual level focuses on the factors of significance to the individual's risk of or vulnerability to extremism. This is highlighted under the topic *individual risk factors*. These risk factors must not be regarded as a list of answers or a checklist: instead, they are factors that may come into play in the radicalisation process together with other factors encountered by the individual along the way. Some knowledge of socially disadvantaged individuals has been identified in the publications, including individuals from unstable families, while little has been found about people who are not socially disadvantaged but are nevertheless at risk of extremism. The knowledge synthesis points out that individuals who feel that their identity or life attachment is under threat, or who have experienced social disadvantage or unstable family situations, are at increased risk of radicalisation. The research also indicates that there is no clear link between mental vulnerability and extremism. Finally, the knowledge identified points out that extremist environments may fulfil individuals' search for an environment where they can distance themselves from previous crimes, for example, or it may legitimise the use of violence for anyone who is prepared to commit violence.

Finally, the knowledge mapping effort has focused on exploring knowledge with regard to **the individuals´ pathway to and from extremism**. It has become clear through analysis of the literature included that individuals' pathways to and from extremism can take many different forms and courses and are influenced by factors at societal, group and individual levels. *Individuals' pathways to and from extremism* are therefore described as a separate topic that transcends the three levels. Overall, the analysis concludes that individuals' pathways to and from extremism take place across the societal, group and individual levels and are influenced by interaction between the factors described under these levels. Such factors include social pressure against groups, a criminal past, the local environment surrounding the individual and the perception of threatened identity and life attachment, for example. Moreover, the research indicates that specific factors for the pathway out of extremism also include disappointment or disagreements with the group, failure to meet expectations regarding the purpose of the group, perception of mental fatigue and burnout and loathing of violent methods.

2.2 The societal level

At the societal level, the knowledge mapping effort has focused on mapping knowledge of factors in the surrounding society that are of significance to extremism and contribute to the framework for the pathways of the individual and the group to (and from) extremism. 'Significant factors' is understood to mean the social structures and contextual connections that can contribute to the radicalisation process.

2.2.1 Main points for the societal level

Main points based on the included literature that relate to the societal level are specified in the table below.

Main points
- Parts of – but not all – the included literature indicate a series of significant factors at societal level as regards extremism. Among other things, it is stated that individuals' perception of external social pressure targeted against specific groups or political/religious objectives may constitute a significant factor. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- Social marginalisation, oppression or poverty are not in themselves significant factors for extremism. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- Some of the included publications indicate that terrorist attacks are more common in weak and unstable nations. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- Some of the included publications indicate that events or conflicts in the individual's own country or other countries may act as a catalyst for their radicalisation. *(Little knowledge is available)*

Knowledge gaps
- There is a lack of knowledge of whether the environmental factors that extremist groups or individuals themselves cite as motivations (such as foreign policy, legislation, etc.) contribute to their radicalisation, and if so how.
- There is a lack of knowledge of the specific significance of conflicts or events in other countries to the radicalisation of individuals, including whether these actually provide motivation or involve subsequent rationalisation, for example.

2.2.2 Significant factors in the surrounding society

This section covers knowledge of the significant factors in the surrounding society that may be of significance to the radicalisation process of individuals and groups. As regards the topic *significant factors in the surrounding society*, the literature points out a variety of significant factors, but in particular the perception of external pressure or injustice are emphasised as factors that may play a part in radicalisation.

Included literature

Limited knowledge in the literature from 2010 onwards has been identified, specifically with regard to conditions in the surrounding society that are of significance to the emergence and maintenance of extremism. In this regard, there is also consideration of what the research terms root cause factors or underlying causes. This is why the knowledge mapping effort has been supplemented with one publication prior to 2010 that has been indicated by means of assistance from researchers. A total of 12 of the included publications touch upon significant factors in the surrounding society to a greater or lesser extent, but it must be emphasised that a number of these studies relate primarily to other topics and touch only briefly upon significant factors at societal level. Of these, four are peer-reviewed journal articles and eight are research-based books, reports, non-peer-reviewed articles, etc. on significant factors.

The table below lists the publications included.

Table 2_1: Overview of literature for the subtopic

Author	Year	Title	Publication type[6]
Bjørgo	2005	Chapter 20 Conclusions, in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward	Research-based publication
European Institute of Peace (EIP)	2017	Molenbeek and violent radicalisation	Research-based publication

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[6] The designations cover the following: 'Peer-reviewed journal article' covers articles published in recognised journals with double-blind peer review. 'Research-based publication' covers publications published by a recognised research institute or research-based think tank. This may, for example, include PhD theses, monographs by researchers, reports published at research institutes and suchlike. Finally, a third category is made up of reports, analyses and evaluations published by consultancy firms, non-research-based institutes, NGOs, etc.

Crone	2010	Dynamikker i ekstremistiske miljøer	Research-based publication
Crone	2016	Radicalization revisited: violence, politics and the skills of the body	Peer-reviewed journal article
Everton	2016	Social Networks and Religious Violence	Peer-reviewed journal article
Hemmingsen	2010	The Attractions of Jihadism. An Identity Approach to Three Danish Terrorism Cases and the Gallery of Characters Around Them	Research-based publication
International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)	2015	Preventing radicalization: A systematic review	Research-based publication
Kleinmann	2012	Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Krøijer	2015	Figurations of the future, forms and temporality of left radical politics in northern Europe.	Research-based publication
Lyons	2015	The psychological foundations of homegrown radicalization: An immigrant acculturation perspective.	Research-based publication
Nesser	2010	Joining Jihadi terrorist cells in Europe: Exploring motivational aspects of recruitment and radicalisation	Research-based publication
Roy	2017	Jihad og døden	Research-based publication
Simi et al.	2016	Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism: A Life-Course Criminological Approach	Peer-reviewed journal article

The publications included have been assessed to be of high thematic relevance to the topic[7]. The average methodical quality for the included publications is slightly lower and is assessed as medium[8]. An assessment of 'medium' in terms of methodical quality corresponds to the lower threshold for inclusion in the synthesis[9].

Perception of external pressure from society or perceived injustice contributes to radicalisation
A series of significant factors in the surrounding society as described in the literature have the perception of injustice or the perception of oppression at societal level as a focal point (Bjørgo, 2016; EIP, 2017; Crone, 2010; Crone, 2016; Krøijer, 2015; Roy, 2017).

For example, Bjørgo (2005) works with a list of 14 significant factors for (root causes of) terrorism at societal level, which span the range from being prerequisites for terrorism to being catalysts for terrorism. Catalysts are understood to be elements that may help to set radicalisation processes in motion (Bjørgo, 2005). One example of a factor on this scale between prerequisite and catalyst is the systematic discrimination against minority groups that may be a factor in the creation of separatist terrorist movements; while a triggering factor such as a disputed parliamentary election may be a catalyst for terrorist acts.

The first nine significant factors in the list presented by Bjørgo (2005) generally relate to failed states and illegal forms of governance with a lack of civil rights, such as historical precedents of political violence, civil wars, revolutions, dictatorships or occupations. The last five factors in the list which are closest to being catalysts for radicalisation include the following: 1) perception of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or religion, 2) failure or unwillingness of the state to integrate dissident groups or emerging social classes, 3) perception of social injustice, 4) presence of charismatic ideological leaders, and 5) triggering events, which at societal level may include state participation in wars, for example. Overall, these last five significant factors cover perceived pres-

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[7] The thematic relevance is assessed as 4.85 on a scale of 1-5, 5 being the highest score.

[8] The methodical quality is assessed as 3.78 on a scale of 1-5, 5 being the highest score.

[9] A 'medium' assessment is equivalent to a score of 3 on the scale from 1-5, and this was the lower limit for inclusion of the publications.

sure from society on selected groups in the form of discrimination, unfair treatment or direct attacks on communities. The presence of charismatic, ideological leaders is related to the emergence of extremist environments at group level.

ICPC (2015) highlights two observations that support the significant factors presented by Bjørgo (2005). Firstly, terrorist attacks are more common in weak and unstable nations. Secondly, it appears that the risk of radicalisation can be influenced by conflicts in other countries and challenges involved in the integration of minority groups in western countries. However, no knowledge has been identified of the entirely specific significance for the radicalisation process of the individual of events such as wars in other countries, although the literature indicates that triggering events at societal level are of significance.

A number of publications (Crone, 2010; Crone, 2016; Krøijer, 2015; Roy, 2017) also point out that extremism is a way of expressing resistance to general social pressure. In this context, the social pressure is expressed as marginalisation, oppression or injustice. It is important to emphasise that the objective injustice is not necessarily crucial to the radicalisation of individuals, but the individual's or group's perception of that injustice (Bjørgo, 2005). As an extension of this, EIP (2017) points out that at societal level, potential significant radicalisation factors may emerge out of the individual's perception of social isolation and a lack of opportunities. EIP (2017) emphasises these as key underlying factors that may play a part in radicalisation on the basis of a study carried out in the district of Molenbeek in Belgium.

Nesser (2010) argues, on the basis of his research, that four different profiles may be established in the extreme Islamist terror cell; *the entrepreneur, the protégé, the misfit* and *the drifter*. Nesser (2010) points out that the various extremist profiles are motivated in different ways, but that two of the profiles are particularly or partly motivated by the desire to participate in activism in order to promote a social, political and/or religious matter, including with a view to combating social and political injustice or perceived social pressure. These are the *entrepreneur*, who proactively recruits, socialises and trains terror cells, and the *protégé*, who is motivated by loyalty to the entrepreneur but is also driven by the political, social or religious matter.

Other publications, such as Crone (2016), Roy (2017) and Krøijer (2015), point out in similar ways – on the basis of extreme Islamist and left-wing extremist groups – that resistance to the development, values and norms of the established society is a factor in radicalisation. Roy (2017) states that there has been an Islamisation of radicalisation of late, understood as meaning that global and violent youth (counter-) culture is expressed nowadays by means of Islamist extremist groups that simply reject modern values and ways of life, while such phenomena were previously observed in the context of left-wing extremist groups such as the Blekingegade Gang in Denmark and the Red Army Faction in Germany. Hemmingsen (2010) has previously presented a similar view of contemporary extreme Islamist counterculture.

Krøijer (2015) finds that left-wing extremism in northern Europe is also a way of expressing resistance to established society. According to Krøijer (2015), left-wing extremist environments have a dystopian view of the future, and so their activism is aimed at how people live and behave in the present; by means of lifestyle changes or action-oriented, spontaneous activism, for example. According to Krøijer (2015), in some cases this may also mean that individuals or groups spontaneously resort to violence in connection with activism, even if their ideology is fundamentally pacifist.

The resistance to perceived social injustice that can be found in Krøijer's (2015) description of left-wing extremism or Nesser's (2010) description of two of the profiles in the extreme Islamist terror group, for example, is in line with Bjørgo's (2005) significant factors for terrorism. For people in right-wing extremist groups, Simi et al. (2016) point out that social dynamics, including general social marginalisation, have driven the radicalisation process of individuals. However, no

publications have been identified that primarily deal with right-wing extremists' significant factors for extremism at a societal level.

Lyons (2015) concludes on the basis of a survey and experimentally-based study that the individual's perception of marginalisation or the lack of a sense of belonging to the surrounding community may be of significance to extremism (Lyons, 2015). In this context, Lyons (2015) points out that depending on the national context, there appears to be variation in the significance of the perception of marginalisation and social exclusion as regards radicalisation of religious minority groups that have migrated to another country. In both the US and Germany, the publication concludes that the perception of marginalisation and social exclusion in the host country increases the risk of extremist interpretations of Islam. In the US, the perception of marginalisation also increases support for extremist groups, ideologies and actions. As far as German Muslims are concerned, they appear to be more prepared than American Muslims to support the extremist interpretations of Islam. This is an indicator that German Muslims have found it more difficult to achieve integration and social inclusion in society than American Muslims, and this may be a matter for concern as regards the vulnerability of German immigrants to radicalisation. However, as stated social exclusion in the US also leads to increased support for extremist groups, ideologies and actions. This indicates cultural and social differences in the significance of marginalisation and social exclusion as factors in radicalisation at societal level.

In contrast to the publications which conclude that factors at societal level are of significance to the radicalisation of individuals and groups, one of the included publications concludes on the basis of individuals convicted of terrorism in the US that mechanisms at societal level are of no crucial significance (Kleinmann, 2012). Kleinmann (2012) concludes that social mechanisms such as oppression have no significant part to play in connection with radicalisation, while mechanisms at group and individual level have more of a part to play in radicalisation. In this context, it must be emphasised that these different conclusions are not based on comparable studies. Where Lyons, for example, draws his conclusions on the basis of methical triangulation of questionnaires and an experimental study in the US and Germany respectively, Kleinman draws his conclusions on the basis of a study of 83 cases involving people convicted pursuant to terrorist legislation in the US.

Everton (2016) points out that society's resistance to extremist groups or decisive force against extremist groups may contribute to the groups closing in on themselves to a greater extent, and this may lead to increased radicalisation and distancing from society. Likewise, Everton (2016) points out that sociocultural tensions between the group and society can increase the enclosed nature of the group.

2.3 Group level

At group level, the knowledge synthesis has focused on exploring knowledge of the following subtopics: *emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics*, *recruitment, propaganda and communication* and *ideologies and narratives*. The box below presents the main points from the analysis of the included publications with regard to the three subtopics explored at group level.

2.3.1   Main points on the three subtopics for group level
Main points based on the included literature that relate to the group level are specified in the box below.

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Main points
- The analysed literature generally points out that group dynamics have an essential part to play in the emergence of extremist environments. Among other things, social interaction and small group dynamics can help to reinforce the radicalisation process, just as social affiliation may be a contributory element in the individual's association with an extremist group. *(There is general agreement)*
- Moreover, the literature points out that the individual's network and surrounding society may be of significance to radicalisation. Social relations may, for example, increase the risk of radicalisation by allowing individuals who perceive their life attachment as being under threat to re-establish their life attachment in the extreme environments to which they have access via family or friends, for instance. *(There is general agreement)*
- As regards recruitment, the literature describes both a top-down approach and a bottom-up approach to recruitment, which may progress separately as well as concurrently. The top-down approach involves a number of tactics and procedures to identify and screen potential recruits for extremist terrorist groups. The bottom-up processes, on the other hand, involve self-selection processes where individuals themselves seek out extremist terrorist environments. *(There is general agreement)*
- Parts of the literature indicate that disadvantaged environments or prisons may be productive recruitment environments. However, this does not mean that socially disadvantaged target groups are particularly predisposed to radicalisation; rather, it indicates that these target groups are at risk of becoming involved in extremist environments due to their disadvantaged position in society. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- There is no clear knowledge relating to the significance of the Internet to recruitment and radicalisation: parts of the literature indicate that the Internet's interactive dimension and social media can reinforce the recruitment opportunities of extremist groups. Other parts of the literature ascribe less significance to the Internet. *(Mixed/conflicting knowledge is available)*
- Some of the included publications also point out that most people are introduced to the extremist ideology via offline socialisation rather than social media and the Internet, and therefore that online radicalisation should not be viewed as a separate phenomenon. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- The ideology of extremist groups is of varying significance and weight as regards the pathways of various individuals to and from extremism. Ideology as such must be viewed as one of a number of factors that influence the radicalisation process, and is not (necessarily) a crucial factor in the radicalisation of individuals. *(There is general agreement)*

Knowledge gaps
- Among other things, there is a lack of knowledge of the communication strategies of extremist groups and how propaganda and recruitment material is specifically received and used.
- Moreover, there is a lack of robust knowledge with regard to differences or similarities between the social interaction and practices of different extremist environments, their cultural forms of expression, social tone used in the environments, etc.

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2.3.2   Emergence of environments and group dynamics
The subtopic *emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics* focuses on the factors and criteria of significance to the emergence and maintenance of extremist groups. Group dynamics cover the social mechanisms and dynamics that are involved in and of significance to the radicalisation process and maintenance in extremist environments.

Included literature

A number of publications relating to knowledge concerning the emergence of the environments and group dynamics have been identified in the literature. In total, 10 publications on the subtopic *emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics* have been included, of which six are peer-reviewed journal articles and four are research-based publications.

The thematic quality[10] of the included literature relating to *emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics* is assessed as high, as is the methodical quality.

The included publications for the topic are listed below.

Table 2_2: Overview of literature for the subtopic

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Bjørgo	2005	Chapter 20 Conclusions, in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward	Research-based publication
Bjørgo	2011	Dreams and disillusionment: engagement in and disengagement from militant extremist groups	Peer-reviewed journal article
Crone	2010	Dynamikker i ekstremistiske miljøer	Research-based publication
Everton	2016	Social Networks and Religious Violence	Peer-reviewed journal article
Gøtzsche-Astrup	2017	The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation	Peer-reviewed journal article
Hemmingsen	2010	The Attractions of Jihadism. An Identity Approach to Three Danish Terrorism Cases and the Gallery of Characters around Them	Research-based publication
Kleinmann	2012	Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Leistedt	2013	Behavioral aspects of terrorism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lindekilde & Bertelsen	2015	Voldelig transnational aktivisme: Islamisk Stat, foreign fighters og radikalisering	Peer-reviewed journal article
Thomas et al.	2014	Social interaction and psychological pathways to political engagement and extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article

The analysis relating to *emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics* is explained below, divided into the following main points:

- Social mechanisms are a driving force for radicalisation.
- The significant factors for maintenance of the group are not necessarily the same as the significant factors for creation of the group.

These main points will be expanded upon individually in the sections below.

Social mechanisms are a driving force for radicalisation

The literature points out that social mechanisms and group dynamics in extremist groupings are significant factors in the individual's pathway to radicalisation (Bjørgo, 2011; Crone, 2010; Everton, 2016; Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2017; Hemmingsen, 2010; Kleinmann, 2012; Leistedt, 2013; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Thomas et al., 2014).

Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015), Kleinmann (2012) and Everton (2016) highlight social relations – with family and friends in particular – as being significant to the radicalisation process of the individual. For instance, Everton (2016) – who works on the basis of 34 members of the Hamburg cell – points out that recruitment primarily takes place through close relations and family. Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015), who examine how Danish foreign fighters are radicalised and mobilised, similarly points out that social relations in this context can increase the risk of radicalisation. This observation is justified by the fact that individuals who perceive their life attachment as

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[10] The included literature relating to *emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics* receives an average score of 4.82 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.85 as regards methodical quality.

being under threat may re-establish their life attachment in the extreme environments to which they have access via family or friends, for instance. 'Life attachment' refers to the individual's perception of having a firm grip on life, which means being able to participate in close communities and society in general, being able to take a reality check both in practical terms and in value terms in relation to the outside world, and being able to navigate through life in relation to their own and others' perspectives on life (Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015). Overall, social relations and networks with links to extremist environments therefore seem to be able to promote the radicalisation process as the individual's search for a social community can lead them to extremist environments. This is particularly true in situations in which the individual feels that their life attachment is under threat and they wish to re-establish it.

The individual's perception of affiliation is emphasised in the literature as an important factor in the individual's radicalisation process (Bjørgo, 2011; Hemmingsen, 2010; Leistedt, 2013). The individual is motivated to become part of extremist groups through inclusion, recognition and friendships within the group, creating affiliation. This need for social affiliation may lead to the individual defining their social status via acceptance from an extremist group, group dynamics thus becoming a driving force for the radicalisation process (Hemmingsen, 2010; Kleinmann, 2012; Leistedt, 2013). A couple of publications also highlight group dynamics as being the most crucial factors in the radicalisation process (Kleinmann, 2012; Leistedt, 2013). However, this does not recur consistently across the literature examined.

Furthermore, the literature points out that social interactions in extremist groups can reinforce the radicalisation process by accepting the most extreme opinions (Crone, 2010; Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2017; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Thomas et al., 2014). Interaction and socialisation with members of the group who represent more extreme opinions and further polarisation can therefore increase other group members' acceptance of extremist convictions and acts. This may, for example, be because members of the group want to show off to other group members, and so they assimilate the group norm – that is to say, the more extreme opinions – as this is associated with status within the group (Bjørgo, 2011; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015). Leistedt (2013) also emphasises how radicalisation processes can be influenced by the shaping of individuals' outlooks by means of intensive socialisation in the extremist environments.

Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015) point out that an encouragement cue is required to induce the transition from an extremist attitude to action. An encouragement cue can arise via a group dynamic as the individual – through participation in the group – sees people they admire or know committing extremist acts, which then causes them to commit similar acts themselves. In relation to this, Everton (2016) highlights how these acts, owing to their extreme nature, can help to isolate the group from the rest of society while also reinforcing affiliation to the group. Another publication (Thomas et al., 2014) also emphasises how social interaction within the group helps to promote the radicalisation process by reinforcing a collective sense of perceived injustice. This sense can support an understanding of the need for action, social interactions having an impact on intentions and behaviour among members of the group. Transnational links between groups are also emphasised in this context as a significant factor in the individual's radicalisation process as this may create links to people with more extremist opinions such as militant personalities, which can make extremist opinions and acts more acceptable (Crone, 2010).

Significant factors for maintenance of the group are not necessarily the same as significant factors for creation of the group
One publication, namely Bjørgo (2005), points out that significant environmental factors that help to maintain extremist terrorist groups are not necessarily the same as the original driving forces for the emergence of the group (Bjørgo, 2005). According to Bjørgo (2005), the focus and purpose of groups may develop over time and this may change the factors of significance for the maintenance of the group. Such alteration of the purpose of the group may emerge out of revenge cycles, which means that activity is required in order to avenge previous attacks on the group; profitable criminal activities that may originally have begun with a view to maintaining the

foundation for the extremist group but developing into a financial incentive in themselves; or a lack of exit opportunities, forcing individuals to remain in the environment.

2.3.3 Recruitment, propaganda and communication

The subtopic recruitment, propaganda and communication covers knowledge of recruitment and recruitment strategies and knowledge of propaganda and communication (Basra et al., 2016; Crone, 2010; Everton, 2016; Hegghammer, 2013a; Kleinmann, 2012; Leistedt, 2013; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Malthaner, 2014). Recruitment, propaganda and communication are three separate topics, but they are discussed as one in the synthesis as they overlap in several respects: for instance, propaganda and communication can be used for recruitment purposes, but also for other purposes such as scaring the outside world.

Included literature

Publications on recruitment have primarily been identified for the subtopic *recruitment, propaganda and communication*. There is limited literature on propaganda and communication as the identified knowledge in the field relates primarily to the significance of social media. The literature relating to online radicalisation is also characterised by a lack of methodical and theoretical rigour (Gemmerli, 2014; Schmid, 2013). There is a lack of knowledge of how propaganda and recruitment are used physically in the environments or via non-electronic media. In total, 13 publications on the subtopic *recruitment, propaganda and communication* have been included, of which eight are peer-reviewed journal articles and five are research-based publications.

The methodical quality[11] for the included literature relating to *recruitment, propaganda and communication* is slightly above medium. The thematic relevance, as for the other topics, is high. The included publications for the topic are listed below.

Table 2_3: Overview of literature for the subtopic

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Basra et al.	2016	Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus	Peer-reviewed journal article
European Institute of Peace (EIP)	2017	Molenbeek and violent radicalisation	Research-based publication
Crone	2010	Dynamikker i ekstremistiske miljøer	Research-based publication
Everton	2016	Social Networks and Religious Violence	Peer-reviewed journal article
Gemmerli	2014	Online-radikalisering: en rundrejse i forskningslitteraturen. Litteraturreview af definitioner og tilgange inden for online-radikalisering	Research-based publication
Gemmerli	2015	Online-radikalisering: Forebyggelse på internettet	Research-based publication
Gustafsson	2015	Våldsbejakande islamistisk extremism & sociala medier	Research-based publication
Hegghammer	2013a	The recruiter's dilemma: Signalling and rebel recruitment tactics	Peer-reviewed journal article
Kleinmann	2012	Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Leistedt	2013	Behavioral aspects of terrorism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lindekilde & Bertelsen	2015	Voldelig transnational aktivisme: Islamisk Stat, foreign fighters og radikalisering	Peer-reviewed journal article
Malthaner	2014	Contextualizing Radicalization: The Emergence of the "Sauerland-Group" from Radical Networks and the Salafist Movement	Peer-reviewed journal article
Meleagrou-Hitchens et al.	2017	The impact of digital communications technology on radicalization and recruitment	Peer-reviewed journal article

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[11] The included literature relating to *recruitment, propaganda and communication* receives an average score of 4.76 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.78 as regards methodical quality.

The analysis of the included literature is described below, divided into the following three main points:

- Recruitment has both a top-down and a bottom-up aspect
- Recruitment takes place via close relationships in particular, and there are also more favourable conditions for it among disadvantaged target groups
- Interactive social media may provide channels for extremist recruitment.

Recruitment has both a top-down and a bottom-up aspect
The literature points out that organisations have different recruitment strategies (Crone, 2010; Hegghammer, 2013a; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015). Recruitment strategies may be implemented as both top-down and bottom-up processes (Crone, 2010; Hegghammer, 2013a; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015), and top-down and bottom-up processes that can be implemented individually or in interaction with one another.

In the included publications, there is emphasis of the fact that the literature previously included a perception that the recruitment process adopted a top-down approach, where experienced members of extreme groups were considered to be active agents in the recruitment of new recruits. However, the recruitment process also involves a bottom-up process, where individuals outside the extremist environments may themselves be proactive and hence active in the recruitment process (Crone, 2010; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015). This indicates, therefore, that individuals are not just recruited passively to extremist environments, but are themselves active in seeking access to the environment. Social media, among other things, are cited in this context as a substantial factor of significance in making more individuals aware of extremist environments and seeking to join them. This is described in greater detail in the section on the influence of social media on communication and recruitment to extremist environments (Gemmerli, 2014; Gustafson, 2015; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Meleagrou-Hitchens et al., 2017).

The top-down process is described by Hegghammer (2013a), Crone (2010) and Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015) as embracing a number of tactics and procedures to identify and screen potential recruits for extremist terrorist groups. For example, Hegghammer (2013a) describes the process in three phases; the immediate screening, the in-depth screening and inclusion. Signs of commitment, personal piety and ideological commitment are sought in the potential recruit during the immediate screening phase. The in-depth screening phase assesses the recruit's previous experience with weapons or extremism, while the inclusion phase involves secret activities and intensive training camps where recruits have to prove their dependability and win the trust of the group. During these phases, the potential recruit must demonstrate their willingness and loyalty to the opinions or acts of the extremist group to a gradually increasing extent in order to be admitted to in extremist environments (Crone, 2010; Hegghammer, 2013a; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015). Charismatic leaders are of major importance for top-down recruitment purposes as they can create recognition and sympathy in their contact with potential recruits by framing an issue and motivating them to participate. The credibility of the issuer of the message, and hence his/her legitimacy, is important in a framing process of this kind. Hence charismatic leaders have an important part to play here (Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015).

This bottom-up approach takes place via self-selection processes where individuals themselves seek out extremist terrorist environments. This process will typically be instigated by the individual encountering the environment via a framing process as stated above, for example, presenting the individual with a problem and attempting to bring about general discussion or specific activities within front or cover organisations, for example (Crone, 2010; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015).

Recruitment takes place among close relationships in particular, and conditions are more favourable among disadvantaged target groups
The included literature points out that recruitment particularly takes place via social relations in the form of families, friends and networks (Basra et al., 2016; EIP, 2017; Everton, 2016; Leistedt, 2013; Malthaner, 2014). As regards extreme Islamist groups and terrorist groups, these

recruit more members in environments with a large proportion of socially disadvantaged people, such as prisons and residential areas characterised by social problems (Basra et al., 2016; Everton, 2016; Kleinmann, 2012; Leistedt, 2013; Malthaner, 2014).

Basra et al. (2016) point out that members can be recruited to extreme Islamist networks from environments characterised by a high level of social disadvantage, such as prisons or areas with a large proportion of marginalised communities. In this context, it is essential to emphasise that this does not mean that socially disadvantaged target groups are particularly predisposed to radicalisation; rather, it indicates that these target groups are at risk of becoming involved in extremist environments due to their disadvantaged position in society. EIP (2017) supports this point by identifying the social problems in Molenbeek, the district in Belgium that has seen a disproportionately large number of residents leaving for conflict zones in order to fight. This district is characterised by challenges with unemployment, lack of education and perception of discrimination, and residents of North African origin in particular have little contact with the surrounding community. The author concludes that members of the group of residents of North African origin typically have no friends or close relations outside Molenbeek. However, the authors do not examine whether these challenges in the district are directly related to participation in extremism: they merely demonstrate that many residents of the district have forged links to extremism.

As touched upon in the section on group dynamics, some publications point out that recruitment largely takes place through social relationships (social selection) in the form of family, friends and acquaintances. This means that recruitment takes place among the friends and family of individuals who are already involved in the extremist environment (Everton, 2016; Leistedt, 2013; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Kleinmann, 2012). Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015) also point out that foreign fighters are recruited via front or cover organisations, such as language teaching or general teaching on the Quran.

In line with recruitment via social networks as described above, Malthaner (2014) highlights the significance of the individual's surroundings (networks and local area) as regards radicalisation. Here, Malthaner (2014) points out in an analysis of the German Sauerland group that its members had links – both friendships and looser ties – with the local and broader Salafist environment. This indicates, according to Malthaner (2014), that involvement in the local environment may be of significance to the radicalisation process and emergence of violent extremist groups, as extremist individuals can benefit from resources in the local network with or without the knowledge of the local network.

Interactive social media may provide channels for extremist recruitment
The included literature points out that two paradigms can be identified within the field of knowledge of online radicalisation that are to be understood as recruitment on the Internet and via social media (Gemmerli, 2014; Gustafsson, 2015; Meleagrou-Hitchens et al., 2017). One paradigm points out that the development of the Internet towards a more interactive form of medium has resulted in a greater opportunity for online communication and recruitment, and hence the Internet can be regarded to a greater extent as presenting an increased threat of radicalisation (Gemmerli, 2014; Gustafsson, 2015; Meleagrou-Hitchens et al., 2017). Conversely, Gemmerli (2014) highlights a different perspective in the research that does not regard the development of the Internet as an increased threat of online radicalisation. Rather, the Internet is regarded as a more static communication platform. The Internet in this perspective is less interactive and regarded as a strategic tool where communication is perceived to be static. Here, the Internet is regarded as a place where individuals can search for and gather information.

In harmony – to an extent – with the two paradigms described above, Meleagrou-Hitchens et al. (2017) also point out that the emergence of social media (web 2.0) has facilitated a greater degree of interactive communication on the Internet. This is seen, for example, in the form of chat forums where individuals do not merely passively receive extremist messages, as was previously the case when the Internet was a more static communication platform (web 1.0). Individuals join

social media and chat forums to actively participate in discussions and debates, which allows communication to be adapted well to the individual user. Increased use of the Internet among extremist individuals and groups has come about in line with this development. This means that extremist groups are attempting more extensively to gain influence and create extremist networks online. This development has helped to transform radicalisation and recruitment processes as the Internet permits more seamless, readily accessible interaction that makes it possible to reach more people.

However, in a later publication Gemmerli (2015) emphasises that the significance of the Internet to radicalisation is unclear and there is no scientific empirical evidence for this, along with the fact that most radicalised individuals are introduced to extremist ideology by means of offline socialisation.

2.3.4   Ideology and narratives
This subtopic covers knowledge of the significance of ideologies and narratives in groups in relation to radicalisation of the individual.

Included literature
Knowledge of *ideology and narratives* and the significance of these to extremist environments have been identified to a limited extent. 14 publications in total that deal with the subtopic have been included, but most of them merely highlight ideology and narratives on a secondary level. Of these, seven are peer-reviewed journal articles and seven are research-based publications.

The thematic relevance of the included literature on *ideology and narratives*, as for the other topics, is high for this topic. The methodical quality[12] is assessed as slightly above average, at medium.

The included publications for the topic are listed below.

Table 2_4: Overview of literature for the subtopic

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Altier et al.	2017	Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist, Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Autobiographical Accounts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Basra et al.	2016	Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus	Peer-reviewed journal article
Beutel et al.	2016	Field Principles for Countering and Displacing Extremist Narratives	Peer-reviewed journal article
Bjørgo	2005	Chapter 20 Conclusions, in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward	Research-based publication
Bjørgo	2011	Dreams and disillusionment: engagement in and disengagement from militant extremist groups	Peer-reviewed journal article
Carson	2014	Counterterrorism and Radical Eco-Groups: A Context for Exploring the Series Hazard Model	Peer-reviewed journal article
Crone	2010	Dynamikker i ekstremistiske miljøer	Research-based publication
Crone	2016	Radicalization revisited: violence, politics and the skills of the body	Peer-reviewed journal article
Hegghammer	2013b	Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting	Peer-reviewed journal article
Hemmingsen & Castro	2017	The Trouble with Counter-narratives	Research-based publication
Krøijer	2015	Figurations of the future, forms and temporality of left radical politics in northern Europe.	Research-based publication
Nesser	2010	Joining Jihadi terrorist cells in Europe: Exploring motivational aspects of recruitment and radicalisation	Research-based publication

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[12] The included literature relating to *ideology and narratives* receives an average score of 4.93 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.62 as regards methodical quality.

Roy	2017	Jihad og døden	Research-based publication
Schmid	2013	Radicalisation, De-radicalisation, Counter-radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review	Research-based publication
Simi et al.	2016	Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism: A Life-course Criminological Approach	Peer-reviewed journal article

The analysis of the included literature is presented below on the basis of the following main points:
- Ideology is not necessarily crucial to radicalisation of the individual
- Ideology is of varying significance and weight in the radicalisation process of individuals

The main points will be expanded upon individually in the sections below.

Ideology is not necessarily crucial to radicalisation of the individual
A number of publications point out that ideology or religion is not decisive for the radicalisation of the individual (Bjørgo, 2005; Crone, 2010; Crone, 2016; Roy, 2017; Simi et al., 2016). It is important to emphasise that there is no joint understanding among researchers of how religion and ideology are to be understood in relation to one another, and hence whether the publications analyse religion and ideology as a collective concept or separately.

The publications generally highlight ideology as one of a number of factors that influence the radicalisation process. This means that ideology and possibly religion may have a part to play, and for some individuals a key part, but they are not necessarily the crucial factor in the radicalisation process (Crone, 2010; Crone, 2016; Simi et al., 2016). For example, Simi et al. (2016) concluded in a study of 44 right-wing extremists that ideology was not crucial in the radicalisation process of these right-wing extremists, but rather, that the ideology was a result of the radicalisation process itself.

The analysis of the included literature also provides some indication of the significance of religion. Bjørgo (2005) argues that the notion that religion is a significant factor in suicide terrorism is a myth. Instead, Bjørgo (2005) concludes that suicide terrorists are primarily motivated by political opinions, which may indicate that political ideology carries more weight than religion. Crone (2016) concludes that radicalisation processes are more frequently political than religious, while in an extreme Islamic context they are a political-religious process.

Roy (2017) also looks at the role of religion and concludes that extremism is essentially not religiously based, but rather that Islamisation of radicalisation has taken place. This implies that resistance cultures among young people who seek violence and resistance are currently manifested in Islamist extremism, where they would previously have been manifested in other forms of extremism. In this connection, Roy (2017) points out that Islamist extremism as an ideology offers violence in a legitimate form, combined with criticism of established society, and that this may appear attractive as an offer of a resistance culture.

That said, the literature points out that ideology and religion may help to legitimise extremist involvement and acts (Basra et al., 2016; Bjørgo, 2005; Crone, 2010; Roy, 2017). In this context, Crone (2010) points out, that ideology and religion have a part to play in justification of militant involvement in extremist groups as ideology and religion are used as an objective that justifies extreme acts. Bjørgo (2005) argues that the actions of suicide terrorists do not stem from religion, but that their martyrdom is often legitimised and glorified with reference to religion. Basra et al. (2016) also conclude that the opportunity for salvation has a part to play in the increasing influx of people to Islamist extremism from criminal environments. Overall, these publications point out that religion is used to legitimise existing extremism.

Another perspective on legitimisation of various types of violence is Hegghammer's (2013b) point on the fact that Islamist religious leaders probably **contribute to framing** the foreign fighter role as more legitimate than violence and terrorism in the home country.

Carson (2014) states that members of left-wing extremist groups offset advantages and disadvantages against one another when they are about to embark upon violent activism. In this context, the study concludes that increased sanctions from new legislation that result in more costs when violent acts are committed may help to discourage animal rights activists and environmental activists from committing violent extremist acts. Conversely, however, Carson (2014) concludes that some left-wing extremist groups are so passionate about their ideology that legislation is unable to curb their violent extremist acts.

Ideology is of varying significance and weight in the radicalisation process of individuals
The literature indicates that ideology means different things to the radicalisation of different individuals (Bjørgo, 2011; Nesser, 2010). Different individuals ascribe different weighting to the ideology and other factors. As stated previously, Nesser (2010) – for example – establishes four different profiles among members of Islamist terror cells, each of which is specifically motivated by various factors, the first two in particular being motivated ideologically: these four types are 1) the entrepreneur, who proactively recruits, socialises and trains terror cells, and who himself is motivated by a political, social or religious matter; 2) the protégé, who functions well in the surrounding community and is often younger than the entrepreneur and looks up to him. The protégé is motivated by loyalty to the entrepreneur and is driven by a political, social or religious matter; 3) the misfit, who functions less well in the surrounding community and is less ideologically committed, and is motivated by attempts to deal with his own problems, loyalty to friends or both; and 4) the drifter, who differs in that he has less clear motivation for affiliation to the cell, but where the affiliation with the cell appears to have taken place via a social network, along with the fact that this person is in the wrong place at the wrong time. Nesser (2010) thus emphasises that in particular, the motivation of the entrepreneur and the protégé is rooted in an ideological conviction, while the misfit and the drifter are motivated by social dynamics and individual conditions.

Correspondingly, Bjørgo (2011) identifies five different mechanisms that are expected in various ways to play a part in radicalisation processes among various individuals. Ideological activism is one mechanism in which extremism is motivated by idealism and a strong sense of wanting to contribute to justice. Bjørgo (2011) points out in this context that these mechanisms differ in significance and weight for various individuals and that a radicalisation process is a dynamic development. Hence Bjørgo (2011) also points out that ideology means different things in the radicalisation process of different individuals.

Similarly, according to several publications, ideology is rarely the only factor that forms the basis for disengagement from extremist environments (Altier et al., 2017; Beutel et al., 2016; Hemmingsen & Castro, 2017; Nesser, 2010; Schmid, 2013). Altier et al. (2017) conclude that individuals' loss of belief in the ideology of the extremist group is not a common reason for leaving the group. However, the publication concludes that individuals who are not particularly ideologically committed are more inclined to be influenced by factors that cause the individual to withdraw from the extremist environment. Nesser (2010) also points out that the misfit and the drifter may conceivably be more receptive to initiatives as they do not have the same degree of ideological conviction as the other two types.

Another publication (Hemmingsen & Castro, 2017) emphasises that the differences in what the ideology means to each and every individual are also of significance with regard to how counter-narratives can be used to persuade individuals to leave extremism. In this context, Hemmingsen & Castro (2017) point out that there is a lack of knowledge of how extremist narratives attract

individuals and why, which makes it difficult to establish effective counternarratives. This publication also concludes that counternarratives may have an adverse influence by turning the extremist ideology into something that is not normal, which can result in polarisation in society.

2.4 Individual level

INDIVIDUAL

At individual level, the knowledge synthesis has focused on the subtopic individual risk factors. Individual risk factors must be understood as meaning factors that can increase the individual's risk of or vulnerability to radicalisation. The individual risk factors must not be regarded as a list of factors that cause radicalisation, as there are many different aspects and factors that influence different individuals' pathways to and from extremism, just as none of the factors in itself has been proven to lead to extremism.

Mental vulnerability is one of a number of risk factors discussed in the included literature. The mapping effort uses the term mental vulnerability to denote a broad spectrum of problems. The included literature discusses matters such as mental developmental disorders, depression, diagnoses relating to sleep, autism spectrum disorders, schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis.

2.4.1 Main points on the individual level
Main points based on the analysis of the included literature are summarised in the box below.

Main points

- The individual's perception of threatened identity or threatened life attachment appears to increase the risk of radicalisation. The threatened identity or life attachment may, for example, be rooted in social exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination, a lack of affiliation, loss of close friends or relatives, financial crises, etc. *(There is general agreement)*
- The family situation of the individual during childhood and adolescence is of significance to radicalisation. Individuals who have experienced social disadvantage or unstable family situations appear to be at increased risk of radicalisation. *(There is general agreement)*
- It is not possible to find a clear link between mental vulnerability and radicalisation in the included literature. Some studies indicate that there is no increased incidence of mental vulnerability among terrorists. Other publications, in particular, more recent ones, highlight the link in a more nuanced fashion and view mental vulnerability as one of a number of significant factors. These publications also distinguish between different types of terrorist and different mental diagnoses. *(Mixed/conflicting knowledge is available)*
- An increased incidence of mental vulnerability among lone wolf terrorists is viewed in this context, in comparison with the general population and individuals who commit terrorist acts in groups. A study examining the occurrence of specific mental diagnoses finds that there is an increased incidence of autism spectrum disorders, schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis among lone wolf terrorists compared with the general population. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- There exists, to some extent, literature that points out that for a number of reasons, extremist environments may be attractive to individuals who have previously committed crimes: they may feel they have the opportunity for salvation following earlier crimes, or there may be a context in which violent acts are legitimised. *(Some knowledge is available)*

Knowledge gaps

- Limited knowledge of the link between mental vulnerability and radicalisation has been found in the included literature.
- Lack of knowledge of the risk and pathways to extremism of resourceful individuals.
- Lack of knowledge of the significance of gender to the risk of the individual,
- Lack of knowledge of whether certain risk factors or personality traits increase the vulnerability of the individual to some extremist environments rather than others.

2.4.2 Individual risk factors

The research into individual risk factors has moved away from focusing on creating generic personal profiles for extremists and now looks more closely at individual risk factors that can increase vulnerability to radicalisation in interaction with other aspects of the individual's life (Basra et al., 2016; Leistedt, 2013; Pantucci et al., 2015; Saltman & Smith, 2015; Schmid, 2013).

Included literature

A number of publications on *individual risk factors* can be found in the included literature. Compared with the other two levels, the individual level is the level at which most literature was found. In total, 18 publications on individual risk factors have been included, of which 13 are peer-reviewed journal articles and five are research-based publications. Overall, both the thematic and the methodical quality are very high at individual level[13].

The included publications for the topic are listed below.

Table 2_5: Overview of literature for the subtopic

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Basra et al.	2016	Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus	Peer-reviewed journal article
Bjørgo	2005	Chapter 20 Conclusions, in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward	Research-based publication
Bjørgo	2011	Dreams and disillusionment: engagement in and disengagement from militant extremist groups	Peer-reviewed journal article
European Institute of Peace (EIP)	2017	Molenbeek and violent radicalisation	Research-based publication
Crone	2016	Radicalization revisited: violence, politics and the skills of the body	Peer-reviewed journal article
Gill & Corner	2017	There and Back Again: The Study of Mental Disorder and Terrorist Involvement	Peer-reviewed journal article
Grønnerød et al.	2016	Radikalisering og psykisk helse – En kunnskapsoppsummering.	Research-based publication
Gøtzsche-Astrup	2017	The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation	Peer-reviewed journal article
Khosrokhavar	2013	Radicalization in prison: the French case	Peer-reviewed journal article
Kleinmann	2012	Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Leistedt	2013	Behavioral aspects of terrorism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lindekilde & Bertelsen	2015	Voldelig transnational aktivisme: Islamisk Stat, foreign fighters og radikalisering	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lyons	2015	The psychological foundations of homegrown radicalization: An immigrant acculturation perspective.	Research-based publication
Schurmann & Horgan	2016	Rationales for terrorist violence in homegrown jihadist groups: A case study from the Netherlands	Peer-reviewed journal article
Sikkens et al.	2017	Parental Influence on Radicalization and De-radicalization according to the Lived Experiences of Former Extremists and their Families	Peer-reviewed journal article
Simi et al.	2016	Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism: A Life-Course Criminological Approach	Peer-reviewed journal article
Pantucci et al.	2015	Lone-Actor Terrorism: Literature review	Research-based publication
Pels	2011	The Influence of Education and Socialization on Radicalization: An Exploration of Theoretical Presumptions and Empirical Research	Peer-reviewed journal article

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[13] The included literature relating to *individual risk factors* receives an average score of 4.94 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 4.0 as regards methodical quality.

The analysis of the included literature is presented below on the basis of the following main points:
- Threatened identity and life attachment as a significant risk factor
- Turbulence, social disadvantage and instability during childhood
- Mental vulnerability does not unambiguously constitute a risk factor
- Movements from criminal environments

Threatened identity and life attachment
A threatened identity or life attachment appears persistently as a significant risk factor in the radicalisation of individuals. The significance of life attachment has previously been analysed in section 2.3.2 in connection with group dynamics and the emergence of extremist environments. Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015), Gøtzsche-Astrup (2017), Lyons (2015), Bjørgo (2011) and Klein-mann (2012) all examine the links between individuals' perception of identity problems and extremism.

The literature indicates that threatened identity may increase the risk of radicalisation and may be caused by social exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination, lack of affiliation, loss of close friends or relatives, financial crises, etc. (Bjørgo, 2011; EIP, 2017; Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2017; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Lyons, 2015). Lindekilde & Bertelsen (2015) explain that an individual who feels that their life attachment is under threat will strive to re-establish their point of reference in life, which may be expressed through extremism. Similarly, EIP (2017) points out that the individual's perception of social exclusion and a lack of opportunities are key factors of significance to radicalisation.

This point is also supported elsewhere in the literature, which examines what motivates people to move into extremist environments and what persuades individuals in these environments to carry out extremist acts (Schuurman & Horgan, 2016). In this context, the literature indicates that maintaining an identity or achieving status within the group may also cause people linked with extremist environments to carry out extremist acts.

Turbulence, social disadvantage and instability during childhood
The literature indicates that social disadvantage and turbulent and unstable family conditions during childhood are an indirect risk factor for radicalisation (Pels, 2011; Sikkens et al., 2017; Simi et al., 2016). Sikkens et al. (2017) and Simi et al. (2016) point out that turbulence, instability and social disadvantage in family conditions during childhood, such as a lack of parental contact, physical or sexual abuse, parental neglect, loss of family members in combination with a lack of emotional support, divorce, and mental vulnerability among family members may be a risk factor for radicalisation. However, it is emphasised that such risk factors alone do not lead to radicalisation, that they do not necessarily lead to radicalisation, and that there is a link between factors rather than causal links. At the same time, these risk factors interact with factors in the individual's surroundings and what the extremist group has to offer.

Conversely, stable family conditions and good parenting skills do not guarantee that radicalisation will not take place. Moreover, the literature indicates opposing tendencies with regard to whether parents' extreme opinions increase the risk of radicalisation of their children (Pels, 2011; Sikkens et al., 2017). Sikkens et al. (2017) point out that radicalisation is not due to direct assimilation of parents' extreme opinions. Conversely, Pels (2011) concludes that there are significant similarities between the xenophobic convictions of right-wing extremist parents and teenage children. Moreover, the publication concludes that an authoritarian and less emotional parenting style among right-wing extremist parents is significant to children's socialisation to a deviant political behaviour. Thus Pels (2011) indicates that parents can directly influence their children's risk of assimilating extremist opinions by means of their own extreme opinions and parenting style.

Mental vulnerability does not unambiguously constitute a risk factor
The literature that highlights and examines mental vulnerability as a potential risk factor for radicalisation was previously characterised by unsubtle interpretations and misunderstandings. The term 'mental vulnerability' is used here to denote a broad spectrum of problems. The included literature discusses matters such as mental developmental disorders, depression, diagnoses relating to sleep, autism spectrum disorders, schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis.

Bjørgo (2005) rejects a number of myths on significant factors for extremism, including the notion that extremists are deranged and irrational stakeholders. Recent publications emphasise, as stated, that mental vulnerability should be regarded as one of many risk factors in the radicalisation process.

Overall, the literature concludes that there is no clear link between mental vulnerability and radicalisation (Bjørgo, 2005; Gill & Corner, 2017; Grønnerød et al., 2016; Leistedt, 2013). Leistedt (2013), on the one hand, concludes that there are no psychopathic patterns or signs of mental vulnerability among individuals convicted of terrorism. Conversely, Gill & Corner (2017) indicate that it is essential to maintain a nuanced understanding of mental vulnerability in order to highlight and examine potential links correctly. On the one hand, they indicate that it is essential to nuance the understanding of different types of people convicted of terrorism as mental vulnerability may be a significant risk factor for certain types. For example, Gill & Corner conclude that lone wolf terrorists are 13.5 times more likely to be mentally vulnerable, compared with terrorists who commit group-based terrorist acts. Subsequently, Gill & Corner (2017) indicates that it is essential to look in particular at which mental diagnoses constitute a particular risk. In this context, Gill & Corner (2017) highlight a study that examines the occurrence of specific mental diagnosis groups among lone wolf terrorists. An increased incidence of schizophrenia, paranoid psychoses and autism spectrum disorders is seen here, while conversely depression, mental diagnoses relating to sleep and mental developmental disorders are less widespread among lone wolf terrorists compared with the general population.

Grønnerød et al. (2016) substantiate these findings and point out that a number of publications conclude that there is a higher occurrence of mental vulnerability among lone wolf terrorists compared with the general population, while there is no increased prevalence of mental vulnerability among extremists associated with extremist groups.

Both Grønnerød et al. (2016) and Gill & Corner (2017) do, however, emphasise that the radicalisation process and participation in terrorist acts may conversely lead to mental vulnerability. Thus, these points indicate that it is difficult to illustrate causality in the occurrence of mental vulnerability and the radicalisation process, but that mental vulnerability may be one of many risk factors in the radicalisation process for lone wolf terrorists; but conversely it may also occur as a consequence of participation in terrorist acts.

Movements from criminal environments
An increasing proportion of offenders convicted of terrorism have another criminal or violent background. Hence, movement is seen from criminal groups or environments to or between extremist groups or environments (Basra et al., 2016; Crone, 2016; Khosrokhavar, 2013). In relation to this, a publication by Basra et al. (2016) found that many individuals convicted of extreme Islamist acts were imprisoned for different types of crime and that a large proportion of them began their radicalisation process in prison.

Three publications describe an overlap between general crime and extremism (Basra et al., 2016; Crone, 2016; Khosrokhavar, 2013). Among other things, this overlap means that criminals can transfer their knowledge and behaviour from criminal environments to extremist environments (Basra et al., 2016; Crone, 2016). It addresses access to weapons, behavioural skills; for example, it makes them capable of concealing plans and suchlike from the people around them, and their previous criminal experience with violence helps to soften the boundary to participation in

extremist acts (Basra et al., 2016; Crone, 2016). Basra & Neumann (2016) also elaborate by saying that extreme Islamist environments appeal to people with a criminal background as they are consistent in their search for a place where they can justify their criminal acts or seek salvation for criminal acts they have committed previously.

Prisons and their significance to recruitment are another aspect of the movement from criminal to extreme Islamist environments. In prison, inmates convicted of terrorist acts have easy access to disadvantaged young men, and social disadvantage – as described previously – may constitute a risk factor for radicalisation. Moreover, inmates' frustration with regard to poor facilities and isolation are another factor that can increase the risk of radicalisation (Basra et al., 2016; Khosrokhavar, 2013).

2.5 Individuals' pathways to and from extremism

The following and final section for research question 1 focuses on individuals' pathways to and from extremism. It will be argued that factors at societal, group and individual level are of significance to the pathway to and from extremism. As such, this section binds the knowledge synthesis together across the three levels and links the factors that have been discussed previously.

2.5.1 Main points on individuals' pathways to and from extremism
Main points based on the analysis of the included literature are summarised in the box below.

Main points

- In general, the included publications indicate that individuals' pathways to and from extremism are created by a combination of factors across societal, group and individual level. These factors may, for example, include perceived social pressure or perceived injustice, social interaction with the extremist group and the group's offer of affiliation, identity or resistance to established society, the individual's background or vulnerability such as a family background characterised by turbulence or social disadvantage, crime, perception of threatened identity or a search for excitement. For the same reason, it is not possible to establish a general profile for individuals from extremist environments or radicalisation processes. (*There is general agreement on this*).
- Knowledge of mechanisms of significance to individuals´ pathway to and from extremism has been found in the included literature. Such mechanisms are divided into factors such as ideological motivation, group status, a sense of community, group pressure and perception of discrimination. Individually, these mechanisms may be of greater or lesser importance to the individual. *(Some knowledge is available on this)*
- In relation in particular to the individual's disengagement from extremism, the knowledge identified indicates that disappointment or disagreements with the group, failure to meet expectations regarding the purpose of the group, mental fatigue and burnout and loathing of violent methods may all have a part to play. Furthermore, social relations and contact with the surrounding community may support the way out. *(Some knowledge is available on this)*

Knowledge gaps

- Among other things, there is a lack of knowledge of the significance of gender as regards the pathway to and from extremism, as well as the various roles adopted by men and women respectively in extremist groups, and what part this plays.

The methodical quality[14] for the included literature on *the individual's pathway to and from extremism* is assessed as slightly above average, which corresponds to a rating that is on the low side compared with the methodical quality of the other topics. The thematic relevance is assessed as very high.

Included literature

A certain amount of literature relating to *individuals´ pathway to and from extremism* has been found. Most of the literature highlights the pathway to extremism, and there is less literature about the pathway from extremism. For this topic, the research appears to have moved away from earlier focus on phases in the radicalisation process and the profiles of individuals, now examining the various pathways taken by individuals to and from extremism. Primarily, there is literature on the general knowledge on pathways to and from extremism, while less literature has been found that highlights the gender perspective, specific environments or comparisons between environments. The literature on pathways to and from extremism comprises a number of publications on extremism in general and a few publications focusing specifically on Islamist, right-wing or left-wing extremism.

In total, 13 publications on *pathways to and from extremism* have been included, of which eight are peer-reviewed journal articles and five are research-based publications. The included publications for the topic are listed below.

Table 2_6: Overview of literature for the subtopic

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Altier et al.	2017	Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist, Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Autobiographical Accounts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Barrelle	2014	Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Bjørgo	2005	Chapter 20 Conclusions, in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward	Research-based publication
Bjørgo	2011	Dreams and disillusionment: engagement in and disengagement from militant extremist groups	Peer-reviewed journal article
Hemmingsen	2010	The Attractions of Jihadism. An Identity Approach to Three Danish Terrorism Cases and the Gallery of Characters around Them	Research-based publication
Horgan	2014	The Psychology of Terrorism – Revised and updated second edition	Research-based publication
Kleinmann	2012	Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts	Peer-reviewed journal article
Leistedt	2013	Behavioral aspects of terrorism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Saltman og Smith	2015	Till Martyrdom Do Us Part. Gender and the ISIS Phenomenon	Peer-reviewed journal article
Schmid	2013	Radicalisation, De-radicalisation, Counter-radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review	Research-based publication
Simi et al.	2016	Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism: A Life-Course Criminological Approach	Peer-reviewed journal article
Simi & Windisch	2017	Why Radicalization Fails: Barriers to Mass Casualty Terrorism	Research-based publication
Thomas et al.	2014	Social interaction and psychological pathways to political engagement and extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article

The analysis of the included literature is presented below on the basis of the following main points:

- The individual's pathways to and from extremism are shaped in an interaction between factors at social, group and individual level.

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[14] The included literature relating to *the individual's pathways to and from extremism* receives an average score of 5.0 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.85 as regards methodical quality.

- Disappointment, burnout and disagreements are key factors in the pathway out of extremism.

Individuals' pathways to and from extremism move across the societal, group and individual level

In general, the literature (Bjørgo, 2005; Hemmingsen, 2010; Kleinmann, 2012; Leistedt, 2013; Schmid, 2013; Simi et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2014) concludes that individuals' pathways to and from extremism are shaped by a combination of factors across societal, group and individual level, albeit with variation in the significance attached to each factor by the publications. These specific factors are described in the sections above on knowledge of societal, group and individual level respectively.

Iindividuals may follow very different pathways to and from extremism, just as factors may have different meanings for different individuals (Simi et al., 2016). Simi et al. (2016) emphasise, for example, that for many right-wing extremists this process can be influenced by individual experiences during childhood and, possibly, abuse of substances and alcohol later in life, as well as socialisation with extremist groups that offer social support and the opportunity to vent their anger and negative emotions. Moreover, social interactions and group interaction may help to promote the collective feeling of injustice and a need to act, and hence the radicalisation process. However, Leistedt (2013) and Thomas et al. (2014) also emphasise the fact that group dynamics are crucial as they can help to start and reinforce a radicalisation process. Note, however, that Thomas et al. (2014) have examined this in an experimental context which does not involve an actual situation.

Overall, the individual's motivation for affiliation with extremism may, therefore, emerge out of factors at societal, group and individual level (Schmid, 2013). However, one thing the publications in the knowledge synthesis have in common is the fact that the group-related factors are emphasised as crucial (Leistedt, 2013; Thomas et al., 2014), while individual factors are referred to as important (Kleinmann, 2012). There are varying assessments of the significance of factors at societal level: see, for example, Bjørgo (2005) with regard to significant factors for extremism at a societal level and Kleinmann's (2012) analysis of the fact that mechanisms at societal level are not significant to radicalisation, in contrast to individual and group mechanisms.

Horgan (2014) works on the basis of a psychological perspective to describe the individual's pathway to and from terrorism as a process that can be divided into three specific phases; involvement, affiliation and disengagement. For the first phase, involvement, there is particular emphasis on individual factors, it being pointed out that people involved in terrorist activities are normal in a psychological sense, just as it is not possible to identify clear personality traits. In particular, their involvement comes about through gradual participation in specific terrorist activities. A number of procedural factors are of significance for the second phase, further association, such as appropriation of internal language and rationales, appropriation of special skills, adaptation to a specific role, a feeling of increased control, power and status and social involvement in the extremist environment. Therefore, this phase relates to group mechanisms to a greater degree. As regards phase 3, disengagement, Horgan (2014) concludes in the critical analysis of existing literature that disengagement from terrorist groups is revealed in particular for contexts where there is a clear group and organisational structure. According to Horgan (2014), existing knowledge indicates that disengagement can take the form of disengagement from terrorist groups and activities and alteration of extremist convictions.

Bjørgo (2011) works with a dynamic understanding of five causal mechanisms that can play a part in the pathway both to and from extremism: ideological activism, group status, a sense of community, group pressure and perception of discrimination. These mechanisms cover societal, group and individual level. On the basis of these mechanisms, Bjørgo (2011) establishes four continua for the dynamic profiles of extremists. Bjørgo's point is that understanding the dynamic

profiles of extremists may help to develop relevant preventive measures. The four continua in Bjørgo (2011) are:

- Idealistically/politically motivated people to non-idealistic/apolitical people
- Leadership/people with high status in a group to followers/people with a strong need to belong to a group
- People who are socially well adapted/resourceful to people who are marginalised/have weak social resources
- People who are high on sensation seeking to people who are low on sensation seeking.

For Islamist extremism in the West, Hemmingsen (2010) examines which elements attract individuals on the basis of individual grounds, on the basis of the distinctiveness of the counterculture and on the context in which the counterculture exists. These cover individual, group and societal factors. It appears that individual motivational factors for affiliation to the counterculture include action and excitement due to the prospect of fighting, social affiliation through recognition and inclusion, intellectual challenges through discussions and debates and the framework for resistance against the established system. The elements in the context of the counterculture of Islamist extremism that attract individuals are the fact that the counterculture has a high profile and is regarded as a security threat by the surrounding community. For the counterculture itself, Hemmingsen (2010) finds that it is attractive as the counterculture may give people an attractive identity and a feeling that they have been chosen.

As stated previously, the gender perspective is highlighted only to a limited extent. One publication by Saltman & Smith (2015) has been included which examines why women are radicalised and become affiliated to the group Islamic State. Here, this study – which is based on seven cases – concludes that the sense of being socially or culturally excluded, the perception of Muslims as persecuted, and anger about a lack of international action with regard to this persecution are factors that cause individuals to be radicalised. Moreover, the publication concludes that women are attracted by an idealistic objective and a religious obligation to build a caliphate in the environment, a sense of solidarity among sisters and a romantic notion of finding a man. However, the publication rejects the assumption that women join the group Islamic State in order to get married, and by contrast indicates a more nuanced understanding of factors that influence the radicalisation process, including the fact that these factors influence women's pathways to extremism in different ways. The publication also urges further research into the female perspective as regards routes to and from extremism (Saltman & Smith, 2015).

Key factors for the pathway out of extremism
A number of publications deal specifically with factors which may persuade individuals to leave extremist environments or not carry out extremist acts (Altier et al., 2017; Barrelle, 2014; Horgan, 2014; Simi & Windisch, 2017).

Simi & Windisch (2017) point out a number of mechanisms that can discourage right-wing extremists from committing acts of mass terror. These mechanisms cover both conditions at the group's disposal and individual factors. These mechanisms may, for example, involve the fact that acts of mass terror are not perceived as an effective political strategy within the organisation, or that the individual's focus changes due to employment, children and marriage, for instance. These factors relate to the findings of Altier et al. (2017) with regard to what persuades individuals to leave extremist environments completely. This publication concludes that disagreements with the group's leaders and group members, failure to meet expectations regarding the purpose of the group and burnout in respect of the extremist life are particular factors that persuade individuals to leave the group. Altier et al. (2017) also emphasise that factors within the group and the individual take precedence over factors in the surrounding community that contribute to the process of leaving the group. As stated, Horgan (2014) indicates that disengagement can take the form of disengagement from terrorist groups and activities and alteration of extremist convictions.

Barrelle (2014) supports these points on crucial factors in relation to the individual leaving extremist environments. The researcher reveals 15 factors in individuals becoming disengaged from extremist environments. Disappointment with the group's leadership and other members, mental fatigue and loathing of violent methods are the most prominent factors for disengagement from the extremist environment. These support several of the findings presented by Altier et al. (2017) and Simi & Windisch (2017). Barrelle (2014) also emphasises that social relations with the surrounding community – old friends and family, for example – can support the pathway out of extremism.

2.6   A final look at research question 1

Generally, the analysis of the included publications concludes that extremism and radicalisation are phenomena that take place in a complex interplay involving factors at a societal level, group level and individual level. As an extension of this, individuals´ pathway to and from extremism can take very different forms.

As stated previously, the included literature has been explored and analysed in respect of the topics *significant factors in the surrounding society; emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics; recruitment, propaganda and communication; ideologies and narratives; individual risk factors; and individuals' pathways to and from extremism*. These topics are further related to the division into society, group and individual level.

At societal level, parts of – but not all – the included literature indicate a series of significant factors as regards extremism. Knowledge of this is not substantial, but it appears throughout that individuals' perception of external social pressure targeted against specific groups or political/religious objectives may constitute a significant factor. However, social marginalisation or poverty are not in themselves significant factors for extremism. World events appear to be able to influence extremist environments and the radicalisation of these on a local level, but knowledge of precisely how has not been found in the included literature. That said, publications indicate that terrorist attacks are more common in weak and unstable nations. Moreover, some publications indicate that events or conflicts in the individual's own country or other countries may act as a catalyst for their radicalisation.

At group level, clear indications have been found showing that group dynamics are a significant driving force for the emergence of extremist environments. Moreover, parts of the literature point out that the individual's network and surrounding environment may be of significance to radicalisation. Mixed results have been found in the literature as regards recruitment strategies. The literature indicates that recruitment has both a top-down aspect, where recruitment is a result of the extremist group's active targeting of individuals, and a bottom-up aspect, where individuals themselves play a more active part. Moreover, parts of the literature indicate that disadvantaged residential areas or prisons may be fertile recruitment environments. Mixed knowledge is available on the significance of the Internet to radicalisation and recruitment options. Parts of the literature indicate that development of the Internet towards a more interactive medium has increased recruitment options online. Other parts of the literature do not ascribe major significance to the Internet, however. It is pointed out that most individuals who are radicalised are introduced to the extremist ideology via offline socialisation rather than social media and the Internet. Online radicalisation as such should not be viewed as a separate phenomenon.

Mixed knowledge is available on the significance of ideologies in radicalisation processes. Ideology is viewed as one of a number of factors that influence the radicalisation process. This means that ideology may have a part to play, and for some individuals a key part, but it is not necessarily the crucial cause of extremism.

At individual level, the analysis points out that the individual's perception of threatened identity, social disadvantage and unstable family conditions in childhood and links to criminal environments may increase the risk of radicalisation. Moreover, a number of studies highlight the link between mental vulnerability and radicalisation. It is not possible unequivocally to find a link between mental vulnerability and radicalisation, and a number of studies also indicate that participation in terrorist acts may cause mental vulnerability. That said, parts of the literature indicate that there may be an increased incidence of mental vulnerability in lone wolf terrorists in comparison with the general population and terrorists who commit terrorist acts in groups. No clear knowledge relating to the significance of mental vulnerability has been found in the included literature.

Most of the literature dealing with individual risk factors deals with individuals who are in disadvantaged positions, while knowledge of risk factors among individuals with strong resources is identified only to a minor extent, or not at all. Similarly, there is a lack of knowledge of possible differences between the pathways taken by men and women to and from extremism.

As regards individuals' pathways out of extremism, these may sometimes be initiated by factors such as disappointment or disagreement with the group, failure to meet expectations, fatigue and burnout. Furthermore, social relations and contact with the surrounding community may support the way out.

3. KNOWLEDGE SYNTHESIS ON PREVENTION OF EXTREMISM

Research question 2
The second research question for the synthesis focuses on revealing relevant knowledge on prevention of extremism, including knowledge of target groups, effective measures, approaches and methods relevant to the overall prevention effort in Denmark.

The results of the synthesis for research question 2 are presented within an analytical framework developed from a Danish prevention perspective. A number of preventive approaches and initiatives have been identified. These are structured in three main categories according to the group at which the preventive approaches and initiatives are targeted. Moreover, in the analysis the identified approaches and initiatives have been related to the Danish prevention pyramid, which is a generally widespread instrument used in the Danish approach for prevention of radicalisation and extremism. Parallels are regularly drawn with the knowledge mapped as part of the first research question in the knowledge synthesis, relating to extremism and radicalisation – the phenomenon that the various preventive approaches and initiatives aim to prevent.

Firstly, the main results for the research question in the synthesis are summarised in brief below. Subsequently, the included literature for research question 2 is characterised overall; and after this a more detailed explanation of the results of the synthesis is provided, divided into the three target groups and preventive approaches.

3.1 General knowledge synthesis on prevention of extremism

A number of types of initiative and approaches to prevention of extremism have been identified on the basis of the analysis of the included publications. The various approaches all maintain long-term focus on prevention of radicalisation and extremism. It must be emphasised that very few of the included publications seek to demonstrate the effect of initiatives aimed at prevention of extremism. Instead, the literature focuses on results that may potentially reinforce the prevention effort or results relating to experiences with the implementation of initiatives. This limitation in the knowledge of effects means that this synthesis is unable to provide clear conclusions on effects related to the prevention of extremism. On the other hand, the synthesis is able to point out approaches on an analytical level, assessed on the basis of the literature, that could potentially reinforce the prevention effort.

A total of seven approaches to prevention have been identified: *1) Development of knowledge and capacity among individuals, 2) Information on extremism and the consequences of extremism, 3) Support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life, 4) Involvement of family and network, 5) Involvement of the local community, 6) Capacity development among professionals,* and *7) New educational and pedagogical methods.*

The results of the research question are also structured according to the target group at which the preventive approach is aimed. By extension, a distinction is made between preventive approaches and initiatives targeted at:
- Individuals or groups of individuals who are at risk of radicalisation at an early preventive level, an anticipatory level and a direct intervention level.
- Individuals' social surroundings, including the individuals families, their close networks, the local community surrounding individuals or society in general.
- Professionals who work with the initiative to prevent extremism and radicalisation.

This is illustrated in the figure below and is expanded upon later in the section.

Figure 3_1: Knowledge synthesis on prevention

2. INDIVIDUALS' SOCIAL SURROUNDINGS
A. Involvement of family and network
B. Involvement of the local community

1. INDIVIDUAL
A. Development of knowledge and capacity among individuals
B. Information on extremism and the consequences of extremism
C. Support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life

3. PROFESSIONALS
A. Capacity development of professionals
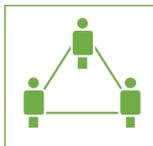B. New educational and pedagogical methods

Preventive approaches and initiatives focusing on individuals or groups of individuals at risk of radicalisation: There is direct emphasis here on reinforcing individuals' resilience to extremism, as well as helping individuals at risk to move away from the pathway to extremism. If an individual is already affiliated to an extremist environment, the emphasis is on supporting disengagement of that person from this environment. In specific terms, three preventive approaches for individual-related initiatives have been identified on the basis of the analysis of the included publications: *A. development of knowledge and capacity among individuals, B. information on extremism and the consequences of extremism,* and *C. support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life.*

Preventive approaches and initiatives focusing on people surrounding the individual: Initiatives and preventive approaches of this nature work with the individual's context and surroundings as a valuable resource that can support the prevention effort for the individual. The analysis of the included publications indicates that this can take place by means of the preventive approach *A. involvement of family and network*, where the initiative works with the individual's close support structure, and *B. involvement of the local community*, where the preventive approach initiative reinforces the framework around the individual in a broader sense. In theory, it would also be possible to place society in general here, but no knowledge has been found on this.

Approaches and initiatives aimed at professionals who drive and implement the prevention effort: The purpose here is to reinforce the skills, capacity and knowledge of professionals with regard to prevention of extremism so that they can deliver a better, more effective initiative to the individual and individuals' social surroundings. Analysis of the included publications has allowed the following two preventive approaches to be identified, namely *A. capacity development among professionals* and *B. new educational and pedagogical methods* which are practised in particular by teachers and educationalists who work
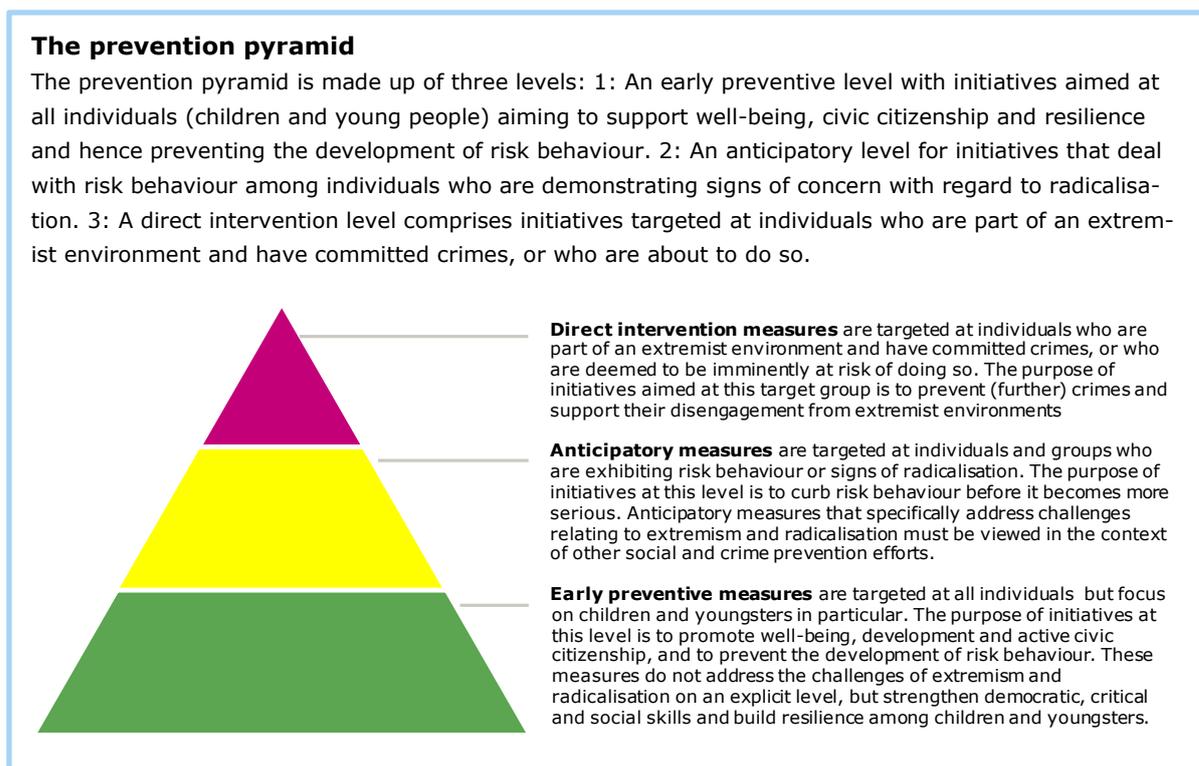
with the younger target group and are included in particular in the supporting measures.

The prevention pyramid in the analysis
The prevention efforts and approaches have also been analysed and put into perspective in relation to the prevention pyramid, which is broadly used in the Danish approach for prevention of extremism. It is indicated how the various preventive approaches may be positioned within the prevention pyramid, specifically *the early preventive level*, *the anticipatory level* and *the direct intervention level.* One important point is the fact that the prevention pyramid is rarely used in the included literature, as it is primarily used in the Danish prevention effort. The positioning of the prevention approaches within the framework of the prevention pyramid is therefore a result of the analytical synthesis.

In purely general terms, the analysis indicates that initiatives and approaches for each of the three target groups cannot be positioned unequivocally within one level in the prevention pyramid, but that initiatives at all three levels may be found within each category. A specific initiative aimed at an **individual** or group of individuals at risk of radicalisation may also be made up of a number of interim initiatives at the same level or multiple levels of the prevention pyramid: this is a key point.

Figure 3_2: The prevention pyramid

The prevention pyramid

The prevention pyramid is made up of three levels: 1: An early preventive level with initiatives aimed at all individuals (children and young people) aiming to support well-being, civic citizenship and resilience and hence preventing the development of risk behaviour. 2: An anticipatory level for initiatives that deal with risk behaviour among individuals who are demonstrating signs of concern with regard to radicalisation. 3: A direct intervention level comprises initiatives targeted at individuals who are part of an extremist environment and have committed crimes, or who are about to do so.

Direct intervention measures are targeted at individuals who are part of an extremist environment and have committed crimes, or who are deemed to be imminently at risk of doing so. The purpose of initiatives aimed at this target group is to prevent (further) crimes and support their disengagement from extremist environments

Anticipatory measures are targeted at individuals and groups who are exhibiting risk behaviour or signs of radicalisation. The purpose of initiatives at this level is to curb risk behaviour before it becomes more serious. Anticipatory measures that specifically address challenges relating to extremism and radicalisation must be viewed in the context of other social and crime prevention efforts.

Early preventive measures are targeted at all individuals but focus on children and youngsters in particular. The purpose of initiatives at this level is to promote well-being, development and active civic citizenship, and to prevent the development of risk behaviour. These measures do not address the challenges of extremism and radicalisation on an explicit level, but strengthen democratic, critical and social skills and build resilience among children and youngsters.

3.2 Characterisation of the included literature

It is a key point that the knowledge mapping effort has not found publications that systematically examine or demonstrate the effect of initiatives that aim explicitly to prevent radicalisation and extremism. This implies that there is not a great deal of knowledge with regard to the specific impact or effect of initiatives. It is thus important when reading to remember that the synthesis is based on a knowledge base that is occasionally limited. Furthermore, findings in the literature point in contradictory directions in a number of instances. Thus the synthesis provides a summary of the existing knowledge, but the findings of the synthesis should not be viewed as final conclusions or a list of effective initiatives.

The lack of tested initiatives may be due to the fact that individuals who are at risk of radicalisation or are part of extremist environments are a difficult target group to access when carrying out

research and gathering knowledge. Moreover, it has proven difficult to test initiatives systematically by means of controlled experiments, for instance (Bjørgo & Gjelsvik, 2015). While the included literature does not demonstrate the effects of prevention efforts, there is also greater variation in the publication types than was the case for research question 1. Research question 2 includes actual research as well as grey literature[15]; that is to say, analytical reports and evaluations that are not peer-reviewed. Thus a smaller proportion of the included literature is peer-reviewed than is the case with research question 1.

However, the included publications nevertheless have a methical quality that is slightly above average[16]. This is not much lower than the methical quality for some of the subtopics in research question 1. This is due to a number of factors. Firstly, the included publications had at least to be of average methical quality (cf. section 1.3). Secondly, a relatively large number of publications has been identified, and this rather broad selection base has made it possible to find a sufficient number of publications that were compliant in methical terms with the standard for inclusion. In this case, the limitations of the synthesis are determined less by the methical quality of the publications and more by the fact that the literature included does not aim to draw conclusions with regard to the effect of initiatives. Instead, the included publications focus on effects that may potentially be related to prevention, just as some included publications aim to extract results with regard to experiences of initiative implementation rather than drawing conclusions on actual effects.

In summary, the included publications have a less ambitious aim than was preferred for the synthesis; namely, to identify knowledge of effective prevention efforts. However, the literature is based on a reasonable methical foundation. By extension, it may be noted that the assessment of methical quality lacks – among other things – validity of conclusions with regard to the impacts and effects of preventive measures, which drags down the methical assessment. This reflects a general tendency for initiatives in the field of social work, where it has proven difficult to demonstrate causal effects.

Overall, the selected publications reflect a field of knowledge relating to the prevention of extremism that, as indicated, is not yet robust as regards specific effects or impacts of initiatives. As a consequence of this, the synthesis is unable to extract knowledge on the effects of initiatives to counter extremism and radicalisation. However, the mapping effort has identified a number of publications that examine initiatives and measures focusing on a number of results which may support the prevention effort in the longer term.

The results of the analysis of the included publications are presented below for each of the three target groups: individuals, individuals' social surroundings and professionals. In the presentation of results, the various preventive approaches are analysed in relation to the three target groups. This is related initially to the three levels of the prevention pyramid, thereby exemplifying how the various approaches can be employed in the prevention effort. Which results can be expected for the three target groups with the presented approaches are then examined in detail. The identified results are deduced using a methical foundation in a change theory approach: see the method appendix for a more detailed description.

3.3 Initiatives targeted at individuals

The analysis of the included publications has identified knowledge of a number of initiatives targeted at **individuals** or **groups of individuals** who are assessed as at risk of radicalisation. These initiatives have different purposes – to build up resilience among children and young people, to

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[15] Grey literature is understood to mean publications that are not published via publishers or in journals: these are typically working papers and reports from public institutions or consultancies

[16] The included literature research question 2 receives an average score of 3.7 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to methical relevance to the knowledge synthesis. The average thematic relevance scores 4.6.

create greater awareness of the consequences of extremist acts, or to support individuals in their disengagement from extremist environments, for example.

Overall, three approaches to prevention that may support initiatives targeted at **individuals** or **groups of individuals** who are assessed as at risk of radicalisation have been identified on the basis of the analysis of the included publications.
- *Development of knowledge and capacity among individuals*
- *Information on extremism and the consequences of extremism*
- *Support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life*

The next subsections present these three approaches, relate them to the prevention pyramid and expand upon how the approach in question can be used when working with individuals.

3.3.1   Main points relating to initiatives targeted at individuals
The box below shows the main points with regard to knowledge relating to initiatives targeted at individuals. These have been identified on the basis of the included publications. As stated previously, no knowledge of specific effects or results from the prevention efforts has been found. Hence it is not possible to identify robust knowledge within the field of initiatives targeted at individuals in connection with the prevention of extremism.

Box 3_1: Main points from the mapping of initiatives targeted at individuals

Main points

- The analysis of included publications indicates that early action aimed at children and young people may have a preventive effect. The development of resilience and critical reflection through development of knowledge and capacity in various forms is particularly important in this regard. The included publications indicate – among other things – that teaching in schools may help to make children and young people more aware of democratic values such as tolerance and recognition of differing opinions. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- The included publications also indicate that information may have a positive impact by for example making individuals aware of the consequences of extremism. However, different and contradictory tendencies can be seen in relation to how such information initiatives work. While some publications are positive about information initiatives in the form of counternarratives, others are more cautious and emphasise that counternarratives may have opposing consequences in that they may help to stigmatise and polarise some groups of individuals. This is in line with research in other fields, which does not identify the positive impact of information on the phenomenon that is to be prevented. (*Contradictory knowledge is available*)
- Furthermore, the literature indicates that support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life can help steer **individuals** away from extremist environments. In this context, there are good experiences with mentoring efforts that can help to steer disadvantaged individuals away from a pathway to extremism or provide support to individuals who wish to disengage themselves from extremist environments. *(Some knowledge is available)*

Knowledge gaps

- The publications identified are unable to establish specific positive effects of the prevention efforts examined: instead, they are limited to effects or conjecture with regard to effects.
- Moreover, there is a lack of knowledge on who benefits from the various initiatives, including, in particular, whether the initiatives are able to have an effect, and if so with regard to which forms of extremism.
- Furthermore, the publications rarely address what makes effective initiatives effective. Hence there is a lack of assessment of *why* an initiative works, which also makes it difficult to assess whether the initiative works as intended.
- The fact that the included publications rarely decide whether initiatives may also have a negative or counterproductive effect presents another knowledge gap. This does not mean that the identified initiatives do not have positive effects, merely that this cannot be established definitively on the basis of existing knowledge.

3.3.2   Development of knowledge and capacity among individuals

As an approach, *development of knowledge and capacity* focuses on increasing individuals' knowledge and skills with regard to specific topics such as democracy, value tolerance and other cultures, typically focusing on the target group made up of children and young people. This approach involves targeted efforts on various topics that can help to promote values in respect of civic citizenship and other positive qualities that help to prevent anti-citizenship. This can be related to a number of the topics described in research question 1, such as the significance of perceived social pressure and injustice as a significant factor in radicalisation (section 3.2.1) or the use of social media as a recruitment platform for extremist groups (section 3.3.2). The aim of this approach is to reinforce abilities, knowledge and values, making individuals more capable of withstanding extremism, such as extremist propaganda. In this way, development of knowledge is first and foremost targeted knowledge that makes individuals resistant to knowledge of extremism.

Development of knowledge and capacity among individuals in the context of the prevention pyramid

The development of knowledge and capacity approach is found in initiatives at the *early preventive* level in particular. Initiatives aimed at developing knowledge and capacity may take varying forms and have different targets. However, it is vital for these activities to focus clearly on reinforcing individuals' knowledge and skills with regard to a specific topic that is related to some extent to topics such as civic citizenship, social inclusion and tolerance (Aly et al., 2014; Davies, 2014; Pratchett et al., 2010; Reynolds & Scott, 2015).

Included literature

A number of publications that examine the *development of knowledge and capacity among individuals* from an analytical perspective are found in the included literature. This is understood to mean that the publications examine initiatives in various ways that can be summarised for the approach in analytical terms. Information on *development of knowledge and capacity among individuals* included a total of nine publications, of which six are peer-reviewed journal articles, one is a research-based publication, and two are evaluation reports.

Generally, the thematic quality of the included publications is assessed as high, while the methodical quality is assessed as average[17]. The included publications for the approach are listed below.

Table 3_1: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Aly et al.	2014	Moral Disengagement and Building Resilience to Violent Extremism: An Education Intervention	Peer-reviewed journal article
Davies, Lynn	2014	Interrupting Extremism by Creating Educative Turbulence	Peer-reviewed journal article
Feddes et al.	2015	Increasing self-esteem and empathy to prevent violent radicalisation	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lenz, Claudia	2015	Dembra Evalueringsrapport	Evaluation report
Liht & Savage	2017	Preventing Violent Extremism through Value Complexity: Being Muslim Being British	Peer-reviewed journal article
Oxford Research	2016	Slutevaluering af 'Helhedsorienteret forebyggelse af ekstremisme'	Evaluation report
Pels, Trees	2011	The Influence of Education and Socialization on Radicalization: An Exploration of Theoretical Presumptions and Empirical Research	Peer-reviewed journal article
Pratchett et al.	2010	Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence	Research-based publication
Reynolds & Scott	2015	Digital Citizens: Countering extremism online	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work with development of knowledge and capacity among individuals?

A number of the included publications emphasise initiatives aimed at developing the knowledge and capacity of the younger target group of children and young people. However, fewer publications specifically describe how the supporting element can be brought into play. That said, Reynolds & Scott (2015) provide a well described example of a knowledge and capacity development approach in the form of digital citizenship. This initiative is media-based, and its purpose is to develop young people's critical thinking and resilience to online propaganda. The knowledge and capacity development approach is expressed in learning and discussion, the initiative working with

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[17] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 4.11 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.22 as regards methodical quality.

various online manipulation scenarios. The approach is described in greater detail in the box below (Reynolds & Scott, 2015).

Box 3_3: Example of an initiative targeted at individuals

Digital Citizenship: an example of knowledge and capacity development
Digital Citizenship, which has been developed and implemented in the UK, uses digital citizenship as a tool to prevent online manipulation. Specifically, this initiative is based on a workshop where students are given knowledge and tools to recognise and deal with online propaganda and manipulation. Young participants also learn about how social media are changing the ways in which they communicate.

This workshop is held as a group-based session among students on the topic of how best to deal with various online manipulation scenarios. This initiative is based on actual online radicalisation examples and scenarios, thereby attempting to make it easier for students to relate to it. Evaluation of the initiative indicates positive results for participants, who develop their ability to think critically. At the same time, young people learn to differentiate between truth and lies on social media, and they are given techniques and tools with which to deal with online propaganda.

The Digital Citizenship initiative is described in Reynolds, Louis & Ralph Scott (2015): Digital citizens: countering extremism online

Another example of this knowledge and capacity development approach is the teaching initiative *The Beyond Bali Education Resource* (Aly et al., 2014). This initiative has been implemented in Australia as part of regular teaching within a number of learning activities over five teaching sessions. These activities aim to develop the capacity of school students to make them more resilient to extremism. This teaching involves children and young people working in groups and reflecting critically on their own values. Focus on teaching young people to understand different values is a continuous trend found across a number of publications. A number of initiatives aimed to teach young people about different sets of values as this reinforces recognition and sympathy for the opinions of others (Aly et al., 2014; Davies, 2014; Feddes et al., 2015; Liht & Savage, 2017).

The above are examples of how initiatives may be targeted at individuals' knowledge and capacity development activities. Working on the basis of the eight publications that examine this approach, a picture begins to emerge indicating that these activities can be supported by a dialogue-based approach. If teaching takes place in a room where open dialogue and discussion are permitted, this will help to stimulate young people's involvement and ability to learn. Thus the dialogue-based approach may be of major significance to whether the activity reinforces the civic citizenship of young people. Moreover, a number of publications indicate that knowledge and capacity development activities are best supported by using young people's interests as their starting point (Liht & Savage, 2017; Reeves & Sheriyar, 2015; Reynolds & Scott, 2015). This may, for example, involve working with specific cases and activities on social media.
Another example of knowledge development is the Danish *young person to young person mediator approach* (Oxford Research, 2016). The purpose of this approach is for mediators to create dynamic scope for dialogue where they can challenge young people at clubs or in classes at school and debate with them. This debate is based on the opinions of the young people, hence making it possible to discuss extreme notions and present several sides of the case.

The results that knowledge and capacity development initiatives are assumed to lead to are explained in detail below.

How does development of knowledge and capacity among individuals work?

The analysis of the included literature has indicated a number of results that may emerge out of the *development of knowledge and capacity among individuals* approach. The results are not empirically linked with prevention of extremism in the publications, but it is believed that they are capable of reinforcing the prevention effort. The box below provides a summary of the results emphasised in the analysis. The included publications have documented the anticipated effect to some extent, unless the results can be viewed as demonstrated effects that have emerged or can be expected to emerge in all individual-related instances and contexts.

Box 3_4: Results of the approach

> **Results of development of knowledge and capacity among individuals**
>
> The analysis of the included literature indicates that development of knowledge and capacity among individuals may in particular help to achieve the following results:
>
> - Individuals developing their *capacity for critical reflection and thought* as they encounter new knowledge, opinions and alternative societal perceptions.
> - Individuals adopting *democratic values* to a greater extent, including *respect and tolerance for the opinions of others* even if they differ from the individual's own opinions.
> - Individuals developing empathy and moral understanding that makes them capable of understanding other people's situations and how extremist behaviour affects others.

A number of publications (Aly et al., 2014; Reeves & Sheriyar, 2015; Reynolds & Scott, 2015) indicate that knowledge and capacity development activities may increase young people's capacity for critical thought and reflection. The capacity for critical thought and reflection is expected to be a strength when young people are faced with alternative societal perceptions and values, including extremist opinions or propaganda on the Internet.

Similarly, capacity development initiatives can help to make young people more tolerant of the opinions of others. According to Liht & Savage (2017), this can be achieved by teaching young people to differentiate between different values and also learning how to recognise several values at the same time. This is expected to make young people capable of considering – in a more nuanced and complex fashion – problems that could potentially lead to risk behaviour and radicalisation. In this regard, in broader terms the knowledge and capacity development approach may result in greater knowledge of democratic values (Oxford, 2016; Davies, 2014). According to Davies (2014), democratic values are understood when young people find out about other societal perceptions, which can trigger reflection on their own societal perception.

Hence the approach may help individuals to develop empathy and moral understanding. Aly et al. (2014) and Feddes et al. (2015) both emphasise that knowledge of the consequences of one's own actions help to bring about empathy for the victims of extremism. The development of knowledge and capacity allows individuals to achieve moral understanding and make them more capable of putting themselves in other people's shoes.

3.3.3 Information on extremism and the consequences of extremism

Another approach involves initiatives aiming to create greater awareness of extremism and radicalisation and the consequences of extremist acts. This takes place by making it clearer to individuals how extremism can affect other individuals and society as a whole. This can be related to the point from research question 1, whereby disappointment, mental fatigue or burnout, as well as a sense of distance from violent methods, can be contributory factors in the individual's pathway out of extremism.

This approach can also be identified in initiatives that aim to counteract the extremist lifestyle and ideology and the messages shared by extremist groups via a range of communication sources. The

prevention effort aimed at individuals provides information by means of a (counter-) narrative which aims to counter the propaganda that extremist groups resort to on various social media (Schmid, 2013). See also the description of ideology, narratives and propaganda in research question 1 (sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3).

Box 3_5: The approach viewed in relation to the prevention pyramid

Information on extremism and the consequences of extremism in the context of the prevention pyramid

Focusing on counteracting the attraction of extremism, this approach relates primarily to the anticipatory level in the prevention pyramid. However, the informative approach is also linked with the early preventive level when it supports initiatives that seek to promote the ability to resist anti-citizenship and extremist messages.

Included literature

A number of publications examine the *information on extremism and the consequences of extremism* approach on the basis of the analysis of the included literature. A total of seven publications are included which deal with the approach to varying extents. All seven publications are peer-reviewed journal articles.

Generally, the thematic quality of the included publications is assessed as very high, while the methodical quality is assessed as high[18]. The included publications for the approach are listed below.

Table 3_2: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Beutel et al.	2016	Field Principles for Countering and Displacing Extremist Narratives	Peer-reviewed journal article
Bjørgo	2016	Counter-terrorism as crime prevention: a holistic approach	Peer-reviewed journal article
Gemmerli	2015	Online-radikalisering: Forebyggelse på internettet	Peer-reviewed journal article
Hemmingsen & Castro	2017	The Trouble with Counter-Narratives	Peer-reviewed journal article
Koehler	2017	Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Reynolds & Scott	2015	Digital Citizens: Countering extremism online	Peer-reviewed journal article
Schmid	2013	Radicalisation, De-radicalisation, Counter-radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work with information on extremism?

What are known as counternarratives are one of the clearest examples of an informative measure. Their purpose is to counteract and replace an extremist narrative (Beutel et al., 2016; Koehler, 2017). According to Gemmerli (2015), counternarratives are a collection of many different communication and information approaches that are based on the notion of breaking down the ideological and political notions offered by extremist narratives. Counternarratives must offer an alternative account that can challenge the message in the extremist narrative while also replacing the ideas and notions inherent in the extremist narrative (Beutel et al., 2016).

In the included publications, a number of authors mention counternarratives as an approach but do not present a specific example of a counternarrative. The most practice-oriented approach is provided by Beutel et al. (2016), listing a number of principles that can support the development

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[18] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 4.71 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.84 as regards methical quality.

of counternarratives Among other things, counternarratives should challenge the extremist narrative, avoid messages based on fear, emphasise the human cost, promote positive identities and protect the rights and freedoms of local community. At the same time, Gemmerli (2015) emphasises that the range of counternarratives can take different forms. Counternarratives may be direct and challenge the extremist narrative, just as they can also offer an alternative narrative to replace the extremist one.

Besides counternarratives, the approach is also seen in the broader supporting information initiatives. Bjørgo (2016) emphasises that the prevention effort would work on developing mental and normative barriers to extremism by means of community advocacy, public statements and debate fora. The aim of the information initiative is to counteract the arguments used to justify extremism and clarify the consequences of violent acts.

How does information on extremism and the consequences of extremism work?
The analysis of the included literature indicates a number of results that may emerge from *information on extremism and the consequences of extremism*. These publications do not demonstrate results relating to the prevention of extremism. Instead, they draw conclusions on results that are thought to be capable of reinforcing the prevention effort and on any opposing effects that initiatives aimed at providing information on extremism may have. The box below provides a summary of the results and opposing results emphasised in the analysis. The publications provide reasonable documentation of these results but they should still not be viewed as demonstrated effects that can be anticipated for all individuals in different contexts.

Box 3_6: Results of the approach

> **Results on information on extremism and the consequences of extremism**
> The analysis of the included literature indicates that informative approaches may help to bring about three different results, including one result with the opposite effect:
> - Individuals *reflecting critically* on their own attitudes and becoming aware of the significance of these.
> - Using informative approaches to make individuals more *aware of or interested in the ideology* that there is a desire to counter, and bringing about *a sense of stigmatisation* among individuals who believe in the ideology (the opposite effect of the approach).
> - Giving individuals *greater awareness of the consequences of their own actions*, including awareness of how extremist acts affect others.

A number of publications indicate an expectation that informative initiatives may influence young people and adults, persuading them to reflect critically on their own opinions to a greater extent (Beutel et al., 2016; Gemmerli, 2015; Schmid, 2013). With counternarratives, the publications indicate that **individuals** become aware of the significance of their opinions. At the same time, awareness of other opinions may allow individuals to view different sides of the same coin.

Although some publications expect counternarratives to have a positive effect, others point out that they may be ineffective or even have the opposite effect (Hemmingsen & Castro, 2017; Gemmerli; 2015). Hemmingsen & Castro (2017) indicate that counternarratives have not demonstrated a clear preventive effect, and that there is no broad knowledge of how they can counteract propaganda. That said, counternarratives and information initiatives that address the entire community have potential negative effects as there is a risk of the narrative placing greater emphasis on the ideology that attempts are being made to combat. Similarly, counternarratives can give an impression that anything beyond the norm is negative and hence create segregation in the community (Hemmingsen & Castro, 2017). Hence the research does not have clearly positive expectations of the use of counternarratives. By extension, research in other fields, including crime prevention and drugs, has shown that information or dissuasive campaigns rarely have a positive preventive effect, but may instead have an opposite effect (Hemmingsen & Castro,

2017). The research here indicates that making people aware of the phenomenon that there is a desire to prevent is not necessarily an effective approach.

Another expectation is that informative initiatives will create greater awareness of the potential consequences of extremist actions (Beutel et al., 2016; Bjørgo, 2016; Schmid, 2013). Thus informative initiatives may clarify potential costs to other people and the community, just as they may help to eliminate excuses for extremism

3.3.4 Support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life
A third preventive approach to initiatives aimed at **individuals** is *support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life*. This approach may be targeted at individuals who are at risk of radicalisation or individuals who are part of extremist environments.

Support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life can be related to individual vulnerability and individuals' pathways into extremism, as discussed for research question 1. Vulnerability in the form of isolation, identity problems and low self-confidence are risk factors countered by this approach in order to help prevent extremism and radicalisation.

Box 3_7: The approach viewed in relation to the prevention pyramid

Support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life in the context of the prevention pyramid
This approach forms part of initiatives aiming to support young people and adults to choose something other than the extremist environment and initiatives that aim to support individuals on their way out of these environments. In this context, the approach is related to initiatives at both anticipatory and direct intervention level in the prevention pyramid.

Included literature
The analysis of the included literature has shown that a number of publications examine the approach *information on extremism and the consequences of extremism*. A total of eight publications dealing with this approach are included, of which five are peer-reviewed journal articles, two are research-based publications and one is an evaluation report.

Generally, the thematic quality and methical quality of the included publications are assessed as very high[19]. The included publications for the approach are listed below.

Table 3_3: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Christensen	2015	A Question of Participation – Disengagement from the Extremist Right, a case study from Sweden	Peer-reviewed journal article
Dechesne	2011	Deradicalization: not soft, but strategic	Peer-reviewed journal article
Disley et al.	2012	Individual disengagement from Al Qa'ida-influenced terrorist groups: A rapid evidence assessment to inform policy and practice in preventing terrorism	Research-based publication
International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)	2015	Preventing radicalization: A systematic review	Research-based publication
Koehler	2017	Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Marsden	2017	Reintegrating extremists, deradicalisation and desistance	Peer-reviewed journal article

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[19] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 4.75 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 4.0 as regards methical quality.

Oxford Research	2016	Slutevaluering af 'Helhedsorienteret forebyggelse af ekstremisme'	Evaluation report
Schuurmann & Bakker	2015	Reintegrating jihadist extremists: evaluating a Dutch initiative, 2013-2014	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work with support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life?

The approach providing support and guidance is particularly prominent in mentoring efforts. Mentoring efforts address both individuals at risk of radicalisation and individuals with links to extremist environments. Mentoring efforts are offered in a number of countries, including Denmark and Sweden, and the mentor works directly with the mentee's motivation and opportunity to make positive changes (ICPC, 2015; Oxford Research, 2016). Mentoring efforts also form part of EXIT programmes, where the mentor plays an important social support role in the disengagement process (Christensen, 2015; Dechesne, 2011).

The box below expands upon how the Swedish EXIT programme works with support and guidance through mentoring efforts and therapy.

Box 3_8: Example of an initiative targeted at individuals

The Swedish EXIT programme: an example of support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life

The Swedish EXIT programme implements a targeted effort to support right-wing extremists in disengagement. The purpose of this initiative is to help **individuals** disengage from the extremist environment by providing ongoing support, coaching and guidance.

The Swedish EXIT programme comprises mentoring efforts and therapy sessions. Both elements aim to help individuals achieve disengagement by means of ongoing guidance and moral support. The therapy sessions focus in particular on dealing with the emotions that the individual experiences during the disengagement process.

In the mentoring effort, mentors enhance their skills so that they are capable of providing mentees with guidance and support. Screening then takes place, and mentees are matched with mentors. From this starting point, mentor and mentee have weekly contact and the mentor provides support and guidance. Some mentors in the Swedish EXIT programme are themselves former members of right-wing extremist groups. They can adopt a peer-to-peer function as mentors, bringing their own experiences into their guidance and support.

The Swedish EXIT programme is described in Christensen, Tina Wilchen (2015): A Question of Participation – Disengagement from the Extremist Right, A case study from Sweden

As the example indicates, the Swedish EXIT initiative works with a peer-to-peer approach where former extremists can draw on their own experiences. A number of the included publications highlight the fact that mentors are able to draw on their own experiences when providing guidance, citing it as a strength in the effectiveness of the initiatives (Christensen, 2015; Disley et al., 2012). However, at the same time it is established that such mentors being able to place their own process in a context in which the emphasis is on supporting a mentee in their disengagement from the extremist environments is crucial (Christensen, 2015; Koehler, 2017). This is why there is a need for upskilling and acquiring tools that ensure carefully considered interaction with the mentee.

A number of authors cite support and guidance as being important when working on individuals' motivation to disengage themselves from extremist environments (Dechesne, 2011; Schuurman & Bakker, 2015). In an assessment of a number of different EXIT programmes, Dechesne (2011) points out that disengagement involves both a physical and mental element. Physically, the individual must be prevented from committing extremist acts, but at the same time they must also

be disengaged on a mental level. This is precisely why – according to Dechesne – it is important for EXIT programmes to work with social and psychological aspects that are an important pre-requisite for disengagement; using psychologist-based elements, for example (Dechesne, 2011). In other words, the person providing guidance and support must focus on social and mental changes as well as physical and practical changes (Disley et al, 2011; ICPC, 2015).

How do support and guidance work at vulnerable stages of life?
As stated previously, there are no publications that systematically examine initiatives in a way that makes it possible to draw conclusions on effects relating to the prevention of extremism. However, initiatives that work with support and guidance come closer to preventing extremism as they focus on individuals who either are demonstrating risk behaviour or are linked with extrem-ist environments. Conversely, the included publications examine initiatives that deal with a smaller selection of individuals, and so there is frequently a qualitative assessment of the results of these. This is why it is still not possible to refer to specific effects, although a number of publi-cations indicate a range of positive results. This does not mean that it is not possible for the initi-atives to have a positive effect; rather, it means it is not possible to establish this precisely based on the existing knowledge. The box below presents the results that the analysis of the identified literature has indicated may result from the approach.

Box 3_9: Results of the approach

> **Results of support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life**
> The analysis of the included literature indicates that support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life may help to bring about three different results:
> - *Motivating individuals to choose a positive direction in life*, either as an element in dis-tancing themselves from extremist environments or as an element in disengagement from them.
> - Individuals *developing positive new social ties* that are capable of supporting them at vul-nerable stages of life.

An increase in motivation to choose a positive direction in life is one result expected from support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life, regardless of whether the target group is made up of individuals at risk of radicalisation or individuals with links to extremist environments (Christen-sen, 2015; Oxford Research, 2016). Disley et al. (2012) emphasise that mentoring efforts using former extremists as mentors may have a particularly positive impact on the individual's motiva-tion as the mentee is able to see themselves reflected in the positive life choices of the mentor. The mentee also has an in-depth knowledge of what may motivate disengagement (ICPC, 2015). However, it is crucial for individuals previously involved in extremist environments to have the necessary training and tools to take on the role of mentor (see above).

For individuals who are part of extremist environments, these initiatives may also lead to reflect-ing on their own opinions and the consequences of extremist violence for others. Christensen (2015) indicates that the mentor and therapist relationship in the EXIT initiative has an important part to play in supporting the individual's reflection on having been part of an extremist group. This involves support and guidance with the individual's recognition and emotional clarification of having participated in violence, general crime and extreme hate (ICPC, 2015).

Supporting and guiding initiatives may also help to stabilise individuals' lives outside extremist environments. For individuals at risk of radicalisation, a supportive initiative can help to give the young person or adult a series of positive habits that keep them away from negative communities (Oxford Research, 2016). As regards individuals who have disengaged from an extremist envi-ronment, the supportive and guiding approach may stabilise their lives by helping them to get into a different rhythm (Christensen, 2015). For instance, helping individuals to find jobs or edu-cation opportunities may act as stabilising factors (Disley et al., 2012; Koehler, 2017).

3.4 Initiatives targeted at individuals' social surroundings

The analysis of the included publications has mapped knowledge of initiatives and preventive approaches targeted at people surrounding the individual(s); that is to say, the close network and social surroundings of the individual(s) at risk of radicalisation, both the local community and society in general. Such initiatives attempt to create a more positive everyday environment and so help the individual(s) to renounce a pathway that may lead to extremism or to keep away from extremist environments. In this context, the analysis has identified two approaches to prevention: *involvement of family and network* and *involvement of the local community*. The next subsections present these two approaches, relate them to the prevention pyramid and expand upon how the approach in question can be used when working with people surrounding the individual.

3.4.1 Main points relating to initiatives targeted at people surrounding the individual

The box below summarises the main points derived from the analysis of the included literature.

Box 3_10: Main points from the mapping of initiatives targeted at people surrounding the individual

Main points
- A number of publications state that involving the family and network can have a positive impact in the prevention effort. These publications indicate that family and friends may often make all the difference as to whether or not **individuals** become radicalised. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- Involvement of the family in particular is emphasised as an important element in preventive work. The family can act as a supporting function that helps to keep the individual away from extremist environments. This includes the approach of the Danish parental coaching initiative, among others, which works on the basis of a concept whereby the parents act as a positive resource in the effort to prevent risk behaviour among young people in relation to radicalisation. *(Some knowledge is available)*
- A number of publications also point out that initiatives that create greater cohesion in the local community can play an important part in the prevention effort. According to a number of publications, there have been good experiences with involving local residents in initiatives to prevent extremism. As described below, however, there is weak support for this expectation and so the included knowledge appears to be contradictory. *(Contradictory knowledge is available)*

Knowledge gaps:
- No robust knowledge relating to the value of involving the individual's broader network in preventive work is found in the publications.
- There is tenuous knowledge of the value of involving the local community. Many publications deal with initiatives in the context of the local community, but there are very few indications as to whether involving the local community can underpin the prevention effort, and if so how.

3.4.2 Involvement of family and network

A number of publications indicate *involvement of family and network* as an important aspect of the prevention effort targeted at people surrounding the individual (Disley et al., 2011; Koehler, 2017; Schmid, 2013). This is applicable to initiatives that focus on individuals at risk of radicalisation and individuals with links to extremist environments.

Involvement of the family and network can be related to the point from research question 1 indicating that social relations, networks and affiliation are of significance to the individual's pathway to extremism. Schmid (2013) emphasises that most people who do not become extremists have closer ties with family, friends and their local communities than people who become extremists. Similarly, a number of authors indicate that an unstable family situation can contribute to radical-

isation, and that family and friends may be a driving force in disengagement from extremist environments (Barelle, 2014; ICPC, 2015; Koehler, 2017; Lindekilde & Bertelsen, 2015; Sikkens et al., 2017).

When involving the family and network, initiatives work on the basis of a logic whereby the family and network help the young person or adult to choose a more positive path in life by motivating and supporting the individual when forward-thinking choices are being made.

Box 3_11: The approach viewed in relation to the prevention pyramid

Involvement of family and network in the context of the prevention pyramid
The approach focuses on the family and network of individuals at risk of radicalisation and individuals with links to extremist environments. In this way, the approach is related to both the anticipatory and the direct intervention level in the prevention pyramid. Involvement of people surrounding the individual may both help to identify individuals at risk of radicalisation and also improve intervention in respect of individuals who are part of extremist environments (Koehler 2017).

Included literature
The analysis of the included literature has shown that a number of publications examine the *involvement of family and network* approach. A total of seven publications dealing with this approach are included, of which four are peer-reviewed journal articles, two are research-based publications and one is an evaluation report.

Generally, the thematic quality and methodical quality of the included publications are assessed as very high[20]. The list below highlights the publications relevant to the approach.

Table 3_4: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Dechesne	2011	Deradicalization: not soft, but strategic	Peer-reviewed journal article
Disley et al.	2012	Individual disengagement from Al Qa'ida-influenced terrorist groups: A rapid evidence assessment to inform policy and practice in preventing terrorism	Research-based publication
International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)	2015	Preventing radicalization: A systematic review	Research-based publication
Koehler	2017	Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Oxford Research	2016	Slutevaluering af 'Helhedsorienteret forebyggelse af ekstremisme'	Evaluation report
Schmid	2013	Radicalisation, De-radicalisation, Counter-radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review	Peer-reviewed journal article
Williams et al.	2015	The critical role of friends in networks for countering violent extremism: toward a theory of vicarious help-seeking	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work with involvement of family and network?
A number of publications highlight initiatives and approaches that work with involvement of family through upskilling or development of capacity among parents in order to reinforce their ability to deal with their children's risk behaviour and movement towards extremism (ICPC, 2015). In a

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[20] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 4.71 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 4.05 as regards methodical quality.

Danish context, the parental coaching initiative is one example (Oxford Research, 2016). This initiative focuses on increasing the involvement of parents as a positive resource if there are any concerns with regard to radicalisation. The box below provides further details on this initiative.

Box 3_12: Example of an initiative targeted at the social surroundings of the individual

The parental coaching initiative: an example of involvement of family and network
The Danish parental coaching initiative works on the basis of a concept whereby the parents act as a positive resource in efforts to prevent risk behaviour among young people in relation to radicalisation.

Specifically, this initiative involves a coach receiving training on specific tools that can be used in connection with a coaching process for parents. This training focuses primarily on specific discussion techniques and tools for creating influence through dialogue. The parents are assigned a coach who adopts an individual approach focused on the solution using these discussion and coaching techniques. The coach focuses on helping the parents to resolve the conflicts that they experience due to the young person's risk behaviour.

This initiative provides extensive support to parents in order to make them capable of supporting positive development for their children. Parents are involved so that they can develop the resilience of their children and also so that they can deal with any concerns or conflicts in connection with any specific or potential radicalisation process that their children are undergoing.

The parental coaching initiative is described in Oxford Research (2016): Slutevaluering af 'Helhedsorienteret forebyggelse af ekstremisme'

Other publications indicate that the family can play a greater part in connection with EXIT initiatives (Dechesne, 2011; Disley et al., 2017; Koehler, 2017). According to Disley et al. (2011), this is particularly the case in Scandinavia and Germany. As part of the Norwegian EXIT programme, one approach involved establishing a network for parents of young people with links to extremist environments. This acted as a forum in which they could share experiences and have the opportunity to talk about their fears without encountering criticism (Disley et al., 2011; ICPC, 2015). This was combined with sessions involving the young person in question, the parents and a professional. According to practitioners, this approach was particularly successful, and without being able to draw any causal conclusions, most of the young people were no longer part of an extremist environment following the initiative.

Furthermore, some publications indicate that family and friends have an important part to play as regards identifying and reporting signs of concern. Williams et al. (2015) points out that friends and family are typically the first people to discover signs of radicalisation. Koehler (2017) also emphasises the function of family and friends as gatekeepers with a key role to play in the preventive efforts. Their in-depth knowledge of the individual strengthens the chances of early action. On this basis, various countries have set up hotlines targeted at people who observe behaviour giving cause for concern in the people around them (Koehler, 2017).

How does involvement of family and network work?
In general, a number of publications indicate that the family and network are key components in an effective effort, and this may be seen from a number of anticipated results (ICPC, 2015; Koehler, 2017; Schmid, 2013). Again, however, it is important to bear in mind that these publications are unable to document a robust causal link between the approach and the effect of it as regards the prevention of extremism. The box below highlights the expected key results from involvement of the family and network.

Box 3_13: Results of the approach

> **Results of involvement of family and network**
> The analysis of the included literature indicates that involvement of the family and network may help to bring about three key results:
> - *Increasing individuals' motivation to choose a positive direction in life.*
> - Individuals *developing positive new social ties* or reinforcing existing ties with the family and network
> - Individuals' *everyday lives becoming more stable* outside extremist environments with the support of family and friends.

The analysis of the included publications indicates that initiatives involving the family and network can reinforce the young person's or adult's motivation to choose a positive direction in life. In the parental coaching initiative, there are signs that parents experience a higher degree of success with regard to supporting young people to change in a more positive direction, including keeping clear of extremism (Oxford Research, 2016). However, this has been assessed on a tenuous basis, so the results should be viewed as a positive indication, not as a definitive conclusion. As stated above, the Norwegian EXIT initiative also shows positive indications towards a link between parental involvement and disengagement from extremist environments (ICPC, 2015). The evaluation of the parental coaching initiative also indicates that parental involvement works best when it takes place earlier in the individual's life, ideally before the age of 18, as parental influence begins to wane after this (Oxford Research, 2016).

Initiatives that involve the family and network are also expected to result in the young person or adult developing positive social ties. Disley et al. (2011) emphasise that the involvement of the individual's network has proven to be an effective approach to creating affiliation to relationships outside extremist environments. This may help individuals to reassess their involvement in extremism as they feel a closer bond with family and friends outside the extremist environment. Koehler (2017) also indicates that the main purpose of family-oriented initiatives is to influence the radicalisation process by reinforcing positive relationships for the individual. However, the fact that neither of these two publications is based on a strong foundation is a key point.

In line with reassessment of extremist involvement, involvement of the family and network may help to stabilise day-to-day life outside extremist environments. One important element of disengagement is the motivation phase, where the individual questions their involvement in the extremist environment (Christensen, 2015). As stated above, the literature indicates that the family and network act as 'pull factors' that can reinforce motivation for disengagement (Barrelle, 2014; Disley et al., 2011). Here, Schmid (2013) points out that initiatives should also be targeted at the individual's social needs, which can be achieved by involving the family and network.

3.4.3   Involvement of the local community
The approach *involvement of the local community* focuses on activities that involve and work in various ways in cooperation with local stakeholders and individuals such as local institutions, leaders, civil society or individuals. Which stakeholders are involved differs; the key thing is to establish cooperation with the local community and make local stakeholders accountable for the work taking place in the local area.

Box 3_14: The approach viewed in relation to the prevention pyramid

Involvement of the local community in the context of the prevention pyramid
Initiatives working with the involvement of the local community can operate at both the preventive and the anticipatory level. Initiatives that seek to reinforce resilience and cohesion are prominent at the early preventive level. Conversely, the approach at the anticipatory level can be traced in measures that focus on the detection of signs of concern with regard to radicalisation in the local community.

Included literature
The analysis of the included literature has shown that a number of publications examine the approach *involvement of the local community.* A total of five publications dealing with this approach are included, of which three are peer-reviewed journal articles and two are research-based publications.

Generally, the thematic quality and methodical quality of the included publications are assessed as very high[21]. The following publications are relevant to the approach.

Table 3_5: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Bonnell et al.	2011	Teaching approaches that help to build resilience to extremism among young people	Peer-reviewed journal article
Ellis & Abdi	2017	Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through Genuine Partnerships	Peer-reviewed journal article
International Centre for the Prevention of Crime	2015	Preventing radicalization: A systematic review	Research-based publication
Pratchett et al.	2010	Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence	Research-based publication
Williams et al.	2015	The critical role of friends in networks for countering violent extremism: toward a theory of vicarious help-seeking	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work with involvement of the local community?
In general, the literature indicates that there is a need to reinforce cooperation with local stakeholders and individuals in the prevention effort (Bonnell et al., 2011; Ellis & Abdi, 2017; ICPC, 2015; Pratchett et al., 2010). Among other things, this must be viewed in light of the fact that radicalisation and attempts at recruitment often take place in the local community, which is why local stakeholders can help to identify signs of concern and also contribute to the prevention effort (ICPC, 2015).

Ellis & Abdi (2017) emphasise that the best way to prevent radicalisation in the local community is to create strong social relations in the local community. Thus social relations are crucial to the resilience and cohesion of the local community. In this regard, Bonnell et al. (2011) are of the opinion that partnerships can help to ensure local support and context of significance to the impact of an initiative. Furthermore, local partnerships can help to ensure the sustainability of the initiatives implemented when local stakeholders help to keep them going. The box below provides an example of how the local community can be involved (Pratchett et al., 2010).

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[21] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 5.0 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 4.21 as regards methodical quality.

Young Muslim Leadership: an example of involvement of the local community
In the UK, Young Muslim Leadership is one example of an initiative that involves the local community. The purpose of this project is to develop a broader intercultural understanding and offer young people the tools and knowledge they need to counteract extremist opinions and reduce conflicts with the surrounding community. Furthermore, this project seeks to develop the role of young people as individuals, leaders and positive role models who are able to have both a Muslim and a British identity.

A series of civic citizenship workshops are specifically held in the local area with a view to persuading young people to get involved. The various workshops involve sessions on problems with extremism in the local area and focus on upskilling and training for young people with a view to helping them become leaders who are capable of identifying and tackling extremist opinions.

It is important to bear in mind that this initiative has not been systematically examined, which is why it is not possible to assess with certainty whether this initiative is having a positive impact.

The Young Muslim Leadership initiative is described in Pratchett, Lawrence, Leila Thorp, Melvin Wingfield, Vivian Lowndes & Ruby Jabbar (2010): Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence

Another example of an initiative involving the local community is *Community-Based Participatory Research* (CBPR), which is a model for the development of resilient local communities. This approach is based on a partnership between local institutions and individuals in the local community who become crucial players when it comes to promoting a sense of fellowship in the local community (Ellis & Abdi, 2017). Among other things, the CBPR approach involves *advice for residents*: the advisors are local young people who want to help combat violence in their local community. This approach means that residents will be directly involved in identifying which challenges any initiative has to take into account. This publication generally proposes a bottom-up approach in the local community with a view to developing initiatives that can deal with threats of extremism (Ellis & Abdi, 2017). In line with this, Pratchett et al. (2010) point out that cooperation with the local community is reinforced by the fact that initiatives encourage proactive behaviour from individuals by means of street level initiatives, for example, which have been successful in getting local young people involved.

How does involvement of the local community work?
The box below expands upon key results from involvement of the local community, as demonstrated by the analysis of the included literature. One key point is that the included publications dealing with the involvement of the local community as an approach rarely examine the effects and results of the approach with regard to individuals. In their study of 70 different local community initiatives, Pratchett et al. (2010) emphasise the fact that none of these sufficiently document the impact of the initiatives on individuals. Instead, the publications typically limit themselves to conjecture on how the approach may work. Therefore, the stated results must also be regarded as such.

Box 3_16: Results of the approach

> **Results of involvement of the local community**
> The analysis of the included literature indicates that involvement of the local community is probably capable of contributing to three results:
> - Individuals *taking responsibility for their own lives and surroundings*, including the local area in which the individual lives.
> - **Individuals** *developing positive new relationships in the local community*, which helps to create greater cohesion.
> - *Early identification and handling of signs of concern* with the support and assistance of **individuals** in the local community.

The analysis of the included publications indicates that one result is the fact that the involvement of the local community will lead to individuals taking responsibility for their own lives and their surroundings in the local area (Ellis & Abdi, 2017; Pratchett et al., 2010). Pratchett et al. (2010) emphasise that initiatives based in the local community typically involve individuals in making their local area more resilient.

Another expectation is that the approach may help to create positive new relationships in the local community (Bonnell et al., 2011). Individuals in the local community get involved in social inter-actions and have the opportunity to establish positive relationships and interact with other people. In this context, Ellis & Abdi (2017) point out that another aim of involving the local community is to build bridges between local residents and institutions, as this may help to promote social norms.

A final anticipated result is that the approach may help with early detection and handling of signs of concern. Here, Ellis & Abdi (2017) emphasise that involving the local community will promote the sense that people are part of a fellowship. Hence collective efforts are made to identify concerns in the local community with a view to preventing radicalisation. Thus, the approach may increase *accountability*, as the fellowship commits to accepting increased responsibility for the lives of others and changing the situation in the local community.

3.5 Approaches and initiatives targeted at professionals

The third category of approaches and initiatives is aimed at professionals who drive the preven-tion effort. This may include teachers, social workers, caseworkers, therapists and prison staff. The aim here is to enhance the skills of professionals so that they can implement a more qualified prevention effort for individuals at risk of extremism. The analysis has identified two approaches to prevention that are targeted at professionals: *capacity development among professionals* and *new educational and pedagogical methods*. The next subsections present the two approaches, looking at factors such as how they are placed in relation to the prevention pyramid and how work can be done with professionals.

3.5.1 Main points relating to initiatives targeted at professionals

The box below shows the main points identified across the included literature with regard to initi-atives targeted at professionals. Given the included publications, it has not been possible to iden-tify knowledge that can be rated as robust. This is due in particular to the fact that specific ef-fects of initiatives or approaches have not been documented with certainty. Instead, the main re-sults are characterised by some or mixed knowledge or no knowledge.

Box 3_17: Main points from the mapping of initiatives targeted at professionals

Main points
- A number of the included publications specify upskilling of professionals as a potential driving force in the prevention effort. Although there is no robust knowledge with regard to impact, publications point out that upskilling may reinforce local preventive stakeholders' abilities to prevent, identify and deal with problems involving extremism. For example, there have been positive experiences with participation in courses and presentations for professionals working with the prevention effort, giving them a greater knowledge of signs of concern and radicalisation processes. However, there are also publications that indicate that upskilling professionals can have a negative impact. For example, upskilling in identifying signs of concern may create resistance among teachers who do not want to take responsibility for detection or identification of students at risk of radicalisation. *(Some/mixed knowledge is available)*
- Some literature also indicates preventive potential in specific educational and pedagogical methods. In specific terms, the included publications highlight various approaches such as new teaching material and different teaching methods. For example, during the DEMBRA project Norwegian schools worked with upskilling of teachers on new training courses, creating debate on differences and tolerance with a view to promoting civic citizenship among students. Again, however, there is no actual knowledge of the impact or effect. *(Some knowledge is available)*

Knowledge gaps
- There is no knowledge of the actual impact or effects of measures targeted at professionals, which in turn follows a general tendency from initiatives in the field of social work which is not sufficient to establish a knowledge of effects. Instead, the included publications typically focus on experiences of implementation.
- No knowledge is available on how capacity development should specifically be formulated in order to ensure a positive outcome. The mixed knowledge in the field indicates that upskilling measures can be received both positively and negatively among professionals, but the results of this are unclear in the various outcomes.

3.5.2 *Capacity development among professionals*
This approach relates to professionals' skills with regard to prevention of extremism, including approaches to upskilling and advisory initiatives that may reinforce the prevention effort. Professionals play a key role in detecting and dealing with individuals at risk of radicalisation, and hence the included publications indicate that upskilling of professionals is an important driving force with regard to preventive approaches (Bonnell et al., 2011; Koehler, 2017; Tierney, 2017).

Box 3_18: The approach viewed in relation to the prevention pyramid

Capacity development among professionals in the context of the prevention pyramid
Initiatives that work with capacity development among professionals attempt to qualify signs of concern and support front-line workers' knowledge of radicalisation processes. This spans the range from initiatives that attempt to provide information for professionals, to advice and then further to specific approaches that may help with detection and dealing with concerns. In this context, the approach is mainly prominent at an anticipatory level in the prevention pyramid. However, capacity development is also related to the early preventive level relating particularly to professionals who work with children and young people, such as schoolteachers.

Included literature
The analysis of the included literature has shown that a number of publications examine *capacity development among professionals*. A total of six publications dealing with this approach are included, of which four are peer-reviewed journal articles, one is a research-based publication and one is an evaluation report.

Generally, the thematic quality of the included publications is assessed as very high[22], while the methodical quality is relatively high. The following publications focus on capacity development among professionals.

Table 3_6: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Bonnell et al.	2011	Teaching approaches that help to build resilience to extremism among young people	Peer-reviewed journal article
Cowi	2014	Evaluering af indsatsen for at forebygge ekstremisme og radikalisering	Evaluation report
International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)	2015	Preventing radicalization: A systematic review	Research-based publication
Koehler	2017	Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lindekilde	2012	Neo-liberal Governing of "Radicals"	Peer-reviewed journal article
Tierney	2017	Using Behavioral Analysis to prevent Violent Extremism: Assessing the Cases of Michael Zehaf-Bibeau and Aaron Driver	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work with development of capacity among professionals?
The capacity development approach can be targeted at a number of different professional groups, including teachers, social workers, case workers, therapists and prison staff (Bonnell et al., 2011; Cowi, 2014; Koehler, 2017; Lindekilde, 2012). According to Koehler (2017), there are different standards and approaches with regard to what knowledge and tools should be available to professionals when upskilling. Measures that include capacity development for front-line staff typically involve training on risk assessment and knowledge of signs of concern and radicalisation processes (Koehler, 2017; Tierney 2017).

Upskilling may involve professional knowledge, but it may also involve specific methods. Among other things, Tierney (2017) emphasises that behavioural and risk analysis may be a relevant way of assessing an individual's situation. Here, upskilling is implemented by equipping professionals with tools that support the detection and identification of individuals at risk of radicalisation. Koehler (2017) emphasises that the capacity development approach has the strongest impact when it is linked to realistic situations, such as when linking new knowledge to roleplay and case training.

In a Danish context, the capacity development approach is reflected in a training programme aimed at prison staff, for example (Cowi, 2014). This course focuses on extending the knowledge of personnel with regard to radicalisation and extremism, including information on what everyday signals they should particularly watch out for among inmates. The same is applicable to the nationwide initiative, the purpose of which has been to advise and upskill municipal resource persons with regard to the prevention effort, typically within the SSP cooperation (a partnership between schools, social services and the police with crime prevention purposes). The initiative for advising and upskilling local stakeholders is explained in detail in the box below (Cowi, 2014).

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[22] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 4.33 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.92 as regards methodical quality.

Advising and upskilling local stakeholders: an example of capacity development among professionals

The initiative for advising and upskilling local stakeholders is made up of five interim initiatives, all of which aim to reinforce local stakeholders' ability to prevent, identify and deal with problems with extremism.

The first initiative relates to advice and upskilling in relation to SSP's prevention effort, including establishment and regular support of regional network groups of SSP contact and resource persons. Alongside this, *the second initiative* focuses on upskilling of other stakeholders such as teachers in primary and secondary education and club workers, street level workers and hotspot workers. The various groups are offered teaching and advice.

The third initiative is a series of handbooks covering specific methods and tools, including digital support forms for investigation, intervention, etc., background information on extremism and local prevention strategies. Moreover, within *the last two initiatives* work is being done at a municipal level with model municipalities developing specific tools, and also through municipal network meetings.

The initiative relating to the advising and upskilling of local stakeholders is described in Cowi (2014): Evaluering af indsatsen for at forebygge ekstremisme og radikalisering

How does capacity development among professionals work?

A number of publications indicate positive results from developing the capacity of professionals. The box below provides a summary of the results identified by the analysis of the included literature. Again, it is important to bear in mind that the results must not be viewed as specific effects as the included publications link the capacity-developing initiatives empirically to specific results to a lesser extent.

Results of capacity development among professionals

The analysis of the included literature indicates that capacity development among professionals may help to bring about three different results, including one result with the opposite effect:

- Professionals delivering *higher quality in the prevention effort*, which implies greater effort in relation to the individuals.
- Professionals *increasing their knowledge of extremism and signs of concern* in connection with radicalisation, thereby reinforcing *early detection of signs of concern*.
- *Professionals experiencing a dilemma* between doing their day-to-day work on the one hand and having to detect potential signs of concern on the other (an opposite effect of the approach).

According to Koehler (2017), capacity development among professionals may have a positive impact on prevention efforts. Koehler thus points out that prevention efforts can be supported and reinforced with various approaches, and that this is frequently an important component in the upskilling of professionals. In a comparison of various initiatives, the author concludes that capacity development often helps to guarantee better results in the longer term. This is applicable to the upskilling of professionals working with individuals at risk of radicalisation and professionals working to help individuals to escape extremist environments.
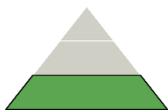
Moreover, a number of publications indicate that capacity development among professionals provides knowledge of extremism and signs of concern, which supports early detection of individuals at risk of radicalisation and dealing with them (Cowi, 2014; Tierney, 2017). Greater knowledge of signs of concern helps to focus the attention of professionals in relation to radicalisation.

However, capacity development may also have an opposite effect on front-line staff. One tendency is for schoolteachers to have taken on a more extensive role in the identification of signs of concern (Bonnell et al., 2011; Lindekilde, 2012). In this regard, Lindekilde emphasises that schoolteachers have exhibited resistance to involvement in the detection of signs of concern as they feel this places them in a dilemma, and they do not perceive it as their job to point out students who may potentially be at risk of extremism and radicalisation. Hence, capacity development may also have a negative impact on early detection.

3.5.3   New educational and pedagogical methods
Where *capacity development among professionals* denotes broad upskilling of a number of professional groups, the *new educational and pedagogical methods* approach focuses primarily on teachers and educationalists. This approach relates to specific and innovative changes and measures in educational practice that may help to prevent risk behaviour. The new educational and pedagogical methods provide teachers and educationalists with the tools to arrange processes that reinforce preventive work.

Box 3_21: The approach viewed in relation to the prevention pyramid

New educational and pedagogical methods in the context of the prevention pyramid
The *new educational and pedagogical methods* approach is typically used as an element in initiatives at the *early preventive level*. The included publications deal with varying initiatives, but the fact that professionals receive training on activities that reinforce young people's civic citizenship and resilience in the long term is key.

Included literature
A number of publications that examine the approach *new educational and pedagogical methods* from an analytical perspective are found in the included literature. A total of ten publications dealing with this approach are included, of which eight are peer-reviewed journal articles, one is a research-based publication and one is an evaluation report. Generally, the thematic quality of the included publications is assessed as very high, while the methodical quality is assessed as relatively high[23]. The included publications for the approach are listed below.

Table 3_7: Overview of literature, with emphasis on approach

Author	Year	Title	Publication type
Bonnell et al.	2011	Teaching approaches that help to build resilience to extremism among young people	Peer-reviewed journal article
Davies	2014	Interrupting Extremism by Creating Educative Turbulence	Peer-reviewed journal article
Ellis & Abdi	2017	Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through Genuine Partnerships	Peer-reviewed journal article
Feddes et al.	2015	Increasing self-esteem and empathy to prevent violent radicalisation	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lenz & Kjøey	2015	Dembra evalueringsrapport	Evaluation report
Liht & Savage	2017	Preventing Violent Extremism through Value Complexity: Being Muslim Being British	Peer-reviewed journal article
Lindekilde	2012	Neo-liberal Governing of "Radicals"	Peer-reviewed journal article
Pratchett et al.	2010	Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence	Research-based publication

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[23] The included literature relating to the individual level receives an average score of 4.9 on a scale of 1 to 5 with regard to thematic relevance to the knowledge synthesis, 5 being the highest score. Moreover, the included publications score an average of 3.72 as regards methodical quality.

Reeves & Sheriyar	2015	Addressing Radicalisation into the Classroom – A New Approach to Teacher and Pupil Learning	Peer-reviewed journal article
Reynolds & Scott	2015	Digital Citizens: Countering extremism online	Peer-reviewed journal article

How is it possible to work new educational and pedagogical methods?

The new educational and pedagogical methods are included in the included publications in various forms. Among other things, this is prominent in *upskilling of teachers* when it comes to conveying knowledge, facilitating discussion and dealing with potential issues related to radicalisation (Bonnell et al., 2011; Lenz & Kjøey, 2014; Lindekilde, 2012). One example is the DEMBRA course, the aim of which is to provide Norwegian teachers with more knowledge of racism, undemocratic opinions, tolerance and prejudice (Lenz & Kjøey, 2014). This allows teachers to build up skills in order to promote civic citizenship and democratic values among young people. This initiative is described further in the box below.

Box 3_22: Example of an initiative targeted at professionals

DEMBRA: an example of new educational and pedagogical methods

DEMBRA is a Norwegian course targeted at teachers and headteachers at continuation schools. This course aims to support schools in their efforts to prevent anti-Semitism, racism and un-democratic opinions. The aim of the course is to allow teachers and headteachers to develop knowledge and working methods that they can use in their teaching to prevent anti-Semitism, racism and other forms of harassment of minorities at school.

Democratic preparedness, intercultural issues and how the school's democratic value base is set out in curricula are key to the course. This course is linked to a curriculum that teachers can use in their work. This material aims to give teachers the skills they need to develop civic citizenship and promote democratic opinions among young people.

The DEMBRA initiative is described in Lenz, Claudia & Ida Kjøey (2014): Dembra evaluerings-rapport

It is also pointed out across publications that a *creative and innovative approach* promotes teaching that supports the prevention of radicalisation in a school setting. The creative approach is prominent in media-based activities such as film and teaching on social media (Bonnell et al., 2011; Davies, 2014; Liht & Savage, 2017; Reeves & Sheriyar, 2015). For example, Reeves & Sheriyar (2015) examine an online simulation game that teaches school students about radicalisation. Its purpose is to make students aware of potential links between social media and radicalisation by establishing tangible scenarios that young people then have to discuss.

The creative teaching approaches all have in common the fact that they create an exciting and creative space that provides scope for discussion. This can also be achieved by providing teaching in a context that differs significantly from the classic teaching approach. This may involve a new location or a markedly different teaching style, for example. According to Bonnell et al. (2011), this different context promotes engagement and active participation among students, although it is important to bear in mind that there is no empirical evidence for this expectation.

Moreover, the publications point out that an *engaging and dialogue-based approach* to students is key to ensuring that activities promote civic citizenship values in the best possible way (Bonnell et al., 2011; Davies, 2014; Pratchett et al., 2010; Reynolds & Scott, 2015). The quality of the dialogue-based approach has already been emphasised in previous sections, where it is concluded that open dialogue and discussion can help to stimulate learning ability. The publications also indicate that an inclusive approach is effective (Bonnell et al., 2011; Ellis & Abdi, 2017; Pratchett et al., 2010). This means that the activities are based on young people's interests, but also that young people are included in the development of the activities. It is emphasised that such inclusion results

in young people taking more ownership of the activity and committing to it, which also helps to identify needs (Bonnell et al., 2011; Ellis & Abdi, 2017).

How do new educational and pedagogical methods work?
The box below provides a summary of the results that the analysis emphasises when working with new educational and pedagogical methods. The results are not empirically linked with prevention of extremism in the publications, but it is believed that they are capable of reinforcing the prevention effort. The various results can largely be related to the fact that educational and pedagogical staff work with values and abilities that support civic citizenship among children and young people.

Box 3_23: Results of the approach

Results of new educational and pedagogical methods
The analysis of the included literature indicates that working with upskilling of professionals with regard to new educational and pedagogical methods may help to bring about the following key results:
- Professionals becoming more *skilled at reinforcing democratic values and tolerance of the opinions of others among young people*.
- Professionals *being given the tools to reinforce self-confidence and self-esteem among children and young people*, helping to make them more resilient to extremism.

A number of the publications generally find that new educational and pedagogical methods – such as creative teaching approaches, new teaching materials or targeted courses – can help to establish scope for dialogue and reflection that will reinforce young people's democratic values and tolerance of the opinions of others (Davies, 2014; Liht & Savage, 2017; Reeves & Sheriyar, 2015). Liht & Savage (2017), for example, conclude that a dialogue-based approach and group sessions help to increase understanding and awareness of different values. In the initiative examined, different and alternative values that may help to promote democratic values are presented to young people.

According to Davies (2014), activities that support dialogue and discussion between people with different opinions can help to challenge and nuance individuals' own values and highlight new perspectives. Using dialogue as a key element, professionals can help individuals to re-evaluate their opinions and perceptions of society and help to give individuals more of an insight into and understanding of the opinions of others.

According to Feddes et al. (2015), enhancement of young people's self-confidence and self-esteem is another possible result of the new educational and pedagogical methods. With resilience training and efforts supporting empowerment, participants demonstrate greater self-awareness of their strengths and weaknesses and greater self-esteem and self-confidence. This belief in their own abilities can help individuals to become more resilient to extremism, but there is no empirical evidence for this.

3.6   A final look at research question 2
The knowledge synthesis on prevention of extremism has generally shown that there is a lack of robust knowledge with regard to the actual effects of the mapped approaches and initiatives for prevention of radicalisation and extremism. This does not mean that the identified initiatives do not have positive effects, but that this cannot be established or detailed on the basis of the existing knowledge. Furthermore, the included publications consider in only a few cases whether initiatives may also have a negative or counterproductive effect. This reflects a knowledge field that calls for further research and testing of prevention efforts, which is in line with the rest of the societal area, where there is still a need for more robust knowledge on the impact of initiatives aimed at socially disadvantaged individuals.

That said, a certain amount of knowledge or information has been found with specific measures in the field, along with the implementation of these. This has made it possible to identify a number of approaches to the prevention of extremism across the prevention efforts identified and described. From the perspective of the Danish prevention approach, these are structured according to the target group at which the preventive approach and initiative is aimed; namely approaches/ initiatives aimed at individuals, approaches/initiatives aimed at individuals' social surroundings and initiatives/approaches aimed at supporting professionals working with the prevention effort.

As far as the approaches and initiatives aimed at individuals are concerned, the analysis indicates that early action aimed at children and young people may have a preventive effect. The development of resilience and critical reflection through development of knowledge and capacity in various forms appears to be important. The included literature also indicates that information on extremism and the consequences of extremism may have a positive impact by making individuals aware of the consequences of extremism for the people around them and other people, for example. However, opposing tendencies can be seen in the included publications in relation to how information measures work. Some publications therefore emphasise that measures providing information about extremism and the consequences of extremism may have potentially opposing consequences. The information measures may involve focusing unwanted attention and ideology that there is otherwise a desire to counter, just as the informative approach may have a stigmatising effect on some individuals who feel that their own ideological standpoint is on display. The literature also points out that measures aimed at providing support and guidance at vulnerable stages of life, such as mentoring efforts, may help individuals who are risk of radicalisation to choose a positive path in life. Similarly, supportive and guiding measures may underpin disengagement from extremist environments.

For approaches and initiatives targeted at individuals' networks and their social surroundings, some of the included literature indicates that involvement of the family is a positive element in a preventive initiative. A good, close relationship with the family appears to help ensure that individuals do not get involved in extremist environments, or it can support their pathway out of extremism. The family, and parents in particular, act as a positive resource in the individual's life and help to bring about positive changes. Conversely, there is limited knowledge of initiatives that work with individuals' broader networks. Furthermore, a number of publications point out that initiatives that create greater cohesion in the local community can play a part in the prevention effort. However, this is founded on a very tenuous knowledge base, which is why the anticipated results should first and foremost be viewed as conjecture. Moreover, no knowledge has been identified with regard to initiatives that work with broader society.

For approaches and initiatives aimed at professionals, a number of the included publications describe initiatives that involve upskilling professionals. Upskilling is understood to mean an essential driving force in the prevention effort, as this reinforces local prevention stakeholders' ability to prevent, identify and deal with problems with extremism. Some literature also points out that certain educational and pedagogical methods may be effective in the prevention effort. The final effect or impact on the prevention of radicalisation is not documented, however, which again reflects a general tendency towards a lack of knowledge of effects with regard to the social area as a whole.

Finally, the analysis has shown that initiatives and approaches for each of the three target groups cannot be positioned within one level in the prevention pyramid. Instead, preventive approaches can often be placed at several levels. Similarly, a specific initiative aimed at an individual or group of individuals at risk of radicalisation may be made up of a number of initiatives at the same level or multiple levels of the prevention pyramid. The lack of opportunity to structure the preventive approaches according to the levels of the prevention pyramid indicates a need to work with a nuanced understanding of prevention in a Danish context outside the framework of the pyramid.

4. THE KNOWLEDGE LANDSCAPE

This chapter describes the strength and nature of what is known as the knowledge landscape, that is the existing knowledge for the two research questions: (1.) knowledge of extremism and radicalisation, and (2.) knowledge of prevention of extremism and radicalisation. Fields with an inadequate knowledge base are also pointed out, along with what are known as knowledge gaps; that is to say, areas where no robust knowledge has been found at the present time or, in other words, knowledge that we know we do not have.

4.1 Background of the characterisation

The characterisation of the knowledge landscape is based on the broader screening and review of publications that took place as part of the knowledge mapping effort[24] (cf. Figure 1). Thus the knowledge landscape describes the strength and character of the knowledge in a broad sense within the two research questions and subtopics on which the knowledge mapping effort is based. This broader knowledge landscape is similar to the nature of the texts included in the knowledge synthesis in a number of ways, but the two must not be confused. The texts included in the synthesis have been selected as the methodically strongest texts within each subtopic; and as a limited number of publications has been selected, this has permitted a relatively acceptable level of knowledge. At the same time, this selection process implies that the included literature is probably methodically stronger than the general knowledge landscape for each of the subtopics on which the mapping effort has focused. The methodical score for the included texts is described for each subtopic in the synthesis (chapters 2 and 3), while this chapter merely views the broader knowledge landscape.

When describing the knowledge landscape, it is important to bear in mind that the publications identified on which the knowledge landscape is based are not necessarily exhaustive for all existing and relevant knowledge for the two research questions in a broad sense: firstly, knowledge has been searched in order to cover a series of specific subtopics within the two research questions. Therefore, the knowledge sought is focused on these subtopics rather than on other topics that may have been of relevance or may over time turn out to be relevant. Secondly, the knowledge landscape is fragmented and highly diverse (see below), and relevant knowledge has as such been identified across a number of very different specialist fields and disciplines that do not necessarily refer to one another or build upon one another. Despite this broad search, it is therefore likely that further knowledge has been published using other terminology or within other fields or disciplines.

The knowledge landscape is described below with respect to the volume and distribution of publications across the two research questions. A more qualitative description of the nature of knowledge in the field is then provided.

4.2 The knowledge landscape in volume

The initial screening process outlined a broad and highly diverse field with a relatively large volume of literature: thus 1709 publications across a range of very different specialist fields were found and screened on the basis of title and abstract. In this initial screening process, it was assessed whether the studies are empirically based in methodical terms, either through collection and analysis of the researcher's own empirical data or, on a secondary level, based on robust review of other empirically-based publications.

In a further screening process, a more thorough reading of abstract and conclusion was carried out in order to assess the publications in terms of their empirical foundation and thematic relevance. 497 publications were selected in this regard. The review of these indicated that publications relevant to research question 1 were in the majority, compared with publications for research question

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[24] See the methods appendix

2. Specifically, around 70 per cent of the publications identified were relevant to research question 1 and 30 per cent to research question 2.

A third screening process assessed the publications on the basis of consideration of the methodically strongest aspects within each of the research questions and subtopics to be covered; cf. the study assignment. This implies that the methodical strength of the included publications may vary within the different subtopics. 178 publications were selected in this regard; 59 per cent for question 1 and 41 per cent for question 2.

The fourth and final assessment process involved reading the publications in detail with a view to finally establishing which publications should be included. In this process, the publications were assessed on the basis of the thematic and methodical criteria specified and given a rating. Only texts above a certain methodical quality threshold were included in the final selection. On this basis, an overall thematic and methodical rating was given to each text, along with a combined weighting for each subtopic. A total of 65 publications were included: 38 publications on knowledge of extremism and radicalisation and 25 publications on knowledge of prevention of extremism and radicalisation plus a further two publications across the research questions. These texts are termed included literature. The methodical strength and nature of these included texts are described as part of the synthesis.

If texts with sufficient methodical and thematic quality were not identified, the field is characterised as a knowledge gap or a field characterised by a lack of knowledge.

4.3 The knowledge landscape, described in greater detail

The broad screening process, as stated, has identified publications across a number of different research fields and disciplines. This outlines a highly diverse field in which relevant publications and studies can be found within a number of diverse specialisations, research approaches and disciplines: from research in the context of prevention of extremism and radicalisation, to research in the context of terrorism, crime prevention, health and mental vulnerability, social initiatives, social movements, etc.

The knowledge landscape can also be described as fragmented, implying that there is no clear consensus with regard to terms or collective knowledge accumulation. Knowledge and research within the various specialist fields do not necessarily refer to one another or are based on and further qualify the same knowledge base. This means that new knowledge does not necessarily build on a recognised, existing base and that new conclusions do not necessarily stringently refute or build further upon previous conclusions.

As an extension of the above, it is clear from the literature that there is no consensus on what is included in the phenomena of radicalisation and extremism. This is reflected by the use of different words and terms and the study focus in the literature, and it means that the conclusions of various studies are based on different starting points and are hence not necessarily comparable or immediately compatible.

Further, the research is based on limited empirical data. This is partly due to the fact that gaining access to extremist groups and individuals is generally complicated, particularly with a view to representative data collection on a larger scale. Therefore, many texts are based on second-hand sources or results from previous research and therefore take the form of literature studies or reviews that are more or less systematic in nature, for example. Moreover, some of the publications included are not particularly transparent as regards their methods. This presents a barrier to a robust assessment of the overall methodical quality.

In general terms, the search and screening process indicates, as stated, that there is greater emphasis on the knowledge field of extremism and radicalisation (research question 1) than on the knowledge field relating to the prevention of extremism and radicalisation (research question 2).

Thus there is more knowledge of a peer-reviewed or research-based nature than is the case for question 2, where more of the publications are more along the lines of what may be referred to as grey literature; that is to say, literature that is not peer-reviewed or necessarily based on research, such as evaluation reports, analyses conducted by think tanks, etc.

This is reflected to some degree in the included literature as the publications for research question 1 can be termed peer-reviewed research to a greater extent than the publications included for research question 2. Thus, research question 2 includes more grey literature. Given the fact that a lower threshold for methodical quality was defined for the inclusion of publications, and given the broad search, it has been possible to include publications of a certain quality in the catalogue for both research questions. In this sense, the methodical quality of the catalogue's texts is not a direct reflection of the general knowledge landscape, but is probably methodically stronger within each of the subtopics focused on by the knowledge mapping effort.

The knowledge landscape is characterised by the fact that most of the publications focus on Islamist extremism, while fewer publications look at right-wing extremism and very few consider left-wing extremism. Moreover, a number of the studies concern themselves with identifying general factors or mechanisms across various forms of extremism.

The knowledge landscape for each of the two research questions is outlined in brief below.

4.3.1 Knowledge landscape for question 1: knowledge of extremism and radicalisation

For question 1, the emphasis was on exploring knowledge within the subtopics significant factors in the surrounding society, emergence of extremist environments and group dynamics, ideology and narratives, recruitment and propaganda, plus individual risk factors and individuals' pathways to and from extremism. The identified topics are divided into societal, group and individual level, as described in greater detail in section 2.1.

Knowledge of significant factors in the surrounding society has been identified to a limited extent. As described, the synthesis includes nine publications, but most of these publications deal primarily with topics at group or individual level and consider the societal level on only a peripheral or secondary level. Only two publications relate primarily to the societal level. The knowledge mapping effort has been limited to the 2010 to 2017 period, but input from researchers indicates that there is no extensive knowledge prior to 2010 either. Thus this field can be characterised as a field of weak knowledge. At the societal level, the identified literature refers primarily to Islamist extremism, while the literature describes left-wing extremism and, to some extent, right-wing extremism to only a limited extent. The identified knowledge for publications at societal level has been assessed as relatively weak; and for that reason the knowledge base for the synthesis has been supplemented with a publication dating back to before 2010 which was pointed out with the assistance of a researcher. This is due to the fact that the knowledge synthesis points out that factors at societal level are of significance, although it is not clear precisely what role they perform and how they interact.

At the group level, knowledge with regard to the emergence of environments and group dynamics has in particular been identified. Knowledge of ideology and narratives and the significance of these to extremist environments have been identified to a slightly lesser extent. As regards knowledge relating to propaganda and communication, knowledge relating to communication via offline media or traditional communication channels such as distribution of propaganda material, and the significance of this for recruitment and maintenance of extremist groups, has been found to a limited extent. In this regard, most of the identified knowledge focuses on the significance of the Internet and interactive media. Most of the literature at the group level relates to Islamist extremism, while some publications touch upon a number of types of extremism. (In the included literature, only very few publications deal exclusively with left-wing extremism and right-wing extremism.)

At the individual level, the research appears to have moved away from earlier focus on phases and profiles and examines the pathways taken by individuals to and from extremism. This is described as a separate topic across societal, group and individual level. Moreover, the literature focuses on risk factors and includes studies that highlight the significance of problems of social well-being, mental vulnerability and family conditions. The publications that highlight topics at the individual level are assessed as being of good methical quality and are rated highest of the three general levels. In particular, the literature deals with a number of different types of extremism or just Islamist extremism, while left-wing and right-wing extremism are also highlighted to a limited extent at this level.

Research into extremism and mental vulnerability is relatively new as regards the way in which the link between the two and the significance of this are considered. The mapping effort uses the term mental vulnerability to refer to a broad spectrum of problems. The included literature discusses matters such as mental developmental disorders, depression, diagnoses relating to sleep, autism spectrum disorders, schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis.

Like the rest of the research, the research in this field over the past few years has moved away from the search for causal links to considering mental vulnerability as one of a number of risk factors that can play a part with regard to radicalisation.

Mental difficulties and mental problems cover a broad spectrum in the knowledge mapping effort, from less serious mental or psychological problems to definite mental problems such as autism, ADHD, schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, etc. Like the rest of the research, the research in this field over the past few years has moved away from searching for causal links to considering mental vulnerability as one of a number of risk factors that can play a part with regard to radicalisation.

Relevant knowledge production appears to be switching increasingly from focusing on causal links to involvement with more complex understanding of links and interaction between various conditions of factors. For example, an ambition to establish profiles for the (future) extremist has gradually been replaced by greater emphasis on individual risk factors that may seek to isolate and list factors that increase the vulnerability of the individual but do not necessarily profess to be able to predict individuals' pathways to extremism. Correspondingly, an ambition to establish phase models and hence describe (or predict) a mapped radicalisation process has been replaced by a more multidimensional and fluid understanding of the individual's pathway to extremism.

4.3.2   Knowledge landscape for research question 2: knowledge of prevention of extremism and radicalisation
Within research question 2, knowledge of prevention of extremism, the emphasis has been on identifying knowledge with regard to three prevention levels used in a Danish context: the early preventive level, the anticipatory level and the direct intervention level (see also the introduction and glossary). A certain predominance of publications at the early preventive level has been identified during the screening process. In this part of the literature, there is particular emphasis on initiatives in the context of schools and local communities. Moreover, a number of publications have been found relating to initiatives at the anticipatory level, while a number of publications highlight initiatives at the direct intervention level such as mentoring efforts or exit initiatives, or initiatives aimed at reintegration of convicts released back into society after the end of their sentences.

The analysis of the collected knowledge also indicates that the prevention pyramid is not generally reflected in the literature. For this reason, the prevention pyramid is not used as a structuring principle when establishing the synthesis for research question 2. However, an attempt has been made to analyse the identified knowledge in the perspective of the three levels of the prevention pyramid.

As regards knowledge of prevention of extremism, the literature is characterised by limited knowledge relating to effects and the impact of initiatives and interventions. Most publications take

the form of analyses based on case studies, surveys, interviews, etc. that focus on the activity and outcome level or the implementation of an initiative. A few studies, particularly at the direct intervention level, measure impact in greater detail. A fairly large amount of knowledge identified may also be characterised as grey literature, such as reports from consultancies, evaluations of local efforts or action plans, etc., rather than actual research.

As regards the target group for the intervention, more knowledge has been found on initiatives aimed at individuals than knowledge on initiatives aimed at groups. At group level, however, there is knowledge relating to initiatives in the context of support, such as initiatives aimed at reinforcing civic citizenship and inclusion in a school context. Correspondingly, at the anticipatory level and interventional level a fairly limited number of studies has been identified that touch upon initiatives aimed at family/parents to a greater or lesser extent.

4.4 Knowledge gaps and areas with limited validated knowledge

The knowledge mapping effort has identified a number of knowledge gaps or areas where the evidence has been identified as weak. There may also be other knowledge gaps that we are unable to see as yet.

The knowledge gaps identified by means of the knowledge mapping effort are summarised below.

- Limited knowledge and knowledge production on left-wing extremism have been identified across the various forms of extremism. Compared to other forms of extremism, knowledge production in this field seems to have been prioritised less in the period examined (i.e. between 2010 and 2017).
- Moreover, while many of the included studies attempt to generate robust knowledge on general factors and mechanisms – independently of the specific form of extremism, that is – there are few actually comparative analyses that focus on revealing differences and similarities between the radicalisation processes and factors that apply to the individual forms of extremism.
- There is limited knowledge of factors at societal level that are of significance to extremism and radicalisation. This is, at the same time a field where it is complicated to demonstrate final (causal) links. This means that knowledge in this field must be designated as weak.
- As regards knowledge of prevention, weak or limited knowledge has been identified with regard to the impact or effects of initiatives for prevention of extremism. Publications considering the outcome of preventive initiatives focus rather on experiences relating to the implementation of activities. Incidentally, this is not unique to the field of extremism but is also seen in respect of initiatives within the broader social field and crime prevention field.
- Limited knowledge has been identified with regard to preventive initiatives at group level; that is, targeted at extremist groups.
- Limited knowledge has been identified as to whether there is a difference between the pathways taken by men and women to and from extremism, and if so what these differences are. The existing knowledge indicates that factors crucial in the radicalisation process differ from woman to woman, just as they differ from man to man. Similarly, the factors of significance for women's pathways to extremism generally appear to be in line with otherwise identified factors of significance to individuals' pathways to extremism.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

To conclude, a few words about the results of the knowledge synthesis and further perspectives in the field.

Overall, the knowledge mapping and knowledge synthesis has revealed a knowledge field that can best be described as fragmented and highly diverse. This may be a strength in that it paves the way for a multi-disciplinary perspective, but it also implies that knowledge at present is not systematically linked within a clearly delimited field, and that new knowledge (production) does not necessarily qualify and build upon existing knowledge.

This means that knowledge about the field and what works is hard to access for the preventive effort at national level, as well as for practitioners working with prevention at a local level. This knowledge synthesis is a step towards providing a wider overview, but preparation of the synthesis has also made it clear that the nature of the available knowledge in the field does not currently make it possible to provide a completely clear and action-oriented overview. From a forward-looking perspective, it would be appropriate for further knowledge production to "build on" and further qualify the existing data. Correspondingly, it has been clear that the breadth and diverse nature of the field cannot be described exhaustively within the framework of this synthesis. Therefore, there is a need for further knowledge work to build on and develop the knowledge base provided by the synthesis.

From a prevention perspective, not least knowledge relating to the impact or effect of the prevention initiatives can be reinforced. However, it should be borne in mind here that prevention of extremism is quite a narrow and specialised field and that ambitions to produce knowledge must be scaled accordingly; not least because the number of extremists and access to the gathering of empirical data relating to extremist groups and individuals are limited.

At the same time, the knowledge mapping effort has clearly emphasised what was also the starting point of this process, namely the fact that (knowledge of) prevention of extremism is closely intertwined with and cannot be separated from a number of adjacent fields, including crime prevention, the social and education field, prevention of terrorism, etc. If knowledge production relating to the prevention of extremism can be viewed in extension to the research taking place in such adjacent fields, this may be an advantage. This will mean that there is no need to start all over again and produce new knowledge from the ground up, but to base efforts on relevant knowledge and knowledge production in adjacent fields.

Given the difficulties with accessing empirical data and the mandate held by the Danish Centre for Prevention of Extremism, it may be possible to consider whether practical initiatives being implemented by the Centre can be used as a basis for further research in the field; in the form of accompanying research, for example. This interaction between practice and research could well be developed and agreed in connection with the development of practical initiatives implemented by the Centre.

Similarly, the analysis of knowledge of prevention has illustrated close interaction between the levels in the Danish prevention pyramid. This confirms the suitability of a holistic approach to prevention, an approach that is an important element in the Danish approach to prevention. Identification of the seven preventive approaches, and not least the fact that these transcend the three levels in the prevention pyramid, does however indicate that there may be some value in thinking along more nuanced lines than the prevention pyramid permits as far as prevention is concerned. Thus the knowledge synthesis indicates that initiatives in practice are not necessarily categorised most logically within an early preventive, anticipatory or direct intervention level, but rather, that initiatives criss-cross the levels. Discussion with associated experts also indicates that for practitioners, it is more useful to think along the lines of the target group for the initiative; that is to

say, whether the initiative is targeted at individuals, the social surroundings of the individual or professionals, making it possible to match the relevant need with the available knowledge of approaches and methods. Correspondingly, a more nuanced description of the methodical approach for the initiative can be provided: as stated, it would be possible to specify what initiatives or methods work, but also what the active element or mechanism actually involves. This would reinforce the potential for the initiative to create change and the opportunity to transfer or expand upon the active elements.

Finally, and to bring the synthesis to a close at the point where it began, our desire has been to reinforce the accessibility of the relevant knowledge to practitioners and decision-makers in the local prevention effort. This knowledge synthesis has created a collective and relatively brief overview of the knowledge sought with this assignment. Going forward, this knowledge base will be reinforced further and it should as such be viewed as the first step in a process that began with the founding of the Centre.
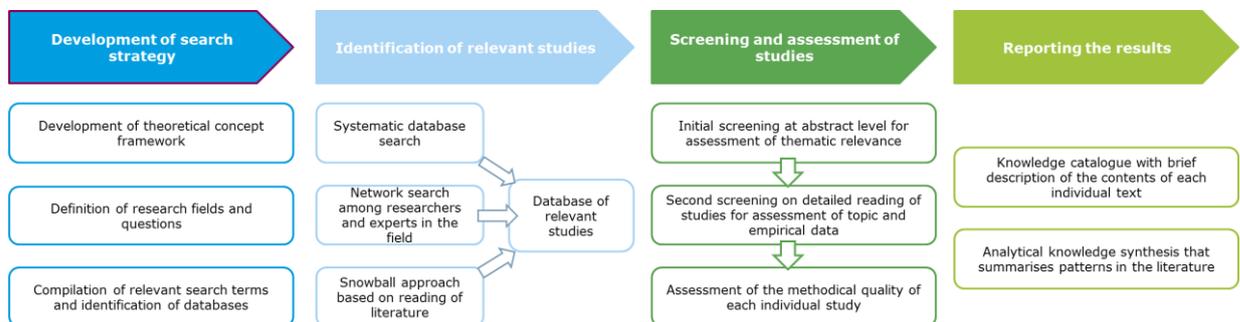
APPENDIX 1

APPENDIX 1: METHOD DESCRIPTION

This appendix describes the methodical basis for the knowledge mapping effort. The appendix describes the general design and the individual phases thereof, resulting in the key products of the knowledge mapping effort in the form of a knowledge catalogue, a knowledge synthesis and two easy to read short summaries.

The knowledge mapping has methodologically been based on a general approach to *systematic literature studies*, the method being characterised by implementation of a systematic search of existing literature within a specific area. The intention is to use the identified studies to form a basis for a theoretical synthesis across a larger number of studies[25]. The knowledge synthesis is specifically based on a *thematic synthesis approach* characterised by organising, exploring and finding patterns in the knowledge collected in the literature study. The thematic synthesis is a method well suited to analysis of studies with various research designs and initiatives implemented in different national and local contexts.

The design of the knowledge mapping effort can be viewed in four phases, as indicated in the model below. The knowledge mapping effort is based on a search strategy that provides the basis of the further search and assessment of literature. The search and gathering of literature itself has taken place by means of three different approaches that collectively contribute to a large database of potentially relevant studies for the final synthesis. An in-depth screening and assessment process has taken place in order to assess whether the publications were of the necessary relevance and quality. This process has resulted in identification of 65 studies that are included in the final knowledge catalogue and provided the basis for developing the analytical knowledge synthesis.

Figure 3: Phases of the literature study

The implementation of each of the above four phases and the subelements shown is expanded upon below.

A. Development of a search strategy
As indicated in the figure above, the task has begun with the development of a search strategy with associated background and research questions.

The first step in the search strategy has been to develop a thematic and methodical concept framework that has guided the search, screening and assessment process. This conceptual framework provides the focus of the research and indicate the most significant definitions.

Development of a thematic and methodical concept framework
The professional and methodical concept framework has been developed and subsequently qualified in partnership with the Centre and an associated team of experts comprising researchers and practical experts working with extremism. Where the objective of the thematic framework is to

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[25] The systematic literature study has been organised on the basis of the approach and method known as a *Rapid Evidence Assessment* (cf. Gough et al. (2012): *An introduction to systematic reviews*, London: Sage).

guide the categorisation of knowledge, the methodical framework focuses on substantiating an assessment of the methodical quality of the publications identified.

The thematic framework is based on the two research questions developed on the basis of the assignment for the task. These two research questions are:

1. *What knowledge of extremism is available that is relevant to the prevention of extremism in Denmark, including knowledge of ideology and narratives, significant factors in the surrounding society, pathways to and from extremism, emergence of extreme environments, propaganda, and knowledge of recruitment processes and individual risk factors?*
2. *What knowledge is available with regard to the prevention of extremism or similar phenomena of relevance to prevention in Denmark, including knowledge of target groups, methods, tools and organisational structures that is relevant to the prevention effort in Denmark?*

In general, the understanding of extremism and radicalisation is based on the definitions provided by the national action plan on prevention of extremism and radicalisation (2016:7). These terms are described here as follows:

- Extremism refers to persons or groups that commit or seek to legitimise violence or other illegal acts, with reference to societal conditions that they disagree with. This term includes left-wing extremism, right-wing extremism and Islamist extremism.

- Radicalisation refers to a short- or long-term process where persons subscribe to extremist views or legitimise their actions on the basis of extremist ideologies.

Each of the two research questions is specified in further detail in relation to a number of subtopics, along with geographical area, language, method, etc. This is expanded upon in greater detail below.

Definition of the research field
The table below describes in further detail how the research field is defined. The specific search strategies used for each of the research questions are then specified.

The following definition relates to both research questions:

Table 0_1: Definition of target group, geographical area, language, method and time frame

Definition	Included
Target group	Mapping of knowledge of extremism and prevention of extremism addresses a relatively broad target group. Prevention of extremism can be targeted at individuals both under and over the age of 18 and may be targeted at both men and women. At the same time, early prevention may also be targeted at different levels: all children and young people who are not yet at risk of radicalisation (early preventive interventions), individuals at risk of radicalisation (anticipatory interventions), and individuals who are already involved in an extremist group (direct interventions). Apart from this, initiatives targeted at professionals who work in the field are also included.
Geographical delimitation	Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, the US, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain
Linguistic delimitation	English, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish
Methodical delimitation	Studies, analyses and publications that were research-based in nature and evaluations or analyses implemented by consultancies, think tanks and public or private organisations have been included for both research questions. A broad range of methodical designs has been included, including systematic reviews, experimental designs, quasi-experimental study designs and qualitative and quantitative study designs.
Temporal delimitation	Publications from the following period are included: 2010-2017.

Search terms for the two objectives have been defined on the basis of the delimitations defined above.

Search for knowledge of extremism (research question 1)
The first research question relates to existing knowledge of extremism. This research field is defined by the following:

- The publications on extremism must be of relevance to the prevention of extremism. This does not need to be stated explicitly by the author of the publication. The approach has been based on a broad survey field initially, and the thematic relevance has subsequently been assessed in relation to the topics defined below.
- The publications must comply with general research standards and be empirically based, either through collection and analysis of the researcher's own empirical data or through a review of other empirically-based literature.

In consultation with the Centre and the associated panel of experts made up of selected researchers and practitioners, the search was focused on the following subtopics assessed as being of particular relevance to research question 1:

- Significant factors in the surrounding society
- Emergence of extremist environments
- Recruitment, propaganda and communication strategies
- Ideology and narratives
- Individual risk and protection factors
- Pathways to and from extremism

The search itself has been conducted in English using the search strings below.

The following search terms have been defined on this basis:

Box 0_1: Search strings for research question 1

What knowledge of extremism is available that is relevant to the prevention of extremism, including knowledge of ideology and narratives, significant factors in the surrounding society, pathways to extremism, emergence of extreme environments, propaganda, recruitment processes and individual risk factors?

The search strings below (I.A and I.B) are combined with each of the separate search strings on knowledge of extremism

Search string I.A: Prevention: Prevent* OR Counter* OR Capacity building OR resilience

Search string I.B: Extremism: Extremis* OR Radicalisation OR Fundamentalism OR Violent extremism

Search string (II) on knowledge of extremism, relevant from a prevention perspective:
- *Ideologies and narratives:* Ideolog* OR Religio* OR Right-wing OR Left-wing OR Salafism OR Jihad OR Militant Islamism OR Political extremism OR Narratives OR Framing OR Politics of memory OR Doctrine OR Norm OR alignment

- *Breeding grounds for extremism*: Breeding grounds OR Intellectual inbreeding OR Constituent environments OR Conducive OR Milieu OR Network OR Fertile

- *Pathways to extremism and individual risk factor*: Path* OR Paths to extremism OR Socialization to violence OR Socialization OR Social integration OR Process OR Mechanism OR Dark mindset OR Aggression OR Dark triad of personality OR Group polarization OR Ideological amplification OR Dynamics OR Group process OR Group dynamics OR Network, OR Cross-over OR Crime terror nexus

- *Emergence of extreme environments*: Environment OR Group dynamics OR Subculture OR Counterculture OR Culture

- *Propaganda and communications strategies motivating extremism*: Propaganda OR Promotion OR Indoctrination OR Disinformation OR Communication OR Framing OR Adopt

What knowledge of extremism is available that is relevant to the prevention of extremism, including knowledge of ideology and narratives, significant factors in the surrounding society, pathways to extremism, emergence of extreme environments, propaganda, recruitment processes and individual risk factors?

- *Recruitment processes*: Recruit* OR Recruitment grounds OR Attraction OR Top-down recruitment OR Bottom-up recruitment OR Online recruit* OR Online Radical

- *individual risk factors*: Dark mindset OR Aggression OR Dark triad of personality OR Group polarization OR ideological amplification OR Dynamics OR Group process OR Group dynamics OR Network, OR Cross-over OR Crime terror nexus

Search on knowledge of prevention of extremism (research question 2)

The second part of the survey objective focuses on existing knowledge of prevention of extremism, including knowledge of target groups, methods, tools and organisational structures that underpin the prevention effort in Denmark.

This search has been further restricted as follows:
- One criterion for including publications on knowledge of prevention of extremism is that they must be empirically based, either through collection and analysis of the researcher's own empirical data or through a review of other empirically-based literature.
- Another aim of the search has been to address and include relevant knowledge of prevention from adjacent fields, such as crime prevention, that are relevant in relation to the prevention of extremism. One inclusion criterion for literature relating to adjacent phenomena is that it had to include, as a minimum, a link to prevention of extremism via a research-based approach.

The adjacent fields are as follows:
- Crime prevention, including prevention of gang-related crime (cross-over) and cybercrime
- Social psychiatry and treatment psychiatry, including abuse
- Initiatives aimed at prevention of polarisation and marginalisation, including relevant subculture dynamics
- Initiatives to prevent terrorism

Initiatives focusing on the development of civic citizenship, critical thinking and development of resilience have also been included from the earlier syntheses compiled by Rambøll in this field. No new searches on these topics have been undertaken.

The following search terms have been derived for the research objective with regard to the knowledge of prevention of extremism and adjacent fields:

Box 0_2: Search strings for research question 2

What knowledge is available with regard to the prevention of extremism, including knowledge of target groups, methods, tools and organisational structures that underpin the prevention effort in Denmark?

The search strings are combined with one another

- Search string A: Prevention: Prevent* OR Counter* OR Capacity building OR resilience
- Search string B: Extremism: Extremis* OR Radicalization OR Fundamentalism OR Violent extremism
- Search string C: Efforts, methods, practices: Efforts OR Methods OR Intervention OR Programmes OR Strateg* OR Approach* OR Tool* OR Organization*

What knowledge is available with regard to prevention of other phenomena of relevance to the prevention of extremism?

Search strings I.A and I.B are combined with each search string for prevention of adjacent fields (search string II)

Search string I.A: Prevention: Prevent* OR Counter* OR Capacity building OR resilience

Search string I.B: Extremism: Extremis* OR Radicalisation OR Fundamentalism OR Violent extremism

Search strings I.A and I.B for prevention of adjacent fields:
- Crime prevention: Crime OR Gang OR Gang-related crime OR Cybercrime OR Organised crime

- Psychiatry: Psychiatry OR Social psychiatry OR Treatment psychiatry OR Abuse OR psychology

- Polarization: Polarization OR Marginalization OR Racism OR Cults OR Destructive subcultures OR Restorative justice

- Terror: Terror OR Violence OR Pre-emptive OR Anti-terror OR Counter terrorism OR CVE OR Countering OR Violent extremism OR PVE OR Preventing violent extremism

B. Search strategy: Identification of relevant studies

The study has worked with three different data collection methods in order to map knowledge of extremism and prevention of extremism:

- A systematic database search is based on the Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) method (Gough et al., 2012). This search has been executed systematically using this methodical approach and guided by the defined research questions. The literature search has been executed in strategically selected databases that have been chosen on account of their particular relevance to the survey field, the search being focused according to the objective.
- A network search among researchers and experts in the field, who have referred to relevant literature in the field. The network search has followed the same delimitation of the target group, as well as the geographical, linguistic and temporal delimitations described above.
- A snowball approach where further literature has been identified on the basis of reading literature already identified.

All these searches have complied with the delimitation of the target group and the geographical, linguistic and temporal delimitations outlined in the previous section.

The data collection methods are described in greater detail below.

Systematic database search

In the **second phase** of the literature study, a **search process** has been carried out guided by the search terms identified above according to the research questions.

Data sources

A number of international databases selected in consultation with bibliometrician Alan Gomersall, an employee of King's College, were searched. The systematic network search has been undertaken via Scandinavian, German, Dutch, Canadian, American, Belgian and British experts in the field, and by means of snowballing from sources arising from this.

Table 0_2: Overview of data sources

Delimitation	Included
Databases	Worldwide Political Science Abstract, Web of Science (Social Science Citation Index), Social Policy & Practice, International Bibliography for Social Sciences (IBSS), Applied Social Sciences Index & Abstracts, Psycinfo, Planex, Sociological Abstract, Criminal Justice Abstracts, PAIS (Public Affairs Information Service), Perspectives on terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence, Behavioural Sciences on Terrorism and Political Aggression, Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Journal of Deradicalisation, International Journal on Conflict and Violence Crime, Law and Social Change, Critical Studies on Terrorism, Journal of Strategic Studies, Journal of Forensic Sciences, Journal of Terrorism Research, Small Wars & Insurgencies, Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward Terrorism and Genocide, Combating Terrorism Center Sentinel, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Academic Search Premier

Network search

A network search has been carried out by experts in the field in parallel with the database-based search. The experts were identified by means of interviews with the experts and in particular by Allan Aarslev, Jens Tang Holbek, Lasse Lindekilde, Morten Hjørnholm, Preben Bertelsen, Steen Guldager, Tore Bjørgo and Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen. These experts were contacted by email initially and had the opportunity to contribute relevant literature or refer to other experts. The experts either responded by email or took part in telephone interviews by agreement. A total of 27 experts contributed by means of interviews or email contributions.

Snowball approach

A manual search was undertaken as an extension of the systematic search and the network search. This was implemented on the basis of reading through the identified literature. Here, further literature was identified as references or sources cited in the publications included.

C.   Screening and assessment of studies
The identified studies were then screened and assessed according to the following approach:

Initial screening at abstract level

The identified publications initially underwent systematic and critical assessment. Based on title and abstract, this screening assessed whether the studies fell within the delimitations defined in terms of content and source. If there was any doubt, the publication was read in further detail in order to clarify relevant details.

Second screening, superficial reading

A more thorough read-through of the abstracts and conclusions has been carried out in a second screening process to assess the empirical basis and thematic relevance of the publication.

Third screening, assessment of methodical and thematic relevance

An assessment of the methodical quality and thematic relevance took place as a third screening process, and as such the pool of included publications has been further delimited. The publications relating to knowledge of extremism have been assessed on the basis of what was methodically strongest, and with a view to including publications that cover all topics relevant to the first research questions. Publications that were initially included under knowledge of prevention of extremism and adjacent fields were all included in this process.

Fourth screening, detailed reading, methodical and thematic assessment and re-description
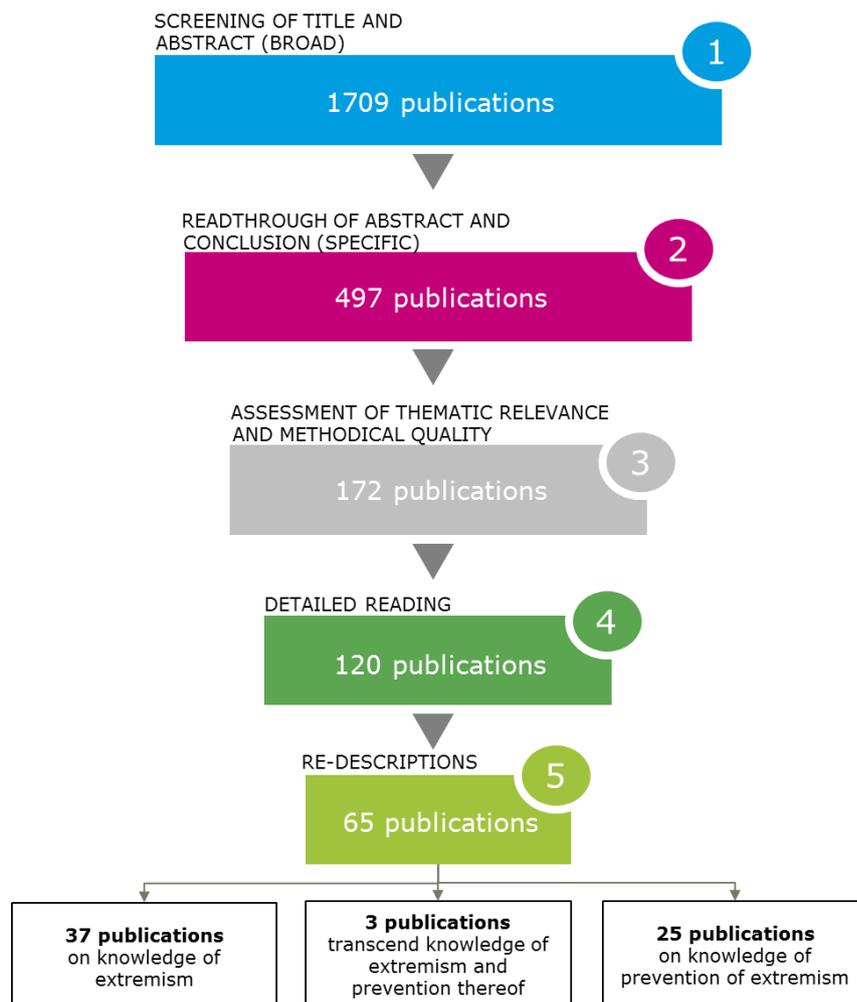
The 98 included publications were read in detail in the fourth and final screening process. In this process, publications were assessed further on the basis of their methodical quality and thematic relevance, resulting in the inclusion of 65 publications. The methodical and thematic assessments are described in greater detail below.

Forward reference search

A forward reference search was implemented in parallel with the screening process. The purpose of this was to check the quality of the publications. The number of times a study is quoted may provide an indication of the relevance of the publication to the field. The quotations from the publications have been assessed on the basis of an observation of the year of publication. The number of quotations is also included in the methodical assessment described above. However, for several reasons too much importance should not be attached in the methodical assessment to the number of quotations of a particular study: the number of quotations must be viewed in relation to the publication year of the respective publication. By its very nature, a recently published study will have had less time to be quoted. Studies may be also quoted because they are being repudiated. In that sense, quotations are not necessarily a quality criterion. And finally, given the fact that the field is extremely diverse, studies that are methodically and thematically strong may be less well-known and hence quoted less extensively.

The figure below illustrates the general screening and selection process: from the number of sources in the initial screening process to the number of studies finally included. The figures also provide an overview of the included publications, described in relation to their geographical delimitation and the survey objective to which the publication belongs. The primary topic of the publication is also specified for publications belonging to the research question relating to knowledge of extremism.

Figure 4 An overview of the screening and search process

SCREENING OF TITLE AND ABSTRACT (BROAD)
1
1709 publications

READTHROUGH OF ABSTRACT AND CONCLUSION (SPECIFIC)
2
497 publications

ASSESSMENT OF THEMATIC RELEVANCE AND METHODICAL QUALITY
3
172 publications

DETAILED READING
4
120 publications

RE-DESCRIPTIONS
5
65 publications

37 publications
on knowledge of extremism

3 publications
transcend knowledge of extremism and prevention thereof

25 publications
on knowledge of prevention of extremism

The search resulted in 1709 studies identified on the basis of the three approaches; the systematic database search, the network search and the manual snowballing. After completion of screening on title and abstract, 497 publications were selected for a second screening round. Finally, 172 publications were assessed for thematic and methodical relevance during the third screening process, and this led to compilation of a gross list of 120 publications that were read in detail. During the detailed reading process, the publications were further assessed in terms of thematic strength and with a view to including studies that cover both research questions and subtopics. Thus some publications have not been included as they were publications with greater methodical weight within the topic in question.

The **excluded studies** were excluded according to the following criteria during the first screening process:

- Geographical area
- Time period/Publication year
- Insufficient level of evidence
- Not available.

Of the 497 included publications from the first screening process, the subsequent second screening process indicated that a further 325 publications fell outside the **inclusion criteria**, primarily because they fell outside the thematic delimitation or had an insufficient level of evidence (methodical assessment).

116 publications were assessed in depth, both thematically and methodically, in the final part of the screening process. As regards the methodical assessment, the screening operation focused on the methodical quality of the publications across four criteria: reliability, transparency, validity and transferability to a Danish context. The thematic assessment then focused on the further relevance of the publications to the research questions and subtopics, as well as the preferred balance of knowledge across these two research questions and subtopics. The aim of the knowledge mapping effort has been to cover the subtopics indicated in the research questions with the best possible methodical quality; although with the proviso that the methodical quality had to reach a minimum threshold for inclusion. As the best texts in terms of methodology were selected for each subtopic, the methodical quality is not the same for each of the subtopics. Finally, the selection of publications has also been defined by the resources available for the assignment task[26]. Based on this process, 65 publications were eventually included in the synthesis, and these have also been re-described and included in the knowledge catalogue.

The publications have been thematised under knowledge of extremism and knowledge of prevention of extremism on the basis of a discussion with the associated a panel of experts in order to take into account and use as a basis – as far as possible – the relevant knowledge production and need for practice in the field.

Assessment of publications
The included publications were then coded individually and assessed with a view to obtaining detailed descriptions of the methodical quality of the publication, knowledge of the content and the active mechanisms highlighted by the publication. Criteria for coding and assessment were defined on the basis of a methodical concept framework developed during the initial phase of the mapping effort.

The code chart in the table below was used for publications relating to the first research question, knowledge of extremism. The initiative highlighted by the publication is described in detail for publications relating to knowledge of prevention of extremism, and the methodical quality has also been assessed. The code chart for the second research question *knowledge of prevention of ex-*

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[26] The resource-related limits of the synthesis have permitted inclusion of around 60 publications.

tremism can be seen below. A code chart has been completed for all publications, providing information on master data, relevance, content and a methodical and thematic assessment. Code charts for the coding of studies can be seen in the tables below.

Table 0_3: Code chart for question 1

MASTER DATA	
Title	
Author	
Year	
Publisher	
Target group or research field	*Who, what and where is the object of the study? (E.g. young people in primary and lower secondary education, or Germany's extremism prevention policy)*
Geographical delimitation	*In which country did the study take place?*
CONTENT-RELATED ASSESSMENT	
Purpose of the study	*What should the study help to achieve? In general.*
Study topic(s) 1. Knowledge of pathways to extremism 2. Knowledge of significant factors in the surrounding society 3. Knowledge of ideology and narratives 4. Knowledge of emergence of extreme environments and group dynamics 5. Propaganda, communication strategies and recruitment processes 6. Individual risk and protection factors	*Specify the figure(s) – and state briefly and precisely how the study specifically examines the topic(s) in question by looking at how individuals together form an extremist identity.*
Theoretical expectations and mechanisms	*Describe in brief which theoretical assumptions the study is pursuing, and where appropriate which mechanisms are expected to be involved in the study. E.g. psychological mechanisms that cause people in a group to learn from one another and imitate behaviour.*
Results	*What is the conclusion of the study? Please list three general points (for the knowledge catalogue) and then the in-depth results*
Recommendations	*Which essential considerations and recommendations does the article provide in its discussion, if relevant and substantiated?*
METHODICAL ASSESSMENT	

Study design	Describe: - The general design of the study (in quantitative and/or qualitative terms) - Design form, e.g. reviews, RCT, quasi-experimental, longitudinal, systematic pre-/post-measurements, qualitative surveys, etc. - Study population – who, how many people
Assessment of reliability: 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Which survey methods were used? Have different survey methods been used that support the same empirical findings? Has the field been highlighted from different perspectives? Does the data reflect the study's research questions/survey objectives? Does the study explicitly reflect on to strengths and weaknesses in the use of data to draw conclusions relating to general research questions? Has the study been peer-reviewed? (initially provides a score of 4) The number of quotations is also included (as described previously, less weight is attached to this).
Assessment of transparency: 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Are data collection, methods used, analysis approaches and empirical data described thoroughly?
Assessment of validity: 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Are the design and analysis method well suited to the research question? Have checks been carried out for conditions that could influence the results of the study? Are there any links between results and conclusions in the study?
Assessment of transferability 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Can the results of the study be generalised (statistical and analytical generalisability)? And does the study relate explicitly to this?

The code chart for research question 2 is as follows:

Table 0_4: Code chart for question 2

MASTER DATA	
Title	
Author	
Year	
Publisher	
Target group or research field	Who does the study deal with, what and where? (E.g. young people in primary and lower secondary education, or Germany's extremism prevention policy)
Geographical delimitation	In which country did the study take place?
CONTENT-RELATED ASSESSMENT	
Purpose of the study	What should the study help to achieve? In general.

Initiative level and type 1) The *early preventive* level, focusing on supporting civic citizenship/breaking down anti-citizenship 2) The *anticipatory* level, focusing on initial signs of concern with regard to radicalisation 3) The direct intervention level, which pertains to strong concerns with regard to radicalisation or initiatives aimed at individuals who are already radicalised	*NOTE: Initiatives may operate at several levels in the prevention pyramid (cf. the concept framework).* *Specify the initiative level and indicate briefly how the study specifically examines the level in question.* *Describe briefly the type of initiative, such as mentoring efforts or learning about democracy.* *Describe the thematic/methodical approach as part of the initiative.* *Describe how frequently the initiative is executed, and for how long.*
Target group level 1) The individual level, which relates to the individual's relationship with extremism/radicalisation 2) The group level, which relates to extreme environments and groups 3) The societal level, which relates to society in general and civil society stakeholders	*Specify the target group level(s) and explain the relationship with the initiative level (topic above). E.g. the individual level in relation to mentoring efforts or the group level in connection with learning about democracy.*
Derived mechanisms	*Describe in brief which mechanisms are expected to be involved in the study.* *What is activated and creates the effect/change in the activity/strategy/approach? The mentoring effort is expected to have a socialising effect on account of the new, trusting relationship.*
Results	*What is the conclusion of the study? Please list three general points (for a catalogue) and then the in-depth results.*
Feasibility	*What criteria are necessary for implementation of the initiative? Leadership, skills, organisation. If described.*
Recommendations	*Which essential considerations and recommendations does the article provide in its discussion, if relevant and substantiated?*
METHODICAL ASSESSMENT	
Study design	*Describe:* - *The general design of the study (in quantitative and/or qualitative terms)* - *Design form, e.g. reviews, RCT, quasi-experimental, longitudinal, systematic pre-/post-measurements, qualitative surveys, etc.* - *Study population – who, how many people*
Assessment of reliability: 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	*Which survey methods were used? Have different survey methods been used that support the same empirical findings?* *Has the field been highlighted from different perspectives?* *Does the data reflect the study's research questions/survey objectives?*

	Does the study explicitly reflect on strengths and weaknesses in the use of data to draw conclusions relating to general research questions? Has the study been peer-reviewed? (initially provides a score of 4) The number of quotations is also included (as described previously, less weight is attached to this).
Assessment of transparency: 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Are data collection, methods used, analysis approaches and empirical data described thoroughly?
Assessment of validity: 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Are the design and analysis method well suited to the research question? Have checks been carried out for conditions that could influence the results of the study? Are there any links between results and conclusions in the study?
Assessment of transferability 1) Very low 2) Low 3) Medium 4) High 5) Very high	Can the results of the study be generalised (statistical and analytical generalisability)? And does the study relate explicitly to this?

Assessment of thematic and methodical relevance
All the texts included have been assessed on the basis of their thematic relevance and methodical quality on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being the lowest and 5 being the highest. The coding sheet is the pilot test in the associated project team in order to ensure collective utilisation of the criteria, just as the assessment of each individual publication is discussed as part of a quality assurance process.

When assessing the **thematic relevance**, there is an assessment of whether a given publication deals with either 1) knowledge of extremism, with sufficient relevance for prevention within the selected subtopics, or 2) knowledge of prevention of extremism within the selected subtopics. Each text is given a rating from 1 to 5 in relation to thematic relevance.

The **methical quality** is assessed on the basis of the following general parameters: reliability, validity, transparency and transferability. The criteria for this can be found in the code charts above, but they are also summarised in the box below:

Box 0_3: Criteria for assessment of methodical quality

Reliability:
- Which survey methods were used? Have different survey methods been used that support the same empirical findings?
- Has the field been highlighted from different perspectives?
- Does the data reflect the study's research questions/survey objectives?
- Does the study explicitly reflect on strengths and weaknesses in the use of data to draw conclusions relating to general research questions?
- Has the study been peer-reviewed? (initially provides a score of 4)
- The number of quotations is also included (as described previously, less weight is attached to this).

Transparency:
- Are data collection, methods used, analysis approaches and empirical data described thoroughly?

Validity:
- Are the design and analysis method well suited to the research question?
- Have checks been carried out for conditions that could influence the results of the study?
- Are there any links between results and conclusions in the study?
- Does the study reflect on the methodical strengths/weaknesses concluding from results/answers to research questions to the study's general conclusions?

Transferability:
- Can the results of the study be generalised (statistical and analytical generalisability)? And does the study relate explicitly to this?

Separate ratings are given for reliability, transparency, validity and transferability for each study. These are combined to give an overall rating on the basis of the following weighting:
- Reliability: 35 per cent
- Transparency: 15 per cent
- Validity: 35 per cent
- Transferability: 15 per cent

All literature included in this mapping effort has been required to be of medium thematic relevance as only publications above a certain lower threshold (a score of 3 for thematic and methodical quality) are included. It has been assumed that all subtopics are to be covered with the methodically best literature above a certain threshold. This means that the methodical quality may vary slightly for each subtopic.

Thematic and methodical assessment of each research question/subtopic
An overall thematic and methodical rating was also given to each individual subtopic. This assessment has emerged as an average for the texts included for each subtopic. The texts involved are described as part of the synthesis itself.

Reporting the results: catalogue and synthesis
During the final, **fourth phase** of the literature study, all included publications have been analysed with a view to developing the general knowledge synthesis. The purpose of the actual coding of the studies has been to identify knowledge relating to the key topics and trends in the existing research, focusing on the research questions to be covered.

The results of the coding have been reported for each individual text in the form of summaries, extracting main points from the publication in relation to the key research questions and topics. These summaries have also formed the basis for the preparation of the synthesis.

The synthesis and catalogue have been developed through an analysis process, and the results have been validated in discussion with the Centre. The results of the synthesis have then been qualified by selected practitioners and practical experts in the field.

The reporting process has thus supported transparency in the method, which also gives the reader the opportunity to select particularly relevant sources to read independently.

A number of results were identified on the basis of a change theory analysis approach, specifically for the analysis process behind the synthesis for research question 2. The purpose of working with a change theory approach is to emphasise knowledge or clarify assumptions with regard to elements in the initiative that are relevant to reinforcing the impact and quality of the prevention effort. The change theory approach helps to deduce the most important elements in an initiative which are expected to assist with attaining the desired results in the prevention effort.

The change theory analysis has been based on the seven approaches identified. The identified approaches to prevention are each expected to support the prevention of extremism. This may be characterised as a long-term result and is in line with the fact that work with the three identified target groups should lead to prevention of extremism. The knowledge mapping effort and analysis of the same, implemented as part of the preparation of the synthesis, have shown that no studies or evaluations can explicitly make this link from initiatives to the prevention of extremism. In analytical terms, however, a number of publications indicate a range of different results which in the longer term may support the prevention effort. The short-term results are expected to provide the identified approaches to prevention. It is important to emphasise that the identified results are intentionally not referred to as effects or impacts, as no studies demonstrate actual effects or impacts. At the same time, although probable, it has not been proven that the short-term results will actually lead to prevention of extremism.

APPENDIX 2

APPENDIX 2: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Title	Year	Author	Publisher	Rating	
				Topic	Method
Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist, Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Auto-biographical Accounts	2017	Altier, Mary Beth et al.	Security Studies	5	3.7
Moral Disengagement and Building Resilience to Violent Extremism: An Education Intervention	2014	Aly, Anne et al.	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	5	3.4
Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism	2014	Barrelle, Kate	Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression	5	3.4
Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus	2016	Basra, Rajan et al.	The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence	5	4.2
Field Principles for Countering and Displacing Extremist Narratives	2016	Beutel, Alejandro et al.	Journal of Terrorism Research	5	3.0
Dreams and disillusionment: engagement in and disengagement from militant extremist groups	2011	Bjørgo, Tore	Crime, Law and Social Change	5	3.7
Chapter 20 Conclusions, in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality and ways forward	2005	Bjørgo, Tore	Routledge	5	3.7
Counter-terrorism as crime prevention: a holistic approach	2016	Bjørgo, Tore	Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression	4	3.7
Forskning på forebygging av radikalisering og voldelig ekstremisme: En kunnskapsstatus	2015	Bjørgo, Tore & Gjelsvik, Ingvild Magnæs	Norwegian Police University College, Oslo	5	4.7
Teaching approaches that help to build resilience to extremism among young people	2011	Bonnell, Joe et al.	Department of Education, UK	5	4.5
Counterterrorism and Radical Eco-Groups: A Context for Exploring the Series Hazard Model	2014	Carson, Jennifer Varriale	Journal of Quantitative Criminology	5	3.2
A Question of Participation – Disengagement from the Extremist Right, A case study from Sweden	2015	Christensen, Tina Wilchen	Roskilde University	5	4.2
Molenbeek and violent radicalisation	2017	European Institute of Peace (EIP)	European Institute of Peace	4	3.7
Evaluering af indsatsen for at forebygge ekstremisme og radikalisering	2014	Cowi	Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration (former)	3	3.2

Title	Year	Author	Source		
Dynamikker i ekstremistiske miljøer	2010	Crone, Manni	Danish Institute for International Studies	5	3.0
Radicalization revisited: violence, politics and the skills of the body	2016	Crone, Manni	International Affairs	5	4.2
Interrupting Extremism by Creating Educative Turbulence	2014	Davies, Lynn	Curriculum Inquiry	5	3.4
Deradicalization: not soft, but strategic	2011	Dechesne, Mark	Crime, Law and Social Change	5	3.6
Individual disengagement from Al Qa'ida-influenced terrorist groups: A rapid evidence assessment to inform policy and practice in preventing terrorism	2012	Disley, Emma; Weed, Kristin; Reding Anaïs; Clutterbuck, Lindsay; Warnes Richard	RAND Europe	5	4.7
Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through Genuine Partnerships	2017	Ellis, Heidi & Abdi, Saida	American Psychologist	5	3.2
Social Networks and Religious Violence	2016	Everton, Sean	Review of Religious Research	4	3.7
Increasing self-esteem and empathy to prevent violent radicalization: a longitudinal quantitative evaluation of a resilience training focused on adolescents with a dual identity	2015	Feddes, Allard et al.	Journal of Applied Social Psychology	5	3.3
Online-radikalisering: en rundrejse i forskningslitteraturen. Litteraturreview af definitioner og tilgange inden for online-radikalisering	2014	Gemmerli, Tobias	Danish Institute for International Studies	5	3.4
Online Radikalisering. Forebyggelse på internettet	2015	Gemmerli, Tobias	Danish Institute for International Studies	5	4.0
There and Back Again: The Study of Mental Disorder and Terrorist Involvement	2017	Gill, Paul, & Corner, Emily	American Psychologist	5	3.4
Radikalisering og psykisk helse – En kunnskapsoppsummering	2016	Grønnerød, Jarna et al.	Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies	5	4.2
Våldsbejakande islamistisk extremism & sociala medier	2015	Gustafsson, Linus	Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies	5	3.2
The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation	2017	Gøtzsche-Astrup, Oluf	Aggression and Violent Behavior: A Review Journal	5	4.7
Should I Stay or Should I go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting	2013	Hegghammer, Thomas	American Political Science Review	5	3.8
The recruiter's dilemma: Signalling and rebel recruitment tactics	2013	Hegghammer, Thomas	Journal of Peace Research	5	4.0
The Attractions of Jihadism. An Identity Approach to Three	2010	Hemmingsen, Ann-Sophie	Danish Institute for International Studies	5	4.3

Danish Terrorism Cases and the Gallery of Characters around Them					
The Trouble with Counter-narratives	2017	Hemmingsen, Ann-Sophie & Castro, Karin Ingrid	Danish Institute for International Studies	4	4.0
The Psychology of Terrorism – Revised and updated second edition	2014	Horgan, John	Routledge	5	4.7
Preventing Radicalization: A systematic review	2015	International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)	International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)	5	5.0
Radicalization in prison: the French case	2013	Khosrokhavar, Farhad	Politics, Religions & Ideology	5	4.4
Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts	2012	Kleinmann, Scott Matthew	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	5	3.7
Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism	2017	Koehler, Daniel	Routledge	5	4.4
Figurations of the future, forms and temporality of left radical politics in northern Europe	2015	Krøijer, Stine	Berghah Books	5	3.7
Behavioral aspects of terrorism	2013	Leistedt, Samuel J.	Forensic Science International	5	4.9
Dembra evalueringsrapport	2015	Lenz, Claudia & Kjøey, Ida	N/A	4	3.7
Preventing Violent Extremism through Value Complexity: Being Muslim Being British	2017	Liht, Jose & Savage, Sara	Journal of Strategic Security	5	3.3
Neo-liberal Governing of "Radicals"	2012	Lindekilde, Lasse	International Journal of Conflict and Violence	5	3.4
Voldelig transnational aktivisme: Islamisk Stat, foreign fighters og radikalisering	2015	Lindekilde, Lasse & Bertelsen, Preben	Dansk Sociologi journal	5	4.7
The psychological foundations of homegrown radicalization: An immigrant acculturation perspective	2015	Lyons, Sarah	N/A	5	3.8
Contextualizing Radicalization: The Emergence of the "Sauerland-Group" from Radical Networks and the Salafist Movement	2014	Malthaner, Stefan	Studies in Conflict & Terrorism	4	3.7
Reintegrating extremists, deradicalisation and desistance	2017	Marsden, Sarah	Springer Nature	5	3.6
The impact of digital communications technology on radicalization and recruitment	2017	Meleagrou-Hitchens, Alexander et al.	International Affairs	5	3.4
Joining Jihadi terrorist cells in Europe: Exploring motivational	2010	Nesser, Petter	Taylor & Francis	5	4.0

aspects of recruitment and radicalisation					
Slutevaluering af helhedsorienteret forebyggelse af ekstremisme	2016	Oxford Research	Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration	3	3.2
Lone-Actor Terrorism: Literature review	2015	Pantucci, Raffaello et al.	Royal United Services Institute	5	3.9
The Influence of Education and Socialization on Radicalization: An Exploration of Theoretical Presumptions and Empirical Research	2011	Pels, Trees & de Reyter, Doret	Child Youth Care Forum	5	3.7
Preventing Support for Violent Extremism through Community Interventions: A Review of the Evidence	2010	Pratchett, Lawrence et al.	Communities and Local Publications	5	4.4
Addressing Radicalisation into the Classroom - A New Approach to Teacher and Pupil Learning	2015	Reeves, Jane & Sheriyar, Alamgir	Journal of Education and Training	5	4.0
Digital Citizens: Countering Extremism Online	2015	Reynolds, Louis & Scott, Ralph	Demos	5	4.2
Jihad og døden	2017	Roy, Olivier	Vandkunsten	5	3.0
Till Martyrdom Do Us Part. Gender and the ISIS Phenomenon	2015	Saltman, Erin Marie & Smith, Melanie	Institute for Strategic Dialogue	5	3.3
Radicalisation, De-radicalisation, Counter-radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review	2013	Schmid, Alex P.	International Centre for Counter Terrorism Hague	5	3.7
Rationales for terrorist violence in homegrown jihadist groups: A case study from the Netherlands	2016	Schuurman, Bart & Horgan, John G.	Aggression and Violent Behavior	5	4.4
Reintegrating jihadist extremists: evaluating a Dutch initiative, 2013-2014	2015	Schuurman, Bart; Bakker, Edwin	Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression	5	3.7
Parental Influence on Radicalization and De-radicalization according to the Lived Experiences of Former Extremists and their Families	2017	Sikkens, Elga et al.	Journal of Deradicalization	5	4.2
Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism: A Life-Course Criminological Approach	2016	Simi, Pete et al.	Journal of Research in Crime and Deliquency	5	3.7
Why Radicalization Fails: Barriers to Mass Casualty Terrorism	2017	Simi, Pete; Windisch, Steven	Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX)	5	4.0
Social interaction and psychological pathways to political engagement and extremism	2014	Thomas, Emma et al.	European Journal of Social Psychology	5	3.0

Using behavioral analysis to prevent violent extremism: Assessing the cases of Michael Zehaf-Bibeau and Aaron Driver.	2017	Tierney, Michael	Journal of Threat Assessment and Management	3	3.2
The critical role of friends in networks for countering violent extremism: Toward a theory of vicarious help-seeking	2015	Williams, Michael J et al.	Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression	5	4.0