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Scientific Approach to Formulate Indicators & Responses to Radicalisation. Empirical study

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SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME

SECURITY, Collaborative Project Grant Agreement no. 241744



*Scientific Approach to Formulate Indicators
& Responses to Radicalisation*

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MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

Project Objectives

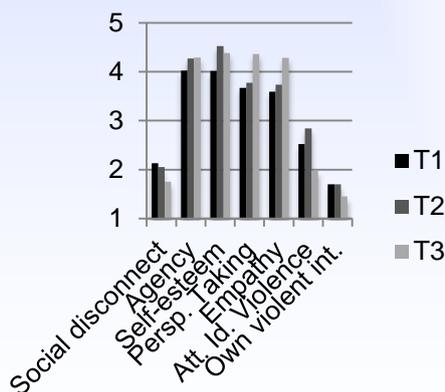
This research report presents two studies in which factors related to radicalisation were investigated. One major aim of this study was to validate social-psychological factors that were included in the SAFIRE social network model of WP4. This study validated these factors in (1) the context of a training that should make non-radical Muslim youth resilient in the face of radicalisation and (2) among former right-wing extremists. Additional objectives were to evaluate the effectiveness of the resilience training and to consider possible interventions that could be done in the restorative phase. Comparisons were made with findings of WP3.

Description of the Work

The evaluation of the resilience training was conducted with 46 non-radical Islamic adolescents using a longitudinal design. Participants completed a survey and interview before, in the middle, and after the training and three months later. In the second study, 13 former right-wing extremists from Germany and the Netherlands were interviewed to examine the importance of the factors before, during, and after group membership. In addition, we asked these participants which interventions they thought would be effective in preventing individuals to become engaged in an extremist group and how to stimulate disengagement from the groups.

Results Evaluation Study

* Combining qualitative and quantitative methods was found to be a good approach in studying radicalisation processes.
* The resilience training reduced social isolation while increasing agency, self-esteem, perspective taking and empathy toward out-groups (see Figure below).
* In line with WP3, identity and negative emotions were found to be related to positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence.



Results Interviews with Former Right-wing Extremists

* The study among former right-wing extremists showed identity, negative emotions, low self-esteem, a lack of trust in authorities, and the social-pedagogical context (family, peers, school) to be important factors in the radicalisation process.
* A comparison of data over time showed first evidence of the bridge-burning phenomenon (social disconnection from family, friends and main-stream society after engagement in an extremist group) and importance of the group in terms of self-esteem.
* Key-events played an important role in engagement as well as disengagement.
* Involving family, school and social workers is seen as an effective approach to prevent radicalisation.
* Bad group functioning and disappointment in other group members were the most important disengagement factors.
* For disengagement there should be an organization/contact person that could help in providing needs (i.e., housing, work, a social network).

Conclusions

* Combining qualitative and quantitative methods is an effective approach to study the (de-)radicalisation process.
* In line with WP3 and WP4, strengthening identity (for example by increasing self-esteem), reducing negative emotions and creating social connectedness are effective ingredients in resilience trainings.
* Radicalisation is not simply the sum of different factors. Different factors play a role at different stages.
* Key events are important in both radicalisation and de-radicalisation illustrating that these processes are non-linear.

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Abstract

Purpose:

The aim of the current studies was to empirically test a set of variables that predict violent radicalisation according to the WP4 network model and to compare effectiveness of interventions with findings of WP3. The present research longitudinally investigates effectiveness of a resilience training meeting the demand for more empirically based research on interventions to counter violent radicalisation (Lub, 2013). Following Steiner (2005), a combination of both qualitative (interviews) and quantitative methods (surveys) was used as this has been proposed to be an effective approach when studying radicalisation processes. By comparing factors over time, the relative importance of factors at different stages could be examined.

Methods:

Two studies were conducted: The aim of the first study was to test the effectiveness of a resilience training focused amongst others on reducing susceptibility of non-radical adolescent Muslims to violent extremism. For the second study, in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with a small group of former right wing extremists from Germany and the Netherlands. The role of psychological and socialization factors were examined before-, during, and after group membership.

Results:

The results point to the conclusion that in the preventive stage much can be done by applying interventions aimed at self-esteem, agency, empathy towards out-groups and managing negative emotions. These interventions can already be implemented at a young age. The majority of participants became engaged in extremist groups at a very young age (below 15 years old), a finding that replicates previous research on radicalisation processes among right-wing and Islamic extremists. Adolescence seems to be a critical period to intervene in regard to prevention. The following factors were found to be directly related to positive attitudes towards ideology-based violence among (non-radical) Muslim-adolescents:

- Identification with the (ethnic and religious) in-group
- Perceiving the in-group to be superior
- Having a sense of agency
- Personal uncertainty
- Perceived humiliation of the in-group
- Empathy towards the out-group

In addition, the study among former right-wing extremists showed the following factors to be important at the time before becoming engaged in an extremist group:

- A negative situation at home
- Ideology among peers and family
- Negative key events in personal life
- Media (music, concerts, internet)

- Ideology
- Identity
- Out-group threat
- Negative emotions
- Lack of trust in authorities
- Low self-esteem

In both studies it appears that identity and negative emotions play an important role in the radicalisation process. This is in line with the conclusions drawn by experts who assessed effectiveness of interventions in the SAFIRE study presented in WP3: interventions aimed at reducing or dealing with negative emotions and creating a strong identity are considered most effective in regard to prevention of radicalisation.

The evaluation of the training that should prevent violent radicalisation showed a reduction in social disconnectedness, increased agency and self-esteem (tendency), as well as perspective taking skills and empathy towards out-groups. Furthermore, after the training respondents showed lower levels of relative deprivation and were better able to deal with negative emotions and situations (i.e., discrimination).

Results of the interview study with former right-wing extremists shows that the most important factors that motivate people to disengage are bad functioning of the group or disappointment in its members. Analyses of factors over time showed that self-esteem was low before group membership, high during group membership, and decreased again after leaving the group. In addition, evidence was found in support of the bridge-burning hypothesis. When individuals got involved in the extremist group ties to the “outside world” (family, former friends, education, work) deteriorated. The former extremists emphasized that restorative interventions should be matched to the individual. Individuals should be motivated to disengage and third parties (non-governmental organizations, first-line workers) could provide social support (persons who disengage often experience falling into a ‘black hole’) and aid in building a new life. It is difficult to motivate people to leave an extremist group once they are in. Finally, key events were found to be important both at the engagement as well as the disengagement stage. These events motivated individuals to join or leave the group.

Conclusions:

The present study provides a rich dataset including both qualitative and quantitative data on factors that were shown in WP4 to be important in the radicalisation process of a training aimed at preventing violent radicalisation. The social network model in WP4 proved to be effective in studying factors that are related to violent radicalisation and identifying possible target factors for interventions. Data that were collected in the two studies presented in this report can be added to the social network model, partly to validate and strengthen (or to disconfirm) existing associations between factors, partly by adding factors that had not been included beforehand. More insight can be obtained in (de-)radicalisation processes by comparing factors (i.e., self-esteem) over time. We could confirm the importance of focusing on strengthening identity (i.e., increase self-esteem), reducing negative emotions, and reducing social disconnectedness when developing

preventive interventions. This is in line with the WP3 assessment study of interventions by experts. In regard to restorative interventions, the focus should be on the individual by determining his or her needs. An independent organisation or professional worker could implement the intervention. This person or organisation should have sufficient legitimacy and be able to create trust. Peers and family of the individual could mediate in this process. Radicalisation is not simply the sum of different factors; different factors play a role at different stages in the process. Key events motivate individuals to radicalise further or to de-radicalise supporting the notion of a non-linear and dynamic process.

1. Introduction

This research report presents two studies in which factors related to radicalisation are investigated. One major aim of this study is to validate social-psychological factors that are part of the SAFIRE social network model that was included in WP4. The present study validates these factors in (1) the context of a training that should make Muslim youth resilient in the face of radicalisation and (2) among former right-wing extremists. In addition, we compare effectiveness of interventions at different stages in the radicalisation process with previous findings of the WP3 assessment of interventions study. Before we present an overview of the factors that have been associated with engagement and dis-engagement in extremist groups, we first define the concepts of radicalisation, terrorism, and terrorist groups.

1.1 Conceptual definitions

It is important to note that radicalisation need not lead to violence and that many radicalised individuals remain non-violent. There exists an important distinction between radicalisation and terrorism. Radicalisation is situated at the attitudinal/emotional level whereas terrorism is at the behavioural level. The process of radicalisation can nonetheless results in a pool of likeminded individuals who become at risk of turning to violence and terrorism. In defining radicalisation the following description is useful: “violent radicalisation” is the phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism (European Council, 2002). Or, as Silber and Bhatt (2007, p. 16) describe it: “radicalisation is the progression of searching, finding, adopting, nurturing, and developing this extreme belief system to the point where it acts as a catalyst for a terrorist act”.

Several aspects are noteworthy. First, radicalisation is considered a process. Over time individuals search, find, and develop an ideology (extreme belief system) that can result into violence. As outlined below, several stages can be distinguished in this process and at each stage specific factors seem to play an important role. Second, the process of radicalisation we are interested in results in violence, a terrorist act, or terrorism.

Terrorism, in turn, is difficult to define at a conceptual level as noted by Laqueur (2000, p. 46):

... Terrorism has been defined in many different ways, and little can be said about it with certainty except that it is the use of violence by a group for political ends, usually directed against a government, but at times also against another ethnic group, class, race, religion, or political movement.

According to Laqueur (2000, p. 46), it is the diversity of terrorism which makes defining the phenomenon challenging:

Any attempt to be more specific is bound to fail, for the simple reason that there is not one but many different terrorisms. Traditional terrorism appeared in various forms: in conjunction with a civil war or guerrilla warfare, in the framework of a political campaign, and also in “pure” form. It has been waged by religious and secular groups, by the left and the right, by nationalist and internationalist movements, and by governments who engage in state-sponsored terrorism.

Terrorists have seldom, if ever, seized power, in contrast to guerrilla movements. But they have on occasion brought about political change, inasmuch as they have helped to bring down democratic governments that were replaced by military dictatorships. They have also on occasion helped to trigger war.... In a few cases, terrorism has had an effect on world history, but it has not always been the one the terrorists intended.

Terrorism can both be a strategy, and a tactic (see also Crenshaw, 1981) and can therefore be confused with insurgency. However, insurgency is a broader strategy that seeks to transform or replace the existing organisation and structure of society by means of violence. Insurgents can therefore use the tactic of terrorism to reach their goal. Other instruments might be the use of propaganda, the establishment of an alternative political and social infrastructure and the formation of an armed and uniformed militia.

According to Crenshaw (1981, p. 379) three questions can organise the study of terrorism: why terrorism occurs, how the process of terrorism works, and what its social and political effects are. To understand terrorism, however, Crenshaw argues that we have to understand the circumstances under which terrorism occurs (i.e., economic circumstances), the strategy a group uses, and finally, individual participation. The present report deals with the last question, namely, how and why do people radicalise? What are factors that motivate individuals to become a member of an extremist group? Specifically we are interested in the two extremes of the radicalisation process namely how people become motivated to become engaged in an extremist group and how people become motivated to disengage from the extremist group.

As already became evident in the description of the concepts above, radicalisation and the development of an ideology almost always occurs in the context of a social group: the terrorist group is a structured group of more than two persons, established over a period of time and acting in concert to commit terrorist offences (Kruglanski, 2013; Moghaddam, 2008; Sageman, 2004). As pointed out by Moghaddam (2005, 2009) terrorism is often the result of group processes. In the next section, we will turn further to what is known about the factors that are deemed important in the radicalisation process.

1.2 The radicalisation process

As a series of authors have pointed out, there seems to be no single personality, typology, or specific process that leads to violent radicalisation (i.e., Bjørge, 1997, 2011; Kruglanski, & Fishman, 2006; Linden, 2009; Möller & Schumacher, 2006; 2007; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). Rather, radicalisation may be seen as a complex phenomenon, a combination of factors at different stages that lead people to become involved in extremist groups. In the network model of WP4 more than 200 factors have been identified to play a role in the radicalisation process. These factors were derived from previous research that has focused on the reasons for people to radicalise and become motivated to join extremist groups (e.g., Bjørge, 1997, 2011; Bongar, Brown, Beutler, Breckenridge, & Zimbardo, 2006; Buijs, Demant, & Hamdy, 2006; Doosje, Loseman, & Van den Bos, in press; Doosje, Van den Bos, Loseman, Feddes, & Mann, 2012; Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2007; Kruglanski & Fishman, 2006; Linden, 2009; McCauley, 2002; Moghaddam, 2005, 2009; Silke, 2008; Möller & Schumacher, 2006, 2007; Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns; 2009; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010; De Wolf &

Doosje, 2010). In the current study we focus specifically on social-psychological factors in the radicalisation process. By studying combinations of factors at different stages in the process (i.e., the phase before joining an extremist group vs. the phase of leaving the group), a dynamic, non-linear approach is taken. This approach allows for an examination of different factors that have been proposed in existing models of radicalisation. For example, Moghaddam (2005) uses the metaphor of a staircase to describe the process of radicalisation leading to terrorism. In a statement to the United States Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs ("Violent Islamist Extremism in Global Context") he explains it as follows:

Consider a multi-story building with a winding staircase at its centre. People are located on different floors of the building, but everyone begins on the ground floor; where there are about 1.2 billion Muslims. Thought and action on each floor is characterized by particular psychological processes. On the ground floor, the most important psychological processes influencing behaviour are subjective interpretations of material conditions, perceptions of fairness, and adequacy of identity. Hundreds of millions of Muslims suffer collective (fraternal) relative deprivation and lack of adequate identity; they feel that they are not being treated fairly and are not receiving adequate material rewards. They feel dissatisfied with the way they are depicted by the international media and, most importantly, they do not want to become second-class copies of Western ideals.

Several psychological processes have been considered to play an important role at each stage of radicalisation. Based on previous work as cited above, a range of factors are discussed in greater detail as they could be targeted in preventive or restorative interventions.

Identification with the in-group & self-esteem

In line with Bjørgo (1997) and Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010), *identity* is proposed to play a key role in the radicalisation process. In interviews with former right-wing extremists these researchers observed that the need for a social group and friendship in particular is critical in regard to the radicalisation process. As Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010, p. 72) conclude:

Almost all young people who end up in right-wing extremist movements come in contact with the extreme right in their search for social belonging in the form of friendships and collaboration, and through a related need for social protection.

Indeed, finding "soul mates" or groups is an important motivation for potential radical people as the group can provide its members with structure and meaning in an uncertain world (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Several functions of the group for individuals can be distinguished. Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) and Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) pointed out that the group fulfils important needs in terms of being a source of friendship, collaboration, and social protection. According to Social Identity Theory, one important function of the group is that it can be a source of self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). *Self-esteem* is considered to be an additional key factor in the radicalisation process. For example, Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) argue that extremist groups help boost self-esteem of group members and are therefore attractive. In this line, Moghaddam (2006) shows that the need for a positive and distinct identity is present across cultures and can influence both individual as well as group behaviour.

Distance to others

Radicalised individuals have been observed to experience a great distance to other people who live differently in their view (De Wolf & Doosje, 2010). For example, an Islamic person in the Netherlands may perceive his or her culture to be quite different from the norms and values of the out-group (non-Muslims). This is illustrated by the following statement of an Islamic extremist living in the Netherlands (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 64):

Working together is important, but it does not really work. Dutch people talk and gossip too much, our characters do not go well together

Indeed, Doosje and colleagues (in press) found a greater distance to people who think and live differently to be related to positive attitudes toward ideology based-violence and own violent intentions.

Perceived in-group superiority.

Perceived in-group superiority plays a crucial role in understanding the radicalisation process. For example, Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) describe the perceived superiority of right-wing people in relation to inter-ethnic conflicts with other immigrant youth (Muslims in the Netherlands) but also in relation to Jewish people (Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010; see also Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). The main notion of this factor is that members of a group come to perceive their in-group (one's own group) to be superior in comparison to out-groups (other groups one does not feel a connection to). This evaluation is often based on differences in moral values or in-group norms. That is, group members perceive their own values to be the right way. These feelings of superiority have been found to predict positive attitudes towards ideology based violence that is used to protect one's in-group or the conservation of one's values (i.e., Doosje et al., in press, Doosje et al., 2012).

Social disconnectedness & bridge burning phenomenon

Another important factor in the radicalisation process is the *connectedness of an individual to the general society*. This can be connection to society by means of work or school, but also via leisure organisations like sport clubs. Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) report that participants in their study had difficulties at school (school performance, conflicts with teachers, being excluded by peers). In addition, they noted that participants were hardly involved in any institutional organisation like sport clubs or churches. Regarding the connection with society, it is often argued in the literature that compared to the period before membership of the group; during membership people distance themselves from individuals and organisations that are not part of the right-wing extremist group (Bjørge & Carlsson, 2005). One additional aim of the present research is to examine this so-called 'Bridge Burning' phenomenon which will be described further in Chapter 3.

Personal uncertainty

This factor refers to the subjective sense of doubt or instability in self-views, world-views, or the interrelation between the two (Van den Bos & Lind, 2009). Personal uncertainty may be related to people's identity (the question "Who am I?"), life purpose (existential uncertainty), and uncertainty about one's future (i.e., job security, Victoroff &

Adelman, 2010). When people are in an uncertain state, or an uncertain period of their life, they may be more susceptible to extreme ideas (e.g., Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2007). Also, extremist groups become more attractive as they provide clear norms about how to behave and straightforward answers to questions and worries. In other words, people manage feelings of uncertainty, via a worldview defence, in order to make sense of life (see also Buijs et al., 2006). In previous research (Doosje et al, in press; Doosje et al., 2012) it was found that uncertainty predicted higher levels of perceived in-group superiority and was associated with collective relative deprivation, two other factors identified to play an important role in the radicalisation process that will be discussed below.

Perceived out-group threat

Out-group threat was argued to play an important role in the radicalisation process as well. Threat can be subdivided into realistic threat and symbolic threat (see also Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson, et al., 2002). Realistic threat refers to a perceived threat of loss of materialistic resources (e.g., losing one's job). Symbolic threat refers to a perceived threat to one's culture or identity. Previous research has shown that perceptions of threat caused by another group are related to negative attitudes toward this group (see for a meta-analysis: Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Furthermore, Doosje and colleagues (2012; Doosje et al., in press) found that threat caused by an out-group was related to more collective relative deprivation, more perceptions of illegitimacy of authorities, a greater perceived in-group superiority and indirectly to approval of ideology based right-wing extremist and Islamic violence. This is illustrated by what the following extreme Islamic person living in the Netherlands argued (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 65):

I am worried about the oppression of Muslims. I empathise with my brothers in faith. Islam is just like a body, the pain is being felt by all parts of the body. That is why I feel the pain of Muslims.

Perceived illegitimacy of authorities

An additional key factor in the radicalisation process is the perception of illegitimacy of authorities (Buijs et al., 2006; De Wolf & Doosje, 2010; Loza, 2007). Indeed, in studies among non-radical Muslim and non-Muslim adolescents in the Netherlands, Doosje and colleagues found that perceptions of illegitimacy of authorities were related to positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence and own violent intentions (Doosje et al, in press; Doosje et al., 2012). This is illustrated by a statement of Mohammed B. (the murderer of the Dutch moviemaker and critic of the Islam Theo van Gogh) who argues that "you cannot expect anything from the government. I have had enough of the institutions" (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 35).

Regarding illegitimacy of authorities, these can range from authorities at school (i.e., teachers, the school system) to police and government. Indeed, Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) and also Van der Valk & Wagenaar (2010) reported that long lasting conflicts with teachers are often found among right-wing extremist youth. These researchers also note that in the Netherlands there is often distrust in the established political parties. The important role of trust in the radicalisation process has also been noted by researchers studying the conflict in Northern Ireland (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2009).

Collective relative deprivation

Relative deprivation (e.g., Crosby, 1976; Grant & Brown, 1995) is the feeling people have that they as an individual or as a group receive less than they consider being just and deserved. This factor has been found in previous research to be related to the earlier discussed factor of uncertainty, but also to feelings of threat and experienced humiliation (Doosje et al., in press, Doosje et al., 2012). In addition, perceived discrimination among the in-group has been found to be related to support for terrorism (Victoroff & Adelman, 2010). Indeed, Moghaddam (2005) describes feelings of relative deprivation to be a key process at the ground floor of his staircase model. This factor is closely related to perceptions of injustice which can arise for a variety of reasons like economic and political conditions, but also threats to personal or collective identity. This latter point, he argues, is considered especially important in regard to the young Muslim population in Western countries who may feel that “the very best they can achieve is to become a good copy of the Western model of women and men propagated as “ideal” by the international media—a good copy that can never be as good as, or better than, the original” (Moghaddam, 2005, p. 163).

Negative emotions: Humiliation

Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) observe that emotions like frustration and hatred are commonly encountered in the radicalisation process. These were often the result of negative experiences at school or at home, but sometimes also negative experiences with out-groups (i.e., conflicts between right-wing extremists and immigrants). This was also found in interviews with former right-wing extremists by Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007). Another emotion that has been proposed to be central to radicalisation and terrorism is humiliation (e.g., Lindner, 2001; Label, Doosje, & Jonas, 2011; and see for an overview Hurling, Lindner, Spalthoff, & Britton, 2013). Humiliation is defined as “the deep dysphoric feeling associated with being unjustly degraded, ridiculed or put down” (Hurling & Luchetta, 1999, p. 264). Humiliation is mentioned as a key variable associated with revenge tendencies driving for instance the perpetrators of numerous ‘school shootings’ of the past decades in the United States and Europe (Elison & Harter, 2007; Torres & Bergner, 2010). Humiliation has been related to high levels of perceived out-group threat (Label et al., 2011).

1.3. Description of the present research

The review above provides an overview of social psychological factors that were found to play an important role in the radicalisation process. These factors were also included in the network model of radicalisation as presented in WP4. Based on the associations between the variables, predictions can be made to what extend each variable is directly or indirectly related to positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence and own violent intentions. The associations between the factors are given in Table 1.1. For example, high identification with the in-group has been found to be associated with a greater perception of superiority of the own group, greater disconnection to society as a whole, and the experience of both symbolic and realistic threat.

Table 1.1 Associations between factors in the WP4 network model

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Identification with in-group	1		++	+			++	++					
2. Distance to others		1					+	+				+	+
3. In-group superiority			1		+		++	+				++	+
4. Social disconnection				1						+		+	
5. Personal uncertainty					1					+			
6. Self-esteem						1						--	
7. Symbolic threat							1		+	+++	++		
8. Realistic threat								1	+	+++			
9. Perceived illegitimacy authorities									1	+		+	+
10. Collective deprivation										1	+	+	+
11. Experience of humiliation											1	+	+
12. Attitude towards violence												1	
13. Violent intentions													1

Note. +: $.10 \geq X < .30$; ++: $.30 \geq X < .50$; +++: $.50 \geq X$; --: $-.30 \geq X > -.50$.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the factors and their interrelations as presented in this table are validated in two studies that are presented in the next two chapters. In addition, other factors that have not yet been included in the WP4 network model will be investigated.

In Chapter 2, we focus on the preventive stage of radicalisation. As will be explained later on, radicalisation processes can be divided into different stages. The stage before individuals become engaged in a group is called the preventive stage. Social work programmes focusing on making vulnerable youth resilient might already be sufficient to prevent radicalisation. To examine this idea, a programme in the Netherlands named DIAMANT (DIAMANT, SIPI, 2010) is tested for its effectiveness. Both interviews and surveys were used to examine how this programme affected a series of factors. These include self-esteem, empathy, social disconnectedness, perspective taking skills, and agency. It should be noted that several of these factors have not yet been included in the WP4 network model (i.e., perspective taking skills, agency). As described in greater detail in Chapter 2, this programme was evaluated using a longitudinal design with a pre-, between-, post-, and follow-up measurement. As was noted by Lub (2013), there is a lack of empirically-based research on effectiveness of interventions aimed at countering radicalisation.

In Chapter 3, a study with 13 former right-wing extremists is described. These individuals from the Netherlands and Germany have been interviewed to gain more insight into the role of, for example, self-esteem in processes of engagement and disengagement with an extremist right-wing group. Using content analysis, these interviews were analysed with a specific focus on, but not restrictive to, the factors in the network model depicted in Table 1.1. Ultimately, the role of factors before, during and after membership is outlined. In addition, the former extremists were asked about possible effective interventions that could prevent engagement or might lead to disengagement with extremist groups. A comparison will be made with conclusions of the assessment of effective interventions as judged by experts in SAFIRE WP3.

The present report provides all the materials used in the study in appendices at the end. These include the survey that was used, interview schemes, codebooks,

ethical forms. This research was conducted in close cooperation with the ethical specialist in the SAFIRE project; see also the delivery report of SAFIRE WP1.

2. Evaluation of a Training aimed at Preventing Radicalisation

2.1 Introduction

A main goal of this study was to examine the long-term effects of a training programme aimed to increase resilience against radicalisation among vulnerable youth. This training is mainly (but not exclusively) focused on youngsters with bi-cultural identities. Research in the Netherlands (i.e., Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) and other Western countries (i.e., Poynting & Mason, 2007; Meret & Betz, 2009) points out that Muslims often suffer from stigmatization which may be especially hard for youngsters with a Muslim background to deal with (Moghaddam, 2005; 2006). In turn, these adolescents may be attracted to and recruited by radical Islamic groups. We therefore focus especially on the effects of the training on these youngsters.

Research in the Netherlands (e.g., Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) and outside the Netherlands (e.g., King & Taylor, 2011) has pointed out that it is possible to have degrees of identification with one's ethnic minority group and the national majority at the same time. Having multiple identities (for example Turkish-Dutch, or African-American) can have negative effects. For example, immigrants and ethnic minority groups in western countries can struggle with combining commitments to their own ethnic group with the ideas and norms of the majority. In addition, as noted before, adolescents with a migrant background may feel unjustly treated and relatively deprived when perceiving that they do not receive the same treatment as others (i.e., Moghaddam, 2005; 2006).

In the present study a programme, DIAMANT (SIPI, 2010), was evaluated. This programme was based on two kinds of interventions, namely the system approach and the resilience approach. The starting point of this programme is to involve the social context: parents, the school, municipal organisations (e.g., social welfare agencies) and front-line workers. In addition, the training aims to increase self-esteem, a sense of agency, and decrease social isolation. These are factors commonly found in resilience programs (see also Lub, 2013).

2.1.1. Description of the DIAMANT Programme

The training consists of four modules that run during a period of three months. In these modules trainers worked with groups of about 15 young adults (14 to ca. 24 years old). In the modules, the participants learn respectively (1) to think about their different identities and to deal with important events in their lives (Turning Point); (2) goal setting strategies and formation of and dealing with different opinions (Moral Reasoning); (3) dealing with aggression and conflicts (Mediation and Conflict Management). In addition, participants are coached by certified trainers in finding work or education. The coaching continues also after the three-month training is completed.

2.1.2 Theoretical background DIAMANT project

The cultural-societal context of the identity issues among youth with a migrant background have been emphasized from a sociological-anthropological perspective. For example, Verkuyten (2005) has stated that consequences of immigration and

multiculturalism can be better understood by means of qualitative analyses of themes that are currently salient in society. For example, in contrast to the idea of the *multicultural* society, there are concepts of communities in which *assimilation* of immigrants is the preferred end-goal. Advocates of such structures uphold the opinion that immigrants need to distance themselves from their own culture and adapt to the host culture. As indicated before, the participants in the DIAMANT training deal with these issues daily: To what extent is my culture in line with the Dutch culture? How do I deal with expectations from both my family culture and the societal culture?

According to Berry's model of acculturation (1980, 1997, 2008) behaviours and psychological well-being of migrants are dependent on the daily interaction between people of different cultural backgrounds. The model shows that contrasting expectations between migrants and members of the dominant host cultures can lead to stress, frustration and possible conflicts (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). The DIAMANT training is based on the idea that providing young first, second and third generation migrants with more insight into these processes makes them more resilient against possible radicalisation towards violence.

The development of DIAMANT is born out of the observation that many young Muslims in the Netherlands feel discriminated against, unfairly treated and relatively deprived. An important theme for these individuals is the concept of dual identity (e.g., Moroccan Dutch) with regard to well-being. Research in the Netherlands (e.g., Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) and from abroad (e.g., Moghaddam, 2005, 2006; King & Taylor, 2011) emphasize the possible vulnerability of young adults with such dual identities. One consequence may be that experiences of stigmatisation lead these individuals to disidentify with general society, creating a distance towards those that are not considered to belong to their in-group. These youngsters may disconnect from society, become isolated, and ultimately vulnerable to extremist organizations.

One important objective of the DIAMANT training is to prevent or reduce this social isolation and to maintain a connection with these young adults. In the training, participants are taught to think about themselves and their different identities. In the first module, called Turning Point, this is a central topic. For example, in this module participants have to draw a time-line in which they indicate the positive and negative experiences in their lives until the moment they started with their training. This time-line could start in childhood. Also, participants had to describe their family background and the original country of descent. In addition, parallel to this module participants were supported with practical issues such as how to deal with debts, applying for internships or work, and enrolling in an education. For this purpose, participants had to reflect about their future and make a planning. That is, to enrol in college, a participant had to complete high school first, to complete high school he/she first had to select a suitable school and enrol. The trainers actively supported the participants in creating a planning. It was expected that this exercise would increase a sense of agency among participants and increase their self-esteem while reducing negative emotions (i.e., frustration) and perceptions of relative deprivation.

Strengthening moral reasoning is another important objective of the DIAMANT training. In this module participants learn to judge themselves and others and are taught how different contexts (e.g., the Islamic upbringing at home, vs. the more individualistic Dutch society) can lead to different expectations. Research from developmental psychology has taught us how in puberty and adolescence social events (like discrimination and exclusion) are understood and interpreted (i.e., Killen,

Mulvey, & Hitti, in press). Two important factors that play a role are empathy towards others and perspective taking. It is therefore expected that after completing the DIAMANT training, participants will show higher levels of empathy towards others and are better able to take the perspective of others.

In addition, the DIAMANT training teaches participants to deal better with conflicts (module Conflict Management). One source of possible conflicts in many European countries, including the Netherlands, is the stereotype of the Muslim as a negative other (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Meret & Betz, 2009). This stereotyping (e.g., in the media) can strongly influence emotions among these young adults and lead to feelings of anger and frustration. In this module participants learn how to deal with these negative emotions. This module was also expected to increase participants' self-esteem by learning them to control themselves in conflict situations like in case of (perceived) discrimination (i.e., being refused an internship). Thereby, perceptions of relative deprivation and feelings of frustration are expected to be reduced further.

It should be noted that this training meets several of the conclusions made in WP3 in regard to the assessment of different interventions that should prevent radicalisation. In that report, it was concluded that creating a positive identity and reducing negative emotions is related to effective interventions. Indeed, interventions focusing on building a strong identity (i.e., increasing self-esteem and agency) were evaluated to be effective in addressing radicalisation. Importantly, building trust (i.e., trust in regard to the relationship with trainers, but also increased trust in authorities like governments and the educative system) was perceived to be a critical factor in counter-radicalisation efforts. In the next section, the specific expectations of the DIAMANT training are outlined.

2.1.3 Research predictions

In line with Lub (2013), before the programme started, explicit predictions were made in cooperation with trainers and developers of the programme based on the theoretical background as described above. We expected the training to:

- Reduce social isolation of participants (social disconnectedness);
- Increase levels of self-esteem among participants;
- Increase a sense of agency among participants;
- Increase empathy and perspective taking among participants;
- In addition, we expected that attitudes toward ideology-based violence and one's own violent intentions would stay stable (and low) or decrease over time.

In addition to these hypotheses, we examined relationships between a series of additional factors that are also included in the network model of WP4 and that were discussed in Chapter 1 in Table 1.1 (page 14), namely:

- In-group identification (we distinguish between religious, ethnic, and national identification);
- Perceived distance to out-group members;
- Perceived in-group superiority;
- Perceived threat to the in-group;

- Perceived illegitimacy of authorities.
- Collective relative deprivation.
- Experienced humiliation.

In the following section, we describe the research method that was used to test these predictions and examine possible relations between factors.

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Participants

Three separate groups that participated in the training are evaluated. All participants lived in urban areas in two cities in the Netherlands. Most participants came to the training via referrals from governmental agencies such as DWI (organisation for the unemployed). In Group 1, only a minority participated on the basis of their own initiative. It should be noted that participation in DIAMANT is voluntary rather than obligatory; participants need to be motivated to participate. The first two groups (Group 1 and Group 2) included young adults who arrived at the training via social workers, SIPI itself, and municipal organisations such as DWI. The third group (Group 3) consisted of pupils at a secondary school (VMBO, which is the second level out of five secondary school levels).

In Group 1, 12 participants started at the first time point (T1, see the section on Design and Procedure for a detailed account of the measurement procedure). In Group 2, 16 participants started and in Group 3, 18 participants started the training. This makes a total of 46 participants that are included in the analyses at T1. Two participants in Group 3 did not participate at T1 but started at the between-measurement (T2).

At T1, eleven per cent of the participants were of Turkish ethnic background, 85% were of Moroccan background, 2% were of Surinam ethnic background and 2% were of a Pakistani background. The age range of participants was 14-23 years old. The mean age was 16.93 years old ($SD = 2.76$). Seventy-eight per cent of the participants were male. Eighty-three per cent of the participants were born in the Netherlands being second-generation immigrants. Two per cent were born in Turkey, 13% in Morocco, and 2% in Pakistan. These were first generation immigrants. Regarding the parents, 11% of the participants' parents were born in Turkey, 85% were born in Morocco, 2% in Suriname, and 2% in Pakistan. All participants indicated they were Islamic.

2.2.2 Design and procedure

A longitudinal design was used with a pre-measurement (Time 1, T1), between-measurement (Time 2, T2, after the Turning Point module), and follow-up measurement (Time 3, T3, after the moral reasoning and conflict management modules). There was only an experimental group; due to practical constraints it was not possible to include a control group. The first of the three groups also completed a follow-up measurement three months after completion of the training (Time 4, T4). The time-line for this group is depicted in Figure 2.1. The data of Group 1 were collected in the period November 2011 until June 2012. The data of Group 2 were collected in the period January 2012 until May 2013, and data from Group 3 were collected in between March and May 2013.

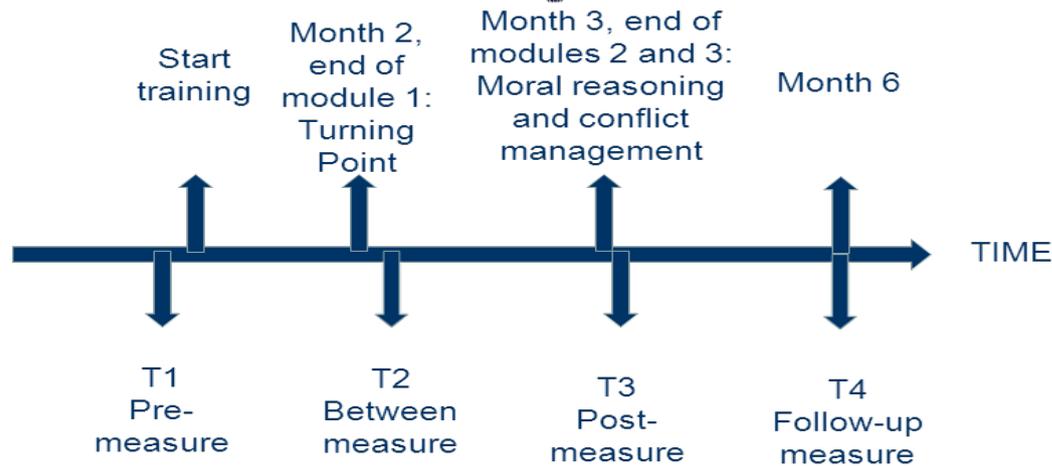


Figure 2.1 Illustration of measurement points in effect study of resilience program DIAMANT.

At the time of writing this report, the second group had completed T1, T2, and T3, and the third group had completed T1 and T2. In Table 2.1 an overview is given of the percentage of participants in each group that participated at respectively T1, T2 (all groups), T3 (Group 1 and Group 2), and T4 (Group 1).

Table 2.1 Overview of percentage of participants in each group that participated at T1 (before measurement) and percentages of T1 that participated respectively at T2 (between-) T3 (post-) and T4 (follow-up measurement)

	T1	T2	T3	T4
Group 1	100%	83%	92%	83%
Group 2	100%	44%	56%	-
Group 3	89%	67%	-	-

In this research both a qualitative measure (interviews) and a quantitative measure (a survey) were used. The advantage of combining these measures is that they complement each other. With quantitative measures one can objectively examine the factors in question. Interviews, however, allow for more in-depth insights.

2.2.3 Interview scheme and coding

The interview duration varied from about 15 minutes to 1 hour. For the interviews a semi-structured interview scheme was used (see Appendices 5-8). In the interviews, variables of interest (like self-esteem) were examined more in-depth.

In the present study a coding procedure was applied to score the interviews. This procedure was similar to the one used in the study with former right-wing extremists. That is, the interviews were written out and content analysed (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). For this procedure two researchers independently coded the interviews making use of a coding scheme (see Appendix 9). Again, the coding procedure was an iterative process: First, one interview was coded by two researchers. Disagreements were discussed and ambiguous categories were removed. New categories were added if needed. After this process, the interviewers independently coded a second interview that they discussed afterwards. Possible disagreements were discussed until there was consensus and further alterations in

the coding scheme were made. The remaining interviews were then coded independently by both researchers. Disagreements were discussed until consensus was reached.¹

2.2.4 Survey Factors

At each time-point a survey was completed by the participants and individual interviews were held. The time to complete the survey was about 15 minutes. The survey consisted of questions measuring factors that were described in Chapter 1. In addition, additional factors were included based on relevance to the present study (identification with Dutch society, agency, and perspective taking). The complete survey is added to this report in Appendix 4. Unless presented otherwise, all factors were measured with multiple items on five-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*I do not agree at all*), 2 (*I disagree a little bit*), 3 (*I do not agree or disagree*), 4 (*I agree a little bit*), to 5 (*I totally agree*).

Identification with Islam. This factor was measured with one item derived from Doosje, Ellemers, and Spears (1995), namely “How important is Islam to you?”. Answers could be given on a five point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all important*) to 5 (*very important*).

Identification with Dutch society. This factor was measured with four items based on Doosje et al. (1995). For example “It is very important for me to be Dutch”. This scale was found to be reliable (Cronbach’s alpha was .90).

Identification with one’s ethnic background. This factor was measured with four items also from Doosje et al. (1995), for example “It is very important for me to be of [ethnicity] background”. This scale was found to be reliable (Cronbach’s alpha was .81).

Perceived distance to non-Muslims. This factor was measured with two items from Doosje, Loseman and Van den Bos (in press). For example “I avoid people who are not Muslim”. The correlation between these two items was .76.

Perceived superiority of the Muslim in-group. This scale was derived from Doosje et al. (in press). It consisted of four items such as: “Islam is better than other religions”. Alpha was .70.

Disconnectedness to Dutch society. This factor was measured with two items ($r = .53$) derived from Doosje et al. (in press). An example item is “I feel at home in the Netherlands”. The items were recoded so that higher scores indicated more disconnectedness to Dutch society.

Agency was measured by five items derived from Dumka, Stoerzinger, Jackson, and Roosa (1996). An example is “I am aware of my strong and weak points”. This scale was also found to be reliable (alpha = .87)...

Uncertainty was measured by two items from Greco, and Roger (2001) with a correlation of .50. An example is: “In a difficult situation I quickly feel restless”.

Self-esteem. This factor was measured by four items that were taken from the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979; Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001). An example item is: “I have a number of good qualities”.

¹ We want to thank Corine van Middelkoop and Maartje Eigeman (FORUM), and Laurens van der Varst (COT) for their help with conducting the interviews. We thank Nathalie de Zwart (University of Amsterdam) for her help with coding and preparing the codebook as well as the qualitative datasets.

Symbolic threat to the Muslim in-group was measured by four items derived from Doosje et al. (in press). An example is “In the Netherlands Muslims should receive more respect”. The scale was reliable ($\alpha = .78$).

Realistic threat to the Muslim in-group. Three items measured realistic threat. These were also derived from Doosje et al. (in press). An example item is: “In the Netherlands companies prefer non-Muslims over Muslims when hiring people”. The scale was reliable ($\alpha = .72$).

Illegitimacy of authorities. This item was measured by seven items derived from Doosje et al. (in press). An example is: “I have trust in democracy”. These items were recoded so that higher scores indicate higher perceptions of illegitimacy of Dutch authorities. The scale was reliable with an alpha of .79.

Collective relative deprivation of the ethnic in-group. Four items measured this factor (α was .81) and these were taken from Doosje and colleagues (in press). An example item is: “In the Netherlands people with a [respective ethnic background] are discriminated against”.

Perceived humiliation of the ethnic in-group. This factor was measured by four items, for example: “Sometimes I worry that people of my [respective ethnic background] are being humiliated”. These items were derived from Hurling and Luchetta (1999) and formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .91$).

Perspective-taking skills with regard to non-Muslims. These were measured by three items derived from Davis (1983). The scale was reliable with an alpha of .65. An example item is: “I understand how non-Muslims raise their children”.

Empathy towards non-Muslims was measured by four items taken from Davis (1983). An example item is: “If something bad happens to non-Muslims I would feel sympathy”. The scale was reliable with an alpha of .91.

Attitudes towards ideology-based violence. This factor was measured by four items derived from Doosje et al. (in press). An example item is “If the prophet Muhammad would be insulted in a Dutch newspaper, I would understand it if Muslims react by using violence against others”. The scale was reliable ($\alpha = .91$).

Finally, the factor *own violent intentions* was also measured by four items derived from Doosje et al. (in press). An example is “If the prophet Muhammad is seriously insulted in a Dutch newspaper, I myself am willing to use violence against others”. This factor was also found to be reliable ($\alpha = .88$).

2.3 Results of the survey

We present the analyses as follows. First, several preliminary analyses are presented. Then the means and standard deviations of the factors at T1 are presented for all participants together. Then correlations are presented between the factors, also for all participants. Subsequently, we examine the effects of the training over time by a set of comparisons between time points. The results are complemented by excerpts from the interviews. Statistical analyses were all performed with IBM SPSS version 20.

Importantly, because not all groups participated at all measurement times at the time of writing this report, for different analyses different groups are included. Table 2.2 provides an overview of which group participated at which measurement points. Analyses that include T1 include all three groups. Analyses that include T1, T2, and T3 only include Groups 1 and 2. Analyses that focus on T1-T4 only focus on Group 1.

Table 2.2 Overview of which groups participated at T1 (before measurement), T2 (between), T3 (post-), and T4 (follow-up measurement)

	T1	T2	T3	T4
Group 1	V	V	V	V
Group 2	V	V	V	-
Group 3	V	V	-	-

Note. V = group participated; - = group did not participate.

2.3.1 Preliminary analyses

Selective attrition effects

These are selection effects with regard to drop-outs from the study (drop-outs from the training will be described in the next section). As was reported in Table 2.1 each group suffered some drop-out of participants who, for example, only participated at T1 but not at T2. To examine whether these participants differed from each other, the scores on factors of those participants who participated at T2 were compared with the scores of participants who only participated at T1 and not at T2. The total number of participants of the three groups at T1 was 44 (two participants from Group 3 did not participate at T1). Of this number, 27 participants participated at T2. This implies a drop-out of 39% in the study. Multivariate analyses of variance indicated a significant difference between the two groups on two variables, namely identification with Muslims, $F(1, 23) = 6.12, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .21$, and self-esteem, $F(1, 23) = 5.15, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .18$. Regarding identification with Islam it was found that those who did not participate at T2 identified less strongly with Islam ($M = 4.56, SD = .53$) than those who did ($M = 4.94, SD = .25$). It should be noted that both groups identified highly on this factor, which was measured on a 5-point scale. Regarding self-esteem it was found that those who did not participate at T2 showed lower self-esteem ($M = 4.07, SD = .72$) than those who did ($M = 4.59, SD = .50$). No significant differences were found on any other factors (all $F_s < 3.93, ns$).

Drop-out from DIAMANT training

At the moment of writing, only Group 1 and Group 2 had completed the training. Group 3 had just completed T2, therefore, to look at the number of participants who have not successfully completed the training, we only include Group 1 and Group 2 at this point. Of the 28 participants who started the training and were in Group 1 and Group 2, eventually 22 participants completed DIAMANT. This is a drop-out rate of 13 per cent. We also performed multivariate analysis of variance to examine differences between the drop-outs and other participants, no significant differences were found (all $F_s < 3.93, ns$). It can be concluded, therefore, that participants who did not complete the DIAMANT training did not differ on any of the factors measured. However, due to the low absolute number of drop outs, the statistical tests to detect potential differences between the two groups have low power.

After informal conversations with trainers and from interviews with participants, it turned out that the six participants who did not complete the DIAMANT training were not serious about their participation and were excluded from the training after several weeks. These six all participated in Group 2. The remaining participants from this group reported the training went better after these six

individuals were excluded as indicated by the excerpt of the following male participant:

Well, the first time it was very hectic. After that it became calmer. You know, if it is hectic it isn't any good. You cannot learn anything. [Several others] were doing completely other things which made me do badly.

(Male, Group 2, T3)

Nevertheless, as pointed out by the trainers, in future trainings, exclusion of participants could be prevented by starting a different group if subjects disturb the group process.

2.3.2 Analyses on factors

In this section we present the results with regard to the factors at T1. In Table 2.3 the means and standard deviations are given on all variables for all participants who participated at T1. As can be seen, participants identified strongly with their religious group as well as with their ethnic background. Compared to identification with their ethnic background, participants identified less strongly with Dutch society at T1. Perceptions of in-group superiority were above the midpoint of the scale (which is 3). Average social disconnectedness was quite low. The participants reported relatively high levels of agency and self-esteem. Uncertainty levels were around the midpoint of the scale. Perceptions of threat lie around the midpoint of the scale as well, with symbolic threat being higher than realistic threat. Perceived illegitimacy of authorities was just below the midpoint of the scale so participants responded also quite neutral on this variable. Levels of collective relative deprivation were found to be above the midpoint. Participants also indicated they worried about perceived humiliation of their own group. Perspective taking and empathy were on the midpoint or just above the midpoint. Attitudes toward ideology-based violence were quite neutral while one's own violent intentions were below the mid-point.

Table 2.3 Means and standard deviations on factors at T1 for all participants (scale ranging from 1 = very low, 3= neutral, 5 = very high)

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Identification with Islam	4.81	.39
Identification with Dutch society	2.79	.99
Identification ethnic in-group	4.47	.66
Distance to non-Muslims	1.48	.84
Perceived Muslim in-group superiority	3.29	1.15
Social disconnectedness	2.02	1.13
Agency	4.09	.87
Personal uncertainty	2.81	1.03

Self-esteem	4.06	.96
Symbolic threat to Muslim in-group	3.63	1.03
Realistic threat to Muslim in-group	3.08	1.22
Perceived illegitimacy authorities	2.49	.90
Collective relative deprivation ethnic in-group	3.34	1.13
Humiliation of Muslim in-group	3.34	1.33
Perspective taking with regard to non-Muslims	3.45	.98
Empathy towards non-Muslims	3.06	1.25
Attitude towards ideology-based violence	3.03	1.41
Own violent intentions	2.60	1.33

2.3.3 Comparison with WP4 network factors

Table 2.4 shows the correlations between variables at T1. In interpreting the correlations, it is important to note that correlations can range from 0 (no relation at all) to 1 or -1 (absolute positive or negative relation). In the table significant correlations are depicted with an asterisk (*). Hereby it can be assumed with a 5% error rate that the result is not based on coincidence. A marginal association reflects a 10% error rate that the result is not based on coincidence. When discussing the results, we focus on the factors that were included in the WP4 model as described in Chapter 1 (see Table 1.1, p. 14).

Identification with in-group

Regarding *identification with Islam*, like the network model in WP4, higher levels of in-group identification were related to higher levels of in-group superiority and with perceptions of symbolic threat to the Muslim in-group. There were also associations that were not found in the WP4 model, that is, higher religious identification was related to higher self-esteem. Also, those who identified more strongly with Islam saw authorities as more legitimate. Notably, no relation was found with identification with Dutch society. This means that those individuals who identify strongly with their religious in-group do not necessarily *disidentify* with Dutch society.

Identification with ethnic background. Strong positive associations were found with perceptions of Muslim in-group superiority and symbolic threat to the Muslim in-group. No positive association was found with a distance to people who think differently. In the present study, we also found that identification with the ethnic in-group was associated with higher self-esteem, more worries about possible humiliation of the Muslim in-group, and to positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence and one's own violent intentions. Moderate positive correlations were also found with relative deprivation of the Muslim in-group.

Table 2.4 Correlations between the factors at the before-measurement (T1) among all participants ($N = 46$)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.
1. Identification with Islam	1	.21	.34*	-.05	.23	.01	.20	.06	.34*	.33*	.16	-.21	.09	.14	.12	-.05	.07	.12
2. Identification with Dutch society		1	.04	.05	.08	-.55*	.05	-.10	.15	-.47*	-.49*	-.27	-.56*	-.35 [†]	.07	.04	-.15	-.30
3. Identification ethnic IG			1	-.15	.42*	.07	.45*	.02	.65*	.45*	.16	.03	.25	.42*	.22	-.24	.34*	.38*
4. Distance to non-Muslims				1	.10	.26	-.16	.28	-.15	-.13	-.21	.23	-.10	.04	.04	-.19	.21	.07
5. Perceived Muslim IG superiority					1	.02	-.01	.19	.26	.40*	.23	.25	.15	.39*	.17	-.09	.35*	.31 [†]
6. Social disconnectedness						1	-.02	-.06	.06	.01	.08	.17	.12	.24	.04	-.12	.01	.09
7. Agency							1	.06	.63*	.27 [†]	.07	-.04	.07	.16	-.09	-.39*	.21	.32*
8. Personal uncertainty								1	-.03	.12	-.05	.24	.06	.13	-.09	-.32*	.42*	.26
9. Self-esteem									1	.30 [†]	.16	-.02	.14	.19	.02	-.42*	.22	.26
10. Symbolic threat to Muslim IG										1	.60*	.31*	.50*	.33*	.15	.05	.25	.22
11. Realistic threat to Muslim IG											1	.28 [†]	.63*	.23	.10	.11	-.06	-.02
12. Perceived illegitimacy authorities												1	.29 [†]	.06	-.18	-.27	.20	.04
13. Collective relative deprivation ethnic IG													1	.53*	.30*	.15	.10	.03
14. Humiliation Muslim IG														1	.19	-.08	.20	.26 [†]
15. Ability to take perspective of non-Muslims															1	.33*	.14	.01
16. Empathy towards non-Muslims																1	-.38*	-.32*
17. Attitude ideology-based violence																	1	.57*
18. Own violent intentions																		1

Note. * $p < .05$; [†] $p < .1$; IG = In-group.

Distance to others

As in the network model, *perceptions of distance to non-Muslims* were found to be positively associated with attitudes toward ideology-based violence. No association was found with symbolic threat and a moderate negative association was found with realistic threat. Unlike the WP4 network model, perceptions of distance were related to more social disconnectedness, personal uncertainty, and more perceived illegitimacy of authorities.

In-group superiority

As in the network model, *perceptions of in-group superiority* were related to higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, and positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence and one's own violent intentions. In addition, the more participants perceived their in-group to be superior over out-groups, the more they worried about their group to be humiliated. This factor was also positively related to identification with the ethnic in-group and identification with Islam, higher levels of self-esteem, and higher perceptions of perceived illegitimacy of authorities.

Social disconnection

In the network model, social disconnection was related to more collective deprivation and more positive attitudes towards ideology-based violence. These associations were not found in the present study. Instead, participants who felt more social disconnected also worried more about their group being humiliated and perceived a greater distance to non-Muslims.

Personal uncertainty

Unlike the network model, participants who reported higher levels of personal uncertainty did not feel that their group was collectively deprived. Personal uncertainty was associated to higher perceptions of illegitimacy of authorities and uncertain participants were more positive about ideology-based violence and reported higher levels of own violent intentions.

Self-esteem

In contrast to the network model, participants who reported higher levels of self-esteem were more positive about ideology-based violence and reported higher levels of own violent intentions. In addition, participants with higher self-esteem identified more strongly with their ethnic-in-group and religion and reported higher levels of symbolic threat.

Symbolic and realistic threat

As in the network model, symbolic and realistic threat was both found to be associated with many factors. As stated above, those participants who identified more strongly with Islam and the ethnic in-group also experienced higher levels of symbolic and realistic threat. Higher levels of symbolic and realistic threat were also found to be related to perceiving the in-group as superior, perceiving authorities as illegitimate, experiencing collective deprivation, and (only symbolic threat) in-group humiliation. In addition, those who experienced symbolic threat also experienced realistic threat and were more positive about ideology-based violence and reported more willingness to use violence.

Perceived illegitimacy of authorities

As summarised above, those participants who perceived authorities to be illegitimate also experienced more symbolic and realistic threat. These relations were also found in the network model of WP4. In addition, like in the network model, these individuals also felt more collectively deprived, and were more positive about ideology-based violence (but not more willing to use violence).

Relations that were not found in the network model but were significant in the present study are the following: Participants who felt authorities to be illegitimate also felt a greater distance to non-Muslims; they felt their in-group to be superior and experienced more personal uncertainty. These individuals also identified more strongly with Islam.

Collective relative deprivation

As discussed above, those participants who felt that the Muslim in-group was relatively worse off than non-Muslims also identified more strongly with their ethnic in-group and experienced more symbolic as well as realistic deprivation. In addition, this factor was related to perceptions that the Muslim in-group was being humiliated. These associations were also found in the network model. No other associations were significant. So unlike the data reported in the WP4 network model, this factor was not directly related to positive attitudes about ideology-based violence or own violent intentions.

In-group humiliation

As described above, like in the network model, individuals who perceived the Muslim in-group to be humiliated by non-Muslims were found to perceive higher levels of symbolic threat and felt that Muslims were more deprived in comparison to non-Muslims. In addition, those individuals who worried that their in-group was humiliated also were more positive about ideology-based violence and more willing to use violence. In addition, unlike the network model, these participants were also found to identify strongly with their ethnic in-group, perceived their in-group to be more superior, were more socially disconnected and experienced also more realistic threat.

Predictors of positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence and own violent intentions.

In order to provide a direct overview of the predictors of positive attitudes towards ideology-based violence and own violent intentions we made a figure that is depicted below (Figure 2.2). As can be seen, both attitudes toward ideology-based violence and own violent intentions were related to strong identification with the in-group and the perception that the in-group is superior. People with high personal uncertainty were also more positive about ideology-based violence. Participants who scored high on agency and perceived their in-group to be humiliated also reported more violent intentions. Notably, those participants who scored high on empathy towards the out-group were also found to be less positive about ideology-based violence and had less violent intentions.

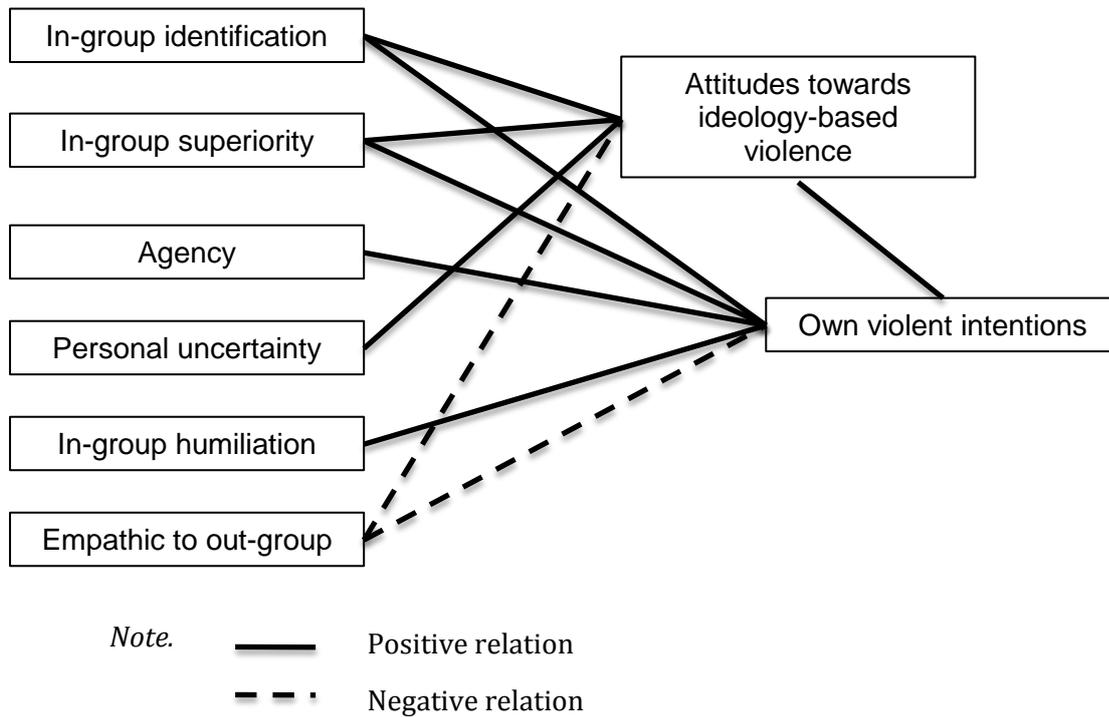


Figure 2.2 Associations between predictor variables of attitudes towards ideology-based violence and own violent intentions based on data of participants in the DIAMANT study ($N = 46$).

2.3.4 Effects of DIAMANT training

In Table 2.5 the means and standard deviations for the seven factors that were hypothesized to change as a consequence of the DIAMANT training are shown for all three groups at the respective measurement points. These factors are: Social disconnectedness, agency, self-esteem, perspective taking, empathy, attitudes towards ideology-based violence and one's own violent intentions. To investigate changes over time, repeated measures analyses on the separate factors were performed. For these analyses only Group 1 and Group 2 were included as results on the factors on T1, T2, and T3 were examined. Group 3 was excluded here as no data was present for T3 for this group at the moment of writing the report. In Figure 2.3 the results are presented. We discuss the results for each factor separately.



Table 2.5 Means on factors at T1 (before-), T2 (between-), T3 (post-), and T4 (follow-up measurement) for all groups separately (note that not all groups participated at each measurement point)

	T1			T2			T3		T4
	Group 1 N = 12	Group 2 N = 16	Group 3 N = 16	Group 1 N = 10	Group 2 N = 7	Group 3 N = 12	Group 1 N = 11	Group 2 N = 10	Group 1 N = 11
Social disconnectedness	2.04 (1.32)	1.84 (.93)	2.20 (1.22)	1.80 (.76)	2.00 (1.00)	2.83 (1.19)	1.63 (.90)	1.55 (.76)	2.05 (.91)
Agency	3.68 (1.10)	4.14 (.84)	4.37 (.60)	4.34 (.78)	4.17 (.97)	4.58 (.55)	4.18 (.85)	4.16 (.65)	4.18 (1.15)
Self-esteem	3.46 (1.34)	4.06 (.73)	4.50 (.55)	4.32 (1.01)	4.46 (.42)	4.65 (.63)	4.53 (.65)	4.05 (.81)	4.33 (1.01)
Perspective taking	3.78 (.95)	3.04 (.76)	3.58 (1.10)	4.04 (.52)	3.33 (1.00)	3.56 (1.06)	4.18 (.60)	4.10 (.77)	4.33 (.90)
Empathy	4.02 (.89)	3.19 (.89)	2.22 (1.27)	4.11 (.73)	3.25 (1.51)	2.58 (1.61)	4.25 (.71)	4.50 (.58)	4.18 (.92)
Attitudes toward ideology-based violence	2.58 (1.35)	2.59 (1.16)	3.81 (1.40)	2.83 (1.40)	2.86 (1.68)	3.23 (1.39)	2.48 (1.66)	1.15 (.34)	1.98 (1.38)
Own violent intentions	1.63 (.68)	2.37 (1.36)	3.62 (1.02)	1.61 (1.32)	1.83 (1.60)	3.11 (1.61)	1.58 (.80)	1.10 (.32)	1.73 (1.11)

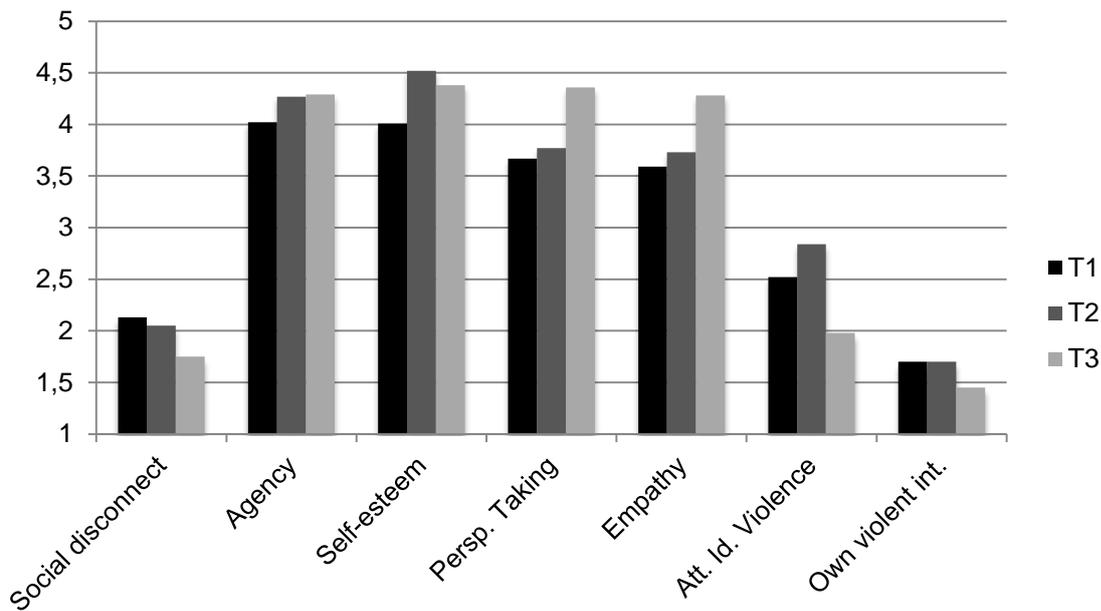


Figure 2.3 Development of factors over time for Group 1 and Group 2 taken together (N s range from 13 to 20); scale ranges from 1 (= very low) to 5 (= very high).

Social disconnectedness

This was found to significantly decrease over time, $F(2, 38) = 4.12, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .18$. Pairwise comparisons showed that T1 and T2 did not differ. However, T3 differed marginally significant from T2, and there was a significant difference between T3 and T1.

Agency

Even though the means for *agency* increased, this increase was not found to be significant, $F(2, 32) = 1.43, ns$. Also, the pairwise comparisons showed no significant differences. Thus, feelings of agency stayed the same during and after the training.

Self-esteem

Also the means for self-esteem increased over time, but like agency, the increase was not significant, $F(2, 30) = 1.70, ns$. Also the pairwise comparisons showed no significant differences.

Perspective taking skills

Perspective taking skills were found to increase significantly over time, $F(2, 24) = 3.79, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .24$. Pairwise comparisons did not show a significant difference between the different measurement points, however, a significant linear effect was found showing that there was a steady increase over time, $F(1, 12) = 5.30, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .31$.

Empathy

Also empathy towards non-Muslims increased over time, the within-subjects effect was marginally significant, $F(2, 30) = 2.50, p < .1, \eta_p^2 = .14$. Again, pairwise

comparisons did not show a significant difference between the different measurement points, but a significant linear effect was found showing that there was a steady increase in empathy over time, $F(1, 15) = 3.64, p < .1, \eta_p^2 = .20$.

Attitudes toward ideology-based violence

Regarding attitudes toward ideology-based violence, a decrease was found over time even though the within subjects effect did not reach significance $F(2, 30) = 2.25, ns$. Also the pairwise comparisons were not significantly different from each other. A marginally significant quadratic effect was found, however, $F(1, 15) = 3.64, p < .1, \eta_p^2 = .20$. This reflected a slight increase from T1 to T2, and a decrease from T2 to T3.

Own violent intentions

Finally, regarding one’s own violent intentions no significant difference was found over time, $F(2, 28) = .52, ns$. Also the pairwise comparison showed no significant differences.

Long term effects

To compare effects of the intervention over time, the means of Group 1 (the only group participating at all 4 measurement points at the time of writing this report) on the 4 variables at respectively T1-T4 are shown in Figure 2.4. Due to the low number of participants no statistical tests could be performed to provide a reliable test for differences. It is notable that in Group 1, social disconnectedness decreases from T1 to T3, although it does increase again at T4. Agency, self-esteem, perspective taking and to a lesser extent empathy tend to increase over time. A decrease in attitudes toward ideology-based violence is seen, whereas one’s own violent intentions seem to remain stable over time.

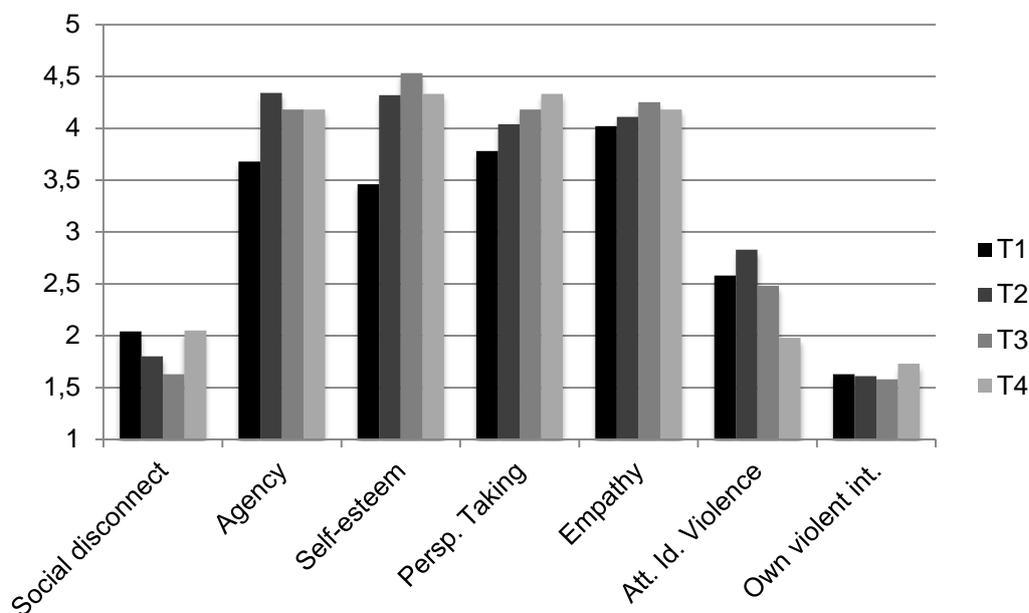


Figure 2.4 Development of factors over time for Group 1 on T1 (N=12) until T4 (N=11); scale ranges from 1 (= very low) to 5 (= very high).

Connectedness to society: Work and school.

An important indicator for connectedness to society is whether the participants were enrolled in school and/or had an internship or work. For the description of change in regard to work and school, we focus on Group 1 and 2 as these groups participated at T1 (pre-measure) and T3 (post-measure). As can be seen in Table 2.6, there was an increase in the percentage of participants that attended school and had work / an internship after completion of the DIAMANT training compared to before. Especially the percentage of participants that had work or an internship strongly increased. These results provide further support that the training increased the connectedness of participants to the general society.

Table 2.6 Percentage of participants of Group 1 and Group 2 that attended school and had work / an internship before participating in the DIAMANT study and afterwards (N = 20)

		Percentage
School attendance	Before DIAMANT training	50%
	After DIAMANT training	75%
Work / internship	Before DIAMANT training	15%
	After DIAMANT training	74%

2.3.5 *Conclusions and discussion survey study*

Several conclusions can be drawn from the survey. The DIAMANT training was hypothesized to have a positive effect on social disconnectedness, self-esteem, agency, perspective taking and empathy for all groups. First, the data showed that social disconnectedness decreased over time. Indeed, results from the survey data as well as comparisons of percentages of participants that attended school, had work or an internship increased when comparing the numbers before and after the training. Social disconnection was found to be a key factor in the radicalisation process (see also Table 1.1). In addition, self-esteem, agency, perspective taking and empathy were overall found to increase over time. In regard to empathy this is an important finding as empathy was found to be negatively related to positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence. This provides further support that the DIAMANT training makes individuals more resilient against violent radicalisation.

All participants had a Muslim background, mostly young adults from Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds. As mentioned in the introduction, this group is most stigmatized in Dutch society and suffers from high levels of relative deprivation (e.g., (e.g., Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Indeed, the means for perceived in-group relative deprivation, but also perceptions of threat to and humiliation of the Muslim in-group were found to be above the midpoint of the scale. Feelings of relative deprivation often go associated with feelings of frustration and sometimes even positive attitudes toward the use of violence. Another noteworthy

finding is that participants strongly identified with their own ethnic and religious background, much more so than they identified with Dutch society. Importantly, however, identification with the ethnic/religious background was not related to identification with Dutch society. This means that high identification with the ethnic group could go together with either low or high identification with Dutch society. Notably, overall the participants report moderate levels of self-esteem and agency.

The associations between factors were compared with associations between the factors from the network model of WP4. Regarding *in-group identification* the associations between factors in the network model of WP4 were replicated, namely, those individuals who identified more strongly with their ethnic and religious in-group also perceived their group to be superior in comparison to the out-group and perceived more symbolic threat. In turn, these associations were related to more positive attitudes towards ideology-based violence and more intentions to use violence. As was concluded in WP3, building a positive identity could reduce the feelings of in-group superiority and threat, thereby decreasing positive attitudes towards violence.

Further interesting findings were that ethnic and religious identification are strongly related to levels of self-esteem and agency. In turn, agency and self-esteem were found to be negatively related to empathy toward non-Muslims, and moderate to strong connections were found with attitudes toward ideology-based violence and one's own violent intentions. In line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) this shows that a strong identification with one's minority group can boost one's self-esteem. Also, it can lead to a strong focus on in-group members and less empathy toward out-group members.

Importantly, many of the factors mentioned above are related to attitudes toward ideology-based violence and violent intentions. For example, it was found that empathy towards non-Muslims was negatively related to both these variables. The DIAMANT training aims to improve feelings of empathy and the results of the effect study indeed show evidence that feelings of empathy toward non-Muslims increase over time, as does the perceived ability to take their perspective. These effects may have important consequences as they seem to go hand in hand with less understanding for ideology based violence committed by others, and with a decrease in own violent intentions.

In addition, the WP3 report on evaluation of interventions in countering radicalisation showed that countering negative emotions would be an important approach in addressing radicalisation. Indeed, in the present research it was found that those people who experienced their own group to be humiliated by other groups were more likely to condone ideology-based violence. In turn, feelings of humiliation were found to be strongly related to identity (i.e., higher in-group identification, lower out-group identification). All in all, it can be concluded that interventions that focus on creating a strong identity, increasing self-esteem, perspective taking and connectedness to society while reducing negative emotions and feelings of relative deprivation can be considered effective measures of countering radicalisation. To examine the effects of the DIAMANT training in-depth, the results of the interview study will be presented next.

2.4 Results of the interviews

To get a more complete view of the effect of the training on the participants, interviews were held with the participants of Group 1 at all four measurement points. The results of these interviews will be presented for each measurement point separately. The interview and coding schemes are presented in Appendices 5-9. Excerpts derived from the interviews are literal texts as spoken by interviewees. However, sometimes the speaking language has been adapted for readability purposes.

2.4.1 *Pre-measure T1*

As can be seen in Table 2.6 at home a minority of participants indicated a bad relationship with at least one parents. However, about half of the participants indicated a negative situation at home in general. Most participants reported having multiple friends independently of ethnic background. Participants are quite down-to-earth about this as the city they live in is culturally diverse. Religion is important to almost all participants. Nevertheless, some participants indicated they do not always follow the rules of Islam.

I am not a good Muslim. If I look at myself, I do not go to the Mosque, even though I should. I drink alcohol, even though that is not allowed. I have smoked, even though that is not allowed. You understand? I do not do everything according to the rules [...] that is bad. I feel ashamed of myself. Yes, I hope God will forgive me.

(Male, Group 1, T1)

The home situation, in which several but not all, participants are raised, is quite traditional. This is illustrated by the following excerpt of a Muslim girl of Moroccan ethnic background:

As a Muslim you can be 'loose', but you should know your limits. You cannot just walk into a nightclub. My daughters could go out if they wanted to, but then I would get into a fight with my husband of course. Moroccan men are very strict.

(Female, Group 1, T1)

It is striking that most participants have felt relatively deprived, either personally or because of their group membership. Talking about these situations made participants emotional. At T1, many participants showed a negative reaction when they felt unfairly treated, humiliated or discriminated against by out-group members or the media as the following excerpt illustrates:

If I just walk in the street and I see three Dutch guys, no Moroccans, and they laugh at me, because I am Moroccan, then they have a problem. I won't talk; I will immediately beat them up. I will hit straight away. You should not laugh at me because I am Moroccan. What the government says, what the newspapers say, those people are just followers. I hate followers.

(Male, Group 1, T1)

Table 2.6 Results of Interview at the pre-measure (T1) of Group 1 (N = 12)

Specification of factor	Number of participants
Bad relationships with parents	1
Negative home situation	2
Has multiple friends	3
Friends independent of ethnic background	4
Religion is very important	5
Participated in the training via governmental organization	6
Decided to participate him/herself	7
Does sports	8
Follows an education	9
Has internship	10
Goal participating in DIAMANT: develop competences	11
Goal participating in DIAMANT: education/internship/work	12
Feels connected to: Family	1
Feels connected to: Religious group	2
Feels connected to: the Netherlands	3
Is raised in an authoritative manner	4
Conforms to family norms	5
Dutch government is not legitimate	6
Police is not legitimate	7
Feels collective relative deprivation	8
Feels personal relative deprivation	9
Negative reaction to relative deprivation	10
Negative key events in own life	11
Optimistic about personal future	12

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-12 participants.

Often participants also experience relative deprivation about not being hired because of ethnic group membership, as this participant describes:

Sometimes I feel people treat me differently, if I apply for a job [...] I tested it myself, I don't know if it is me but if they see the name [Moroccan name] they will think three times before hiring me. But if they see a Dutch name... I did it myself, I put a Dutch name and two days later they phoned me. If I had put my name I would not have been

called. So I went there and told them: "I handed in two application forms, one with the name [Dutch name] and one with [Moroccan name]. And then I was called and not called. How can that be?"

(Male, Group 1, T1)

Male participants often report being looked at as being criminal (they see women putting their hands on their bags if they enter the metro). Female participants report discrimination because they wear headscarves, as the following incident illustrates:

When I looked for an internship I was hired nowhere. People said "sorry, we do not take ladies with a headscarf as a hostess" [...] this was very difficult for me and then I quit school, I just left.

(Female, Group 1, T1)

Many participants are quite critical about the police, government and the media. Participants feel that the police target them specifically:

I don't like what the police do [...], for example, the other day I was arrested though I did not do anything. I was handcuffed because I resembled somebody else [...] they arrested me while somewhere else women got robbed or someone does something that is not allowed. And then I, who did not do anything, got arrested!

(Male, Group 1, Time 1)

Regarding politicians, this participant also fears Geert Wilders (a right-wing politician who is known for his provoking anti-Islam statements).

I think Wilders will get in power [...] The more power he gets, the more Dutch people will listen to him and the more they discriminate, the more violence will be used [...] violence against Muslims. Wilders is really against Muslims.

(Male, Group 1, Time 1)

Finally, it should be noted that almost all participants were optimistic about their future. Most participants (males and females) trust upon finding a job and start a family.

I will get a place to stay, a steady income, a job, just a nice job that I like to do. And eventually I will marry and have children, this is very important to me.

(Male, Group 1, Time 1)

2.4.2 *Between-measurement T2*

The between-measurement (T2) was performed after the first module, Turning Point, was completed. In Table 2.7, the results of the interviews at this time-point are presented.

Several of these results are noteworthy. First, the participants were all very positive about the first part of the training. One of the aspects that were often mentioned is that this first module is confronting.

[Turning point] enables you to take a look at yourself, the way you are. The way you think. You hear from different people [in the training group] about how they think about things. If you react like this, talk like that, then you make a better impression than if you do it

like I do it. For example, in the street, if someone says something, you do not need to react aggressively immediately. You can also respond normally, calmly.
 (Male, Group 1, T2)

Table 2.7 Results of interview at the between-measure (T2) of Group 1 (N = 10)

Specification of factor	Number of participants
Positive evaluation of Turning Point	●
Points for improvement	◐
Increase insight personal competences	◑
Increase social and professional competences	●
Clear personal goals	◑
Shows understanding for people who think differently	◐
Motivation is high	●
Evaluation training group	●
Positive effect training group on own development	◑
Positive evaluation of trainers	●
Feels relative deprivation	◑

Note. ◐ 1-3; ◑ 4-5; ◒ 6-7; ● 8-10 participants.

In general participants were very positive about the group, but occasionally the group could also inhibit responses.

Well, some things I would not say immediately. I do not speak my mind freely when I am in a group. I can stand up for myself. But there are little things that I keep to myself.
 (Male, Group 1, T2)

The majority of the participants indicate that they learnt how to listen to others first and then react. They also learnt about the impressions they make on others with their behaviour and how they can improve this. Participants practiced with very practical skills such as how to do an application interview and evaluated this very positively. Also, the fact that the trainers supported them with finding a school or internship was often mentioned.

Participants also mentioned points for improvement. As was mentioned earlier about Group 2, participants of Group 1 commented that the group was too big when they started. This was taken up by the trainers though, as they split the group in two after some days.

Self-esteem was frequently mentioned as a factor that improved. For example the following female, who also shows more trust in others:

I have more self-esteem; I have fewer doubts about myself. I also don't think everybody is the same. I see things differently. Before [the DIAMANT training] I always

thought people do not hire me because I wear a headscarf. But now I see it differently, if I go to a shop now to ask for an internship, people are honest towards you, they just do not need an intern, they already have enough people.
(Female, Group 1, T2)

All in all, it appeared that participants were very motivated as a result of the first module of the training. The trainers clearly played a supportive role which was evaluated very positively by participants. Also the group clearly had a positive effect on the participants.

2.4.3 Post-measurement T3

After three months the training was completed and a post-measurement was carried out with 11 of the 12 participants who started in Group 1. The results are shown in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8 Results of the interview at the post-measure (T3) of group 1 (N = 11)

Specification of factor	Number of participants
Positive evaluation of Training as a whole	●
Points for improvement	◐
Increase insight personal competences	◑
Increase social and professional competences	●
Clear personal goals	◑
Shows understanding for people who think differently	◑
Motivation is high	●
Participant takes own responsibility	●
Self-esteem is high	◑
Positive evaluation of Module 1 (Turning Point)	●
Positive evaluation of Module 2 (Moral Reasoning)	◐
Positive evaluation of Module 3 (Conflict Management)	●
Does not feel relatively deprived	◑
Negative reaction to relative deprivation	◐
Positive reaction to conflicts	●
Optimistic about the future	●

Note. ◐ 1-3; ◑ 4-6; ◒ 7-9; ● 10-11 participants.

Participants were positive about the training as a whole. Especially the first module, Turning Point, was evaluated positively, but also the module about Conflict Management. Regarding Turning Point, the discussions about identity (who are you,

what are your roots?) made a lasting impression. To the question which part of the training worked best, the following male responded:

Identity. Look, I am also Dutch, just like you, I also have a Dutch passport but originally I am Moroccan, but I still remain Dutch. I am born here, but I have a different background. I feel Moroccan, but I am Dutch. My education is Moroccan, I talk Arabic, I eat Arabic, but I watch both Arabic and Dutch television.

(Male, Group 1, T3)

With regard to conflict management, it appeared that most participants were positive about the fact they could learn how to actually deal well with these situations.

Well, conflict management was most important to me. Now and then I have some problems, so it is important to learn how to deal with them. Well, they teach you that you should not react too quickly.

(Male, Group 1, T3)

As was the case for the T1 measurement, the interviews showed that participants had increased their social competencies and were able to set their own realistic goals for the future. Going back to school resulted for many participants in an increase in motivation.

Well, [the training] did teach me to be honest, because at first I did not feel like going to school at all because I thought school was of no use to me anyway. But then, because of this training I am back in school and am motivated to go to school [...] I am doing well now.

(Male, Group 1, T3)

It is notable that participants took things into their own hands again and started taking responsibility. Self-esteem of the majority of participants increased as well. Participants expressed they learnt how to make decisions (talk about it with others like family or friends). They also learnt practical behaviours that they could apply in social situations (e.g., giving a strong handshake).

Finally, it is interesting that after completing the training, feelings of relative deprivation seemed to have decreased. Also, reactions to possible discriminatory situations (e.g., being denied access to a nightclub, a common complaint of participants with a Turkish or Moroccan background) were more constructive (walking away, avoiding a conflict if discussion is not possible). Points for improvement were mentioned as well. Participants mentioned that the school that they started with help of the trainers did not fit their interests or was below their level.

2.4.4 *Follow-up measurement T4*

Three months after the training was completed, a follow-up interview was held with 11 of the 12 participants in Group 1. The coding results are shown in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 Results of interview at the follow-up measure (T4) of Group 1 (N = 11)

Specification of factor	Number of participants
Follows an education	1
Has a job/internship	2
Positive situation at home	2
Reports to have multiple friends	2
Illegitimacy of authorities	2
Illegitimacy of police	1
Insight personal competences	2
Clear personal goals	2
Motivation is high	2
Self-esteem is high	2
Takes own responsibility	2
Does not feel unfairly treated	2
Positive evaluation of training	3
Positive evaluation of organization of training	2
Still has contact with other group members of training	2
Still has contact with trainers	3
Optimistic about the future	3

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-11 participants.

The general impression of the follow-up interview was that the participants were still doing well three months after the end of the training. Notably, several participants showed signs of self-reflection

I am at a point in my life that I realize I have many more steps to make. I live now, but this is the beginning, it is not that I am halfway, there is more and there will also be many setbacks.

(Male, Group 1, T4)

Importantly, three months after the training was completed, participants were still positive about the training, showed insight in their own personal competencies and had clear goals. The participants also indicated they still had contact with trainers and employees of SIPI. This form of aftercare was much appreciated by the participants and of great value to them.

Yeah, I still have contact with [name of trainer]. She occasionally comes here at my home to drink tea. She talks to my parents, nice conversations. And also to me 'How are you doing? How is school? How is your internship going?' This motivates me

more. Yeah, friendly for sure. Never grumpy, always a smile. I can get along well with those people.

(Male, Group 1, T4)

This excerpt also shows an important part of the training, namely that the family is involved. The trainers kept in close contact with all participants' parents. The trainers lived around the corner of the participants and continued informal chitchat. Via social media (i.e., WhatsApp) trainers kept in touch with the participants.

As the follow-up measurement came shortly after Dutch national elections, participants were asked if they had voted. It turned out that of 11 participants, three were not yet eligible, one had not voted, and five had voted. If we look at the coding results, however, it turns out that the majority of participants perceived the government as illegitimate. A minority of participants saw police to be illegitimate, however. This could be a point for improvement for the training. An important finding is that the majority of the participants felt less deprived. Experiences of relative deprivation (like discrimination) came up less frequently during the interviews in comparison to the T1 measurement.

As a point for improvement of the training some participants mentioned organisational and practical aspects, specifically the fact that the trainers themselves sometimes arrived too late or, as one participant put it "came on a Moroccan schedule". Also, the training was sometimes perceived as rather chaotic, as the location changed regularly.

Finally, participants were generally optimistic about their future. They specifically showed positive attitudes about finding a nice and well-paid job, starting a family and being able to provide for oneself and one's family.

My future, I hope that at some point I can become the manager of a big company, or at least have a business of my own. It will be hard work, but if you persevere... I hope I can persevere.

(Male, Group 1, T4)

2.4.5 *Conclusions and discussion interviews*

Regarding the hypotheses about effects of the training, the interview results support the predictions that there was an increase in self-esteem, perspective taking, and empathy after the training. In addition, clear evidence was found for a decrease in social disconnectedness among participants. Compared with the interviews at the pre-measure, at the post- and follow-up measure participants showed more insight in their personal competencies and showed personal responsibility. Importantly, participants seem to have learnt to set concrete goals and to deal with conflicts. An interesting finding was that at T1, high levels of relative deprivation were found. At T2, T3, and T4, these levels were lower and participants seemed to be able to deal better with these negative feelings. This is an important finding because the assessment of counter radicalisation interventions in WP3 showed that creating a strong identity and countering negative emotions were considered most effective in countering radicalisation as judged by experts. Thus, the interview study complements the survey study by supporting the finding that self-esteem, agency, empathy and perspective taking increased, while social disconnectedness negative emotions and feelings of relative deprivation decreased.

Before the start of the training half of the participants that were interviewed reported a negative situation at home. As noted, all participants reported to feel relatively deprived or having been treated unjustly. As noted by Van San, Sieckelinck, and de Winter (2010), in case of radicalisation among adolescents and particularly among young adults with a migrant background there exist insecurity at home about how to bring up children. Parents often do not know how to deal with a child when there are signs he or she takes a radical point of view. Also schools may not know how to deal with young adults when there are signs of radicalisation (i.e., Orlenius, 2008). Some of these individuals actually do well in school and in the current study all participants had a positive outlook on their future. However, their pride and self-esteem can be harmed by feelings of exclusion which, in turn, can result in feelings of frustration and relative deprivation. Importantly, the interviews show that these feelings of relative deprivation and frustration decreased after participation. In line with Van San et al. (2010) this decrease may be explained in an important part by the inclusion of parents, schools, and social workers (the trainers) in the training. Also, the fact that the training was given in the context of a group had a positive effect on the participants. The group was evaluated positively and most participants reported to still have contact with others and even made friends.

It should be noted at this point that no control group was added to the design. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find a comparable control group that did **not** follow the DIAMANT training for comparison with a treatment group. Such a full design would allow for a full test of effectiveness. Nevertheless, the present study provides a rich dataset including both qualitative and quantitative data on factors that were shown in WP4 to be important in the radicalisation process. It further provides supporting evidence that the DIAMANT training is effective in preventing violent radicalisation by addressing factors that were previously found to be effective in WP3. In the next chapter we will investigate the network factors within a different population, namely former right-wing extremists.

3. Interview Study with Former Right-wing Extremists in the Netherlands and Germany

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a study will be presented with 13 former right-wing extremists in the Netherlands and Germany. As in Chapter 2, the factors of the WP4 network model as presented in Chapter 1 (see Table 1.1) will be examined. This study has three general objectives:

- 1) To validate factors in the radicalisation process in the SAFIRE WP4 network model and explore new factors.
- 2) To examine how key factors such as self-esteem and social disconnectedness change in the period before, during, and after membership of a radical group.
- 3) To examine how interventions can be shaped for prevention of engagement in extremist groups and/or to stimulate disengagement from extremist groups, thereby making a comparison with findings in WP3 assessment of effectiveness of interventions.

3.1.1 Factors leading to engagement in extremist groups

In Chapter 1, an overview was given of social-psychological variables that play an important role in the radicalisation process (see Table 1.1). In the present study, we examine these factors to see what role they have played in the radicalisation process among the former right-wing extremists who were interviewed. In addition, we explore other factors that have not yet been included in the WP4 model.

More specifically, in addition to the factors in Chapter 1 we focus on socialization factors. These are important to include in a study of radicalisation as they provide insight into how young adults become interested to join extremist groups. In several studies with (former) right-wing extremists it was noted that ideology starts to play a role only after participants have entered the group (i.e., Linden, 2009; Möller & Schumacher, 2006, 2007; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). Interestingly, research in Norway, Sweden and Denmark has pointed out that ideology rarely plays an important role in the decision of joining right-wing extremist groups (Bjørge, 1997). Rather, among youth who gained entry to right-wing extremist groups, xenophobic attitudes (i.e., anti-immigrant sentiments) are often present. Xenophobic attitudes were also found among participants in the studies by Van der Valk and Wagenaar, and Möller and Schumacher. As discussed below, important sources of these xenophobic attitudes are family and peers. After becoming a member in an extremist group, ideology seems to crystallize in the group through normal group socialization processes such as group polarization, that is, the phenomenon that no critical arguments are given against leading sentiments within the group, which can lead to more extremist convictions.

The process of socialization refers to an individual learning and accepting the generally established ways of accepted behaviour in a particular group or society.

Socialization processes have been shown to play an important role in the radicalisation process. For example, in a study among 40 Skinheads between 14 and 27 years of age in West- and East-Germany, Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) show that the *family* is a central socialization factor that contributes to the radicalisation process. This may be because of bad relationships within the family. Young adults who come in contact with extremist groups often describe relations with their parents as emotionally superficial and lacking social support. As was discussed in Chapter 1, an extremist group can fulfil the need for social support and friendship.

Another aspect of the socialization process is the degree to which young adults adapt to their parents' and peers' ideas and ideologies. This implies that the family and friends can actually provide the basis for developing an extremist ideology. Indeed, Möller and Schumacher (2007) found that there exists an overlap in ideology between young adults and their family members. Indeed family, but also the *peer group* is often mentioned as an important source for political and social attitudes among adolescents (e.g., Gniewosz, Noack, & Buhl, 2009; Gniewosz & Noack, 2006). This is supported by results from an interview study by Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) with 12 former right-wing extremists in the Netherlands. The authors conclude that almost all participants came into contact with right-wing groups because of a need for friendship, collaboration, and social protection.

That family and peers can be an important source of influence in the engagement process is in line with the differential association theory (Sutherland, 1924, 1947). This theory poses that criminality and delinquency is a learning process and like any other skill, delinquent behaviour is learnt by interaction with others. For this purpose, strong relations with those who can be trusted are important. Indeed, the developmental literature stresses the importance of the peer group in regard to socialization processes in puberty and adolescence (e.g., Ryan, 2001, Silbereisen & Todt, 1994). The differential association theory therefore poses that the social network of adolescents is an important source of criminal behaviour. This implies that there need to be sufficient strong relations within the network for the behaviour to occur. Actors in the network can thereby serve, among other functions, as a role model. Besides family and peers, the literature also mentions that *romantic relationships* can play an important role as a motivator in becoming engaged in the right-wing scene, especially among females (e.g., Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010).

One important additional factor as proposed by Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) are the *media*. This concerns not only the internet, but also media in the form of music and concerts, especially in combination with ideological gatherings or demonstrations. Since the 1980s, in Germany, the so-called "Rechtsrock" (rock music with lyrics in line with right-wing extremist ideology) has served as a vehicle for spreading the right-wing extremist ideology. Also in the Netherlands music has proved to be an important source for spreading ideology and as an entry gate into the right-wing extremist scene. A well-studied example is the "Lonsdale" youth. This is a movement in the period of 2002-2007 that rapidly arose and received a significant amount of media attention (see also Van Donselaar, 2005; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). Young adults met each other in the context of hard-core-music and identified themselves strongly with this scene. Indeed, music has also been identified in other European countries as an important mediator, for example in Poland in the form of racist hip-hop music (Fekete, 2011).

3.1.2 Factors leading to disengagement from extremist groups

There is an increasing body of work that has focused on factors leading to disengagement from extremist groups (e.g., Bjørgo, 2002, 2005, 2011; Bjørgo, & Carlsson, 2005; Demant et al., 2008; Demant, Wagenaar, & Van Donselaar, 2009; Möller & Schumacher, 2006, 2007; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). Van der Valk & Wagenaar conclude from their interview study in the Netherlands that there are three phases involved in the disengagement process. First, there is a phase of doubt about one's own involvement in the extreme right scene or group. This phase may concern ideology, but also poor functioning of the group or bad behaviour by group members. In the second phase, decisions are made. In this phase one decides either to leave the organization, to distance oneself from the ideology, or both. Third, there is the phase of normalisation, in this phase one tries to re-connect to society. In addition, the individual engages in a process of dealing with past experiences. The authors note that within each phase different factors can play a role. In the present research we expect in line with previous work that disengagement processes are mainly motivated by bad group functioning and bad behaviour of group members.

3.1.3 Examining the bridge burning and self-esteem hypotheses

In research focusing on radicalisation and de-radicalisation processes among right-wing extremists, the focus often lies on factors at one point in time. However, little is known about the *development* of these factors over time. In the present research we examine the development of two factors that have been identified in Chapter 1 and 2 to be important factors in the radicalisation process: connectedness to society and development of self-esteem. In regard to the first factor we are especially interested in a phenomenon named 'bridge burning'. This is the phenomenon that once entering the group, individuals disconnect from former ties like friends and family that are not part of the group or do not share their ideology (Bjørgo & Carlsson, 2005). It can be expected, therefore, that compared to the period before becoming a member in the extremist group, individuals will have less strong ties to those friends and family members that are not involved in the group or do not share a similar ideology. In line with Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010), we also expect that compared to the period before, during membership there will be less strong connections to society through school or work (the bridge-burning hypothesis).

In addition, we are interested in development of self-esteem over time. As was discussed in Chapter 1, the group can provide important functions for its member like social support and serving as a source of self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). We expect, therefore, that this will be reflected in the data by low self-esteem before membership, high self-esteem during membership and a drop in self-esteem after leaving the group (the self-esteem hypothesis).

3.1.4 Evaluation of programs for leaving the group

In line with previous work by Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) and Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007), most participants in the present research regretted having been a member of the right-wing extremist group. In the interview, questions were asked about possible methods of intervention. Here a distinction can be made between prevention at an early stage (before engagement or when people just

become a member) and restorative (at a later stage when people are already deeply involved in the group). In the present research the following topics were examined:

- 1) How can one prevent young adults from becoming engaged in an extremist group?
- 2) Who can best intervene in the disengagement process?

Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) mention that positive or negative experiences in meaningful relations outside the group (e.g., family, friends, and partner) can stimulate people to disengage. The assessment of interventions in the SAFIRE project (WP3) concluded that restorative interventions could best be done by former radicals who have the legitimacy to intervene. We are examining also this notion in the present study.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Participants

Thirteen interviews were conducted with former right-wing extremists in the Netherlands and Germany.² Using a semi-structured interview scheme, the participants were asked about their experiences. In this study 13 individuals participated. Ten participants were from Germany and three participants from the Netherlands. The mean age of the participants was 32 years ($SD = 13.18$). There were ten male and three female participants. All participants have been actively involved in a right-wing extremist organization in the past. Average duration of active group membership was 7.62 years ($SD = 5.06$). See Table 3.1 for information about the duration of membership.

Table 3.1 Duration of membership in right-wing group (in years)

Number of active years	Number of participants
Until 4 years	
5 years or longer	

Note.  1-3;  7-9 participants.

The years that participants became engaged in the group varied from 1985 to 2007. The participants disengaged in the period between 2000 and 2010. The majority of participants indicated the first contact with the right-wing extremist ideology was before they were 15 years old (see Table 3.2). This is in line with previous research in the Netherlands (Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010) and Germany (Möller & Schumacher, 2006, 2007), which shows that it is often in adolescence that individuals can become involved in right-wing extremist groups.

² We are grateful to the Anne Frank Foundation (Amsterdam, the Netherlands) and EXIT Deutschland (Berlin, Germany) for their help in coming into contact with former right-wing extremists.

Table 3.2 Age (in years) at the time of becoming a member of the right-wing group

Age period in years	Becoming a Member in the RWE Group
12-14	
15- and older	

Note.  1-3;  7-9 participants.

The participants' professions at the time of the interviews were teacher (two participants), one policy maker, one cook, one factory worker, one employee in a bar. One of the participants was retired, and three participants were currently studying. Two participants did not indicate their profession. Eleven participants indicated they were not married at the time of the interview. This information was not available for two of the 13 interviewees. In Table 3.3 an overview is given of the participants.

Table 3.3. Country (Germany or the Netherlands), gender, year of entry, age at time of entry, year of exit, duration of membership in right-wing group (in years), and marital status at the time of the interview

Interview No.	Country	Gender	Entry	Age	Exit	Duration	Married
Interview #1	GER	M	1989	13	2000	11	No
Interview #2	GER	M	1999	12	2005	6	No
Interview #3	GER	F	1985	14	2005	20	No
Interview #4	GER	F	2002	54	2008	6	No
Interview #5	GER	M	2002	12	2006	4	No
Interview #6	GER	M	2005	45	2007	2	No
Interview #7	GER	M	2006	14	2010	4	-
Interview #8	GER	M	1995	18	2006	11	-
Interview #9	GER	M	2007	18	2010	3	No
Interview #10	GER	M	2000	13	2010	10	No
Interview #11	NL	M	1998	12	2010	12	No
Interview #12	NL	M	2002	17	2009	7	No
Interview #13	NL	F	2005	14	2008	3	No

3.2.2 Procedure

The interviews were held in between September 2011 and July 2012. Participants in Germany were contacted via the organization EXIT Deutschland. Participants in the Netherlands were contacted via the Anne Frank Foundation. The interviews in Germany were held by native German interviewers.³ The interviews in the Netherlands were held by a native Dutch interviewer. A semi-structured interview scheme was used (see Appendix 11). Questions that could lead to socially desirable answers were avoided; an open-ended question format was used. The interview scheme was constructed in a chronological sequence: the interviewer discussed experiences with the interviewee going through the period before becoming a member, the period of being a member, and the period in which the interviewee left the group. At the end of the interview, possible interventions were discussed that could help prevention or disengagement of membership in extremist groups. The duration of the interview ranged from 1 hour to about 2.5 hours.

The participants received compensation for travel and time. All participants signed a consent form for participation after having been informed about the goals of the studies and the fact that participation was voluntary. Complete anonymity was ensured by using an informed consent procedure that was agreed upon in cooperation with the ethical board (see delivery report on ethics of WP1). This procedure had not been used before and allows for conducting research with former extremists while meeting strict ethical standards.

All interviews were written out and content analysed (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). For this procedure two researchers independently coded the interviews making use of a coding scheme (see Appendix 13). The coding procedure was an iterative process: first one interview was coded by two researchers. Disagreements were discussed and ambiguous categories were removed. New categories were added if needed. After this process, the researchers independently coded a second interview that they discussed afterwards. Again, possible disagreements were discussed until consensus was reached and further alterations in the coding scheme were made. The remaining interviews were then coded independently by both researchers and disagreements were discussed until consensus was met.⁴

3.3 Results and Discussion

The results are presented chronologically. First, key factors are discussed that were important in the period leading up to active engagement in a right-wing group. Then factors are discussed at the time of active membership followed by factors at the time of leaving the group. In addition, factors are discussed regarding prevention of radicalisation and de-radicalisation factors. Each section concludes with a short summary of the results. Excerpts derived from the interviews are literal texts as spoken by interviewees. However, sometimes the speaking language has been adapted for readability purposes.

³ We are grateful to Anne Leiser, Hannah Gringard, and Aenne Schoop of Jacobs University, Bremen, and Daniel Köhler, EXIT Germany, for their help with conducting and transcribing the interviews.

⁴ We are grateful to Steven Harmsen and Marianne Mann for transcribing the interviews and Jasper Neerdaels and Jan Nowacki of the University of Amsterdam for their help in coding the interviews.

3.3.1 Factors leading to engagement in extremist groups

In the following sections we will provide a review of factors from two broad areas, namely experiences in the area of socialization and social-psychological factors. We first turn to experiences in the area of socialization.

Socialization factor: Friends & Family

As can be seen in Table 3.4, the majority of the participants in the present study indicated they had a bad relationship with at least one of their parents and/or described negative experiences at home. As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, groups can become an attractive substitute for participants as they provide friendship and social support.

Table 3.4 Social context factors at the time before becoming a member

Factor	Number of participants
Bad relationships with parents	
Negative home situation	
Has a partner/relationship goes well	
Friends based on ideological background	
Negative attitudes towards out-group	
Follows education or has a job	
Social activities (e.g., sports)	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

In contrast to seeking groups as a substitute for the family, about half of the participants in the present study mentioned the main reason for joining the group actually was motivated by friends and family (see also Table 3.5). For example, one German female participant (Interview 4) entered the RWE group via her daughter. The interviews provide a mixed picture as reactions of peers and family in regard to expressing right-wing extremist sentiments were said to be negative among half of the participants. However, several participants indicated there were also positive reactions to right-wing expressions:

Among my fellow students at school there were also supporters, they positioned themselves publicly.

(Interview 3)

Table 3.5 Sources of initiative and medium in the process of becoming actively involved

Specification	Coding option	Number of participants
Initiative	Participant actively looks for group	
	Group contacted participant	
	Family encouraged membership	
	Membership via friends	
Medium	Social events (e.g., concerts) as mediator	
	Social or cultural groups / music as mediator	
	Internet as mediator	
	Media as mediator	
	Promotion by group as mediator	
Reaction of social environment	Positive reaction of direct social environment	
	Negative reaction of direct social environment	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

Socialization factor: Neighbourhood

With respect to the role of the social environment, it is interesting to note that the broader social context, for example neighbours, may also influence the development of interest in extreme-right ideology. One German participant stated for example:

All the farmers in our village thought [the NPD] was great.
(Interview 1)

Notably, in the current research about half of the German participants but none of the Dutch participants mentioned ideology in the direct environment (neighbourhood, family) as reasons for joining.

Socialization factor: Romantic relationships

With respect to romantic relationships it was found that only few participants indicated they were in a relationship at the time of entry into the right-wing extremist scene.

Socialization factor: Media

Regarding the role of media in the present sample, the majority of participants mentioned events (e.g., Neo-Nazi demonstration in Leipzig, Interview 1) and mentioned they established contact with the right-wing scene via the social group (skinheads at school, rock or hard-core music, hooligans at a soccer club). Media like newspapers and television as well as promotions (stickers, posters) were mentioned by several participants. Also, pseudo-literature was mentioned by about half of the participants.

From the following excerpt it can be derived that a combination of family opinions, media influences and personal interest can result in an active search for extreme right groups. For this male participant from Germany this resulted in active involvement in the extremist scene.

The recruitment mostly happened via posters and stickers and for myself I already had contacts with the DVU [Deutsche Volks Union, an extreme right party in Germany] since I was about 13 years old. And then I was on the communication list and I received letters, catalogues and about that time also a membership on the Nationalzeitung [an extreme right newspaper in Germany] which came weekly to my house and my parents didn't like this so much, even though they said that one could have that opinion but shouldn't go public with it [according to them] one should not deal with Nazi's even though they were right on some matters. And then I started to read this and started to cite parts of it at school [...] from about the 8th grade onwards [about age 13/14] I started to strongly deny the Holocaust.

(Interview 1)

As discussed in Chapter 1, social disconnectedness has been found to be a predictor of violent intentions and ideologically based violence (i.e., Doosje et al., 2012). In the current study, about half of the participants indicated having a bad relationship with their direct social environment before entry in the extremist group. One participant explicitly mentioned the mainstream society as an out-group:

I wanted to oppose the mainstream society.

(Interview 10)

In the present study, the majority of participants contacted the extremist organisation themselves (see Table 3.5). For example, two German participants wrote letters to the chairman of the NPD and visited right-wing meetings all over Germany.

Well, I spent half a year at the NPD [National Democratic Party of Germany, a right wing political party] and the JN [Young National Democrats, a youth organization within the NPD] in [name of city] and concluded quite quickly that they were not radical enough for me, so, this bunch of Democrats, they were at the time very, very, very democratic, you could not compare this to today. And also full with old people, I found this all tedious and boring. And after half a year there was the Freiheitliche Arbeiter Partei [FAP, a neo-Nazi party in Germany, forbidden by law since 1995] in

[...] there were elections and so forth and they caught media attention several times because of their actions and then it was clear to me: that is where I have to be.

(Interview 6)

This (male) German participant was actively looking for groups that met his ideals, with a preference for groups with a more extremist ideology. About half of the participants indicated they were contacted by the extremist group, as the excerpt from the following Dutch male illustrates:

When going out I met a [family relative] of a friend of mine. He was already a nationalist. Red white blue [colours of the Dutch national flag]. That contact, that is where it started. I was quite young, before that time I was pretty normal, no problems. Pretty leftist.

(Interview 12)

It seems therefore that becoming engaged in the group is often the result of a mixture of one's own interests (that have been developed beforehand) and the mediating role of family and friends that may or may not have already been in the group. This is in line with findings of for example Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) who also stress that individuals sometimes radicalise together as friends. Besides the role of the environment, it is also important to take into account the role of psychological factors in regard to the radicalisation process. That is, which factors lead to development of an interest or need to become engaged in an extremist group? We turn to this question in the next section.

Social psychological factors.

In Table 3.6 social psychological factors are given that arose in the interviews as factors that motivated participants in the present study to become engaged in an extremist group. We will discuss each factor below.

Social psychological factor: Key events

As shown in Table 3.6, one striking finding in the present research is that the majority of participants mentioned a key event in their personal life to be a determinant for entering the right-wing group. Appendix 14 provides an overview of these key events. For example, a Dutch participant described the following event, which he refers to as a turning point:

Well, that was a turning point as I would name it. That was pretty clear for me. I will always remember it. I was a student at secondary school and one day I was sitting behind the computer and was looking outside. There I saw a playground in the middle of some buildings where I was raised since I was four years old. There were some Somali children playing, with a headscarf and so on. Then a Dutch girl came who wanted to join them but she was beaten and chased away. That was the point for me. Then I turned to the computer and typed the words 'White Power'.

(Interview 11)

Table 3.6 Reasons for becoming involved in a right-wing extremist group

Factor	Number of participants
Key event in personal life or direct environment	
Frustration	
Rage and anger	
Humiliation	
Sensation seeking	
Fear	
Friends	
Ideology	
Relative deprivation	
Lack of trust (e.g. in authorities)	
Threat	
Group is attractive (e.g. safe haven)	
High level of self-esteem	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

Social psychological factor: Emotions

Emotions were also found to be important in the radicalisation process. Although humiliation seems to have been experienced by some of the participants in the present study, the emotion that was experienced by most participants was frustration.

Frustration. And I still feel that. I go out for fun. And [Moroccans] are coming there to fight. Then they are kicked out and they just wait for you outside.
(Interview 13)

Anger, humiliation and fear were all mentioned by about one third of the participants. The following statement of a Dutch participant illustrates how he felt intimidated by what he called “foreigners” in his school:

[There were] little things like opening the zipper of your backpack when you walked through the [school] hallways. If you looked back you were asked whether you had a problem. And that was intimidating. And at some point you don't react anymore because it will turn into a confrontation.

(Interview 11)

Social psychological factor: Relative deprivation

In the present sample about half of the participants expressed having felt relatively deprived at the time of engagement.

Social psychological factor: In-group superiority

The participants in the present study indicated that there was an overall tendency to favour one's own (national) group over other groups. Once someone is involved in a group, this feeling of superiority could even occur with regard to other right-wing extremist groups. The following excerpt of a Dutch participant illustrates how feelings of superiority were actually fostered in the right-wing group he was a member of:

And then [members of the right-wing group] showed a PowerPoint presentation which was more about the future than about the past [...] they were very good at using this kind of propaganda. In this presentation you saw a comparison between a Negro woman and an Arian woman. The comparison was very unfair. They just put in an ugly photo of an African tribal woman. And when pictures of African people were shown everyone started to laugh and yell and so on.

(Interview 11)

Social psychological factor: Trust

A lack of trust proved to be a key factor for joining a right-wing extremist group in the present study. Almost all participants reported a lack of trust in the authorities. About half of the participants did not trust what was learnt at school (for example about the Holocaust) and did not trust the media.

So in the beginning I was certainly in doubt. Because as I said, one had always learnt that the teachers were always right, everything they say is right. And then someone comes at you and gives you something to read which [...] really catches your interest. [...] The arguments became weaker and weaker. If you read that in the camps 6 million people died and [during the bombing of] Dresden only 25 thousand. Then you really start to doubt.

(Interview 7)

Social psychological factor: Out-group threat

Another important predictor that was discussed in Chapter 1 in regard to ideology-based attitudes and radicalisation are perceptions of both realistic and symbolic out-group threat. An example of symbolic threat is:

There was a strong belief in a conspiracy theory. Either we destroy the Jews, or the Jews will destroy the European civilisation. This was clear to us.

(Interview 1)

In this respect, the majority of participants indicated having had negative experiences with an out-group resulting in feelings of realistic (physical) threat. As a Dutch participant said:

When going out, that was a mess. Much tension between immigrants and the Dutch. This became more and more. Every weekend we got into a fight.
(Interview 12)

3.3.2 Factors at time of Entry: Summary

In line with previous research on engagement in extremist groups, the present study shows that both socialization factors and psychological factors play key roles in the phase shortly before and at the time of becoming engaged in an extremist group. The most important socialization factor seems to be the peer group. As the majority of individuals become engaged in a group at a very young age (often during puberty, age 12-15) the role of peers is deemed to be crucial. The family is important as well with regard to development of (often xenophobic) attitudes towards out-groups. Among many participants a negative home or family situation is reported. An additional critical factor turned out to be the media. Besides the internet, this often takes shape in the form of music concerts and events that may serve as mediators in spreading an ideology and meeting like-minded peers. Regarding psychological factors, it was found that negative emotions (feelings of frustration), out-group threat, distrust in authorities, and low self-esteem were most important. An interest in right-wing ideology was also found among most participants at the time before active membership. Furthermore, the group seems to be an attractive source of friendship, safety and possible collaboration. Finally, it is noteworthy that almost all participants could describe a key event or turning point in which they became motivated to become engaged in an extremist group.

3.3.3 Key factors during membership

Socialization factor: Family & friends

If we look at participants' situation during membership, it can be noted that the majority still reports a negative relationship with their parents and a negative situation at home (see Table 3.7). Notably, most people mention they only had friends within the right-wing scene.

Socialization factor: Romantic relationship

About half of the participants indicated they had a stable romantic relationship at the time of membership.

Social psychological factor: Attitudes towards other right-wing extremist groups

Regarding attitudes toward the right-wing extremist groups, it is interesting to note that these were often mixed. For example, the group was used as an instrument to reach one's own ideals, as was the case with the following German man:

The group was only an instrument for me, I only felt obliged to my own ideology.
 (Interview 1)

Table 3.7 Social context factors during membership

Factor	Number of participants
Bad relationships with parents	
Negative home situation	
Has a partner/relationship goes well	
Friends only based on ideological background	
Negative attitudes towards other right-wing extremist groups	
Negative attitudes towards populist parties	
Negative attitudes towards immigrants	
Negative attitudes towards Muslims	
Negative attitudes towards Jews	
Negative attitudes towards extreme left	
Negative attitudes towards democratic political parties	
Follows education or has a job	
Social activities (e.g., sports)	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

Social psychological factor: Attitudes towards out-groups

With regard to attitudes toward other groups, out-groups that were often mentioned were Jews and left extremists. About half of the participants had a negative attitude toward foreigners in general. This is in line with previous work by Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010), Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007), and Bjørge (1997). With regard to Muslims there were mixed feelings. Interestingly there seems to be no clear-cut out-group. As the following two excerpts illustrate:

We demonstrated together against Israel.

(Interview 2)

The current problem in Germany is Muslims.

(Interview 7)

Interestingly, the majority of interviewed individuals reported a negative attitude towards right-wing populist parties. Only few participants expressed negative attitudes towards mainstream political parties.

Social psychological factor: Social disconnectedness

Compared to the period before entering the group, it is noteworthy that membership in societal organizations such as sport clubs decreased. This will be further discussed below in light of the phenomenon of disconnection to the general society during membership compared to the period beforehand. As outlined in the next section, the right-wing extremist group seems to replace what previously the family, peers, and societal organizations could offer.

Social psychological factor: Functions of the group

In Table 3.8 the functions of the group for the participants are presented. It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that a group can provide members with structure and meaning for life. This was found among the majority of the participants in the present research. The results further indicate that the group fulfilled different functions for participants. For most of them the group served as an important source of self-esteem. Physical safety was also often mentioned, as was friendship, acceptance and providing a purpose in life.

Congruence between one's own and the group's ideals showed a mixed picture. All participants indicated low congruence with regard to some aspects and high congruence for other aspects. An example of such an aspect is the use of violence to reach certain ideals. As also outlined by Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) and Bjørge, (1997) violence can be a source of attraction for people to become engaged in the group. However, in the current study, the use of violence by the group was not accepted by all members. One of the participants reported he was actually prepared to die for the cause (Interview 1). An illustration of a negative attitude about the use violence comes from the following excerpt:

We never planned those sorts of things [related to the recent murders on Muslims in Germany by right-wing extremists from the NSU, Nationalsozialistische Untergrund]. That is very extreme. And with us, if we went out to put stickers in the street I was not allowed to be there. Much too dangerous for women.

(Interview 13)

Social psychological factor: Self-esteem

It is noteworthy that in the present sample, about one quarter of the participants expressed they had a high self-esteem at the time of joining the extremist group. During active involvement, however, the majority of participants reported high levels of self-esteem. We turn to this phenomenon in more detail in the following section. That the group was an important source of self-esteem is illustrated by the following excerpt from a German participant:

I remember very well that in [...] I gave a talk for the first time before an audience of 500 people. That I had to do that was simply because of circumstances. One of the speakers was not present and then they pushed the microphone in my hand and said to me: “[participants’ name], you should do this, maximum 20 minutes, you can do it”. Just like that! [participant laughs]. And then I somehow did it because you have to make the best out of it, I found it not so difficult. I was also rewarded for it. [...] They told me: “cool, we did not think you could do that”. And then I did it more often and one becomes more self-confident compared to normal.

(Interview 8)

Table 3.8 Functions of the group, congruence between own and group ideals, attitudes towards violence and self-esteem during group membership

Specification	Coding option	Number of participants
Function of the group	Self-esteem	●
	Physical safety	●
	Friendship	●
	Acceptance / understanding	◐
	Provides meaning of life	●
	Financial support	◑
Congruence own and groep ideals	Low	●
	High	●
Attitudes towards violence	Positive	◐
	Negative	●
High level of self-esteem		◐

Note. ◑ 1-3; ◐ 4-6; ◒ 7-9; ● 10-13 participants.

3.3.4 Key factors during membership: Summary

Regarding the period during membership, the main results with respect to socialization factors are that for the majority of participants friendships were mainly based on ideology. In addition, most of the participants describe negative relations with the family. Negative attitudes exist among the participants with regard to multiple out-groups (groups other than one's own right-wing extremist group) including other right-wing extremist groups. Mixed attitudes exist regarding use of violence as a means of reaching the group goals. Importantly, ideology is a source of disagreement; the data show that all participants had mixed feelings with regard to the extent the ideology of the group matched one's personal ideals. A clear finding is the importance of the group for most participants. The group fulfils several functions like safety, friendship, acceptance and it provides a meaning of life. Importantly, the group boosts self-esteem among most members.

3.3.5 Factors leading to disengagement out of extremist groups

In Table 3.9 the factors are described that are important in motivating people to disengage from extremist groups. We will discuss these factors in turn below.

Table 3.9 Reasons for leaving the right-wing extremist group

Specification	Coding option	Number of participants
Function of the group	Poor group functioning	
	Bad behaviour group members	
	Polarisation of opinions	
	Incongruence own and group ideology	
Personal future		
Key events	Personal life	
	Society	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

Bad group functioning

Poor group functioning is illustrated in the next excerpt from an interview with a Dutch male participant:

So much rivalry and frustration exist between [different right-wing extremist groups], that is also the main reason why it never became big in the Netherlands. Combat 18 could not get along with Blood & Honour. And Blood & Honour couldn't get along with the nationalists. There was no cooperation.

(Interview 12)

Bad behaviour group members

Bad behaviour of other group members was also often mentioned; the majority of participants attributed leaving the group at least partly to bad behaviour of fellow group members

It was terribly amateuristic, so many screw-ups. There were so many morons within the scene, who pulled everything apart. You could talk well with one person, but if he had a drink he was terrible. And that is how it went in many groups; they all had one idiot who screwed up.

(Interview 12)

Key events personal life

Furthermore, the majority pointed out that there was a polarisation of opinions within the group. It is also noteworthy that almost all participants mentioned a key event in their personal life as a reason for leaving the group. As was the case with engagement, it seems that there is a certain turning point for people as a motivation for disengagement from the group. Appendix 14 provides an overview of these key events. For example, a Dutch female participant mentioned the following:

I was at a demonstration in Germany, I saw an older lady there. Well, how she looked. At me of course. Yes, I don't want people looking at me like that. That woman looked at me as if I was the one who caused all that happened in the past.

(Interview 13)

With regard to the way *how* people left the group about half of the participants mentioned they received help from family members or a specific person in their life:

I went to my father and he brought me to the EXIT programme.

(Interview 5)

This is in line with previous findings as reported by Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007) who mention that positive or negative experiences in meaningful relations outside the group (e.g., family, friends, and partner) can stimulate people to disengage.

Although we interviewed only three individuals from the Netherlands, it is noteworthy that none of them mentioned receiving help from professional institutions, in contrast to the German participants who received help from EXIT with leaving the group and/or building up their lives. When leaving the group, about half of the participants indicated that they were looking for an alternative for the group or wanted to start a group of their own. The majority stated that leaving the group was a long process. After leaving the group, participants reported having difficulties picking up their lives. Most participants report low levels of self-esteem and a sense of loss:

I did not have anything anymore. Not even an ideology.

(Interview 1)

This is in line with findings by Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010). It seems that when leaving the group, people also lose the functions the group provided, as reported in the previous section: social support, friendship, and acceptance. In the next excerpt, a Dutch male emphasizes the importance of the social functions of the group and the social isolation from the world outside the group. In addition, it nicely illustrates how different factors can play a role in the disengagement process:

[I left the group because] I got arrested in [name city], because [the right-wing extremist group] fell apart, and because I had friends, I had a very good friend. We had gotten out of touch over time, but eventually we got into contact again. It was my old neighbour and he had been my best friend, kind of a brother to me. That contact became stronger again. So besides my group of friends [who were all in the right-wing movement] I had another friend whom I really could count on. An anchor to me [...]. Because if I had said: "I quit, I will completely leave the group", then at least I had him to have some contact with. Social isolation is a big problem. Everything, your whole social life is about the friends you have in that group. It does not matter if it is a movement, or ideology, it is about that group.

(Interview 12)

Indeed, as can be seen in Table 3.10 only few participants reported high levels of self-esteem after disengagement from the group. This also reflects the fact that after leaving the group, the social support function falls away. As illustrated by the excerpt above, friends and family, but also professional organisations seem to serve as a buffer for possible negative psychological consequences of leaving the group. We will turn to this issue in the next section.

Table 3.10 How participants left the group and level of self-esteem after leaving the group

Specification	Coding option	Number of participants
How did the person leave the group	Supported by family	
	Supported by friends	
	Supported by a particular person	
	Supported by a professional organization	
	Supported by authorities	
High level of self-esteem		

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

3.3.6 Key factors in leaving the group: Summary

In sum, a key factor that plays a role in leaving the extremist group is bad functioning of the group or bad behaviour of its members. In addition, it seems that over time, possible disagreements with the group's ideology and one's personal opinions play an important role as well. Self-growth or striving for a better future played a role among half of our participants. Noteworthy, as with the engagement process, almost all participants could identify a certain key event, or turning point, that motivated them to disengage from the group. In the process of leaving the group, the German participants received assistance from EXIT Germany. The three Dutch participants did not report assistance from a professional organisation, but reported they left the group with help of friends and family.

3.3.7 Testing the bridge burning and self-esteem hypothesis

In this section the results are presented regarding the development of connections to friends, family and society as well as self-esteem over time. For this we compared the data of participants before, during, and after group membership.

Connectedness to society.

We examined three indicators of the 'bridge burning hypothesis' phenomenon namely: friends based on ideology, relations within the family and having work or going to school before and during membership of the extremist group. In Table 3.11 it can be seen that before membership, half of the participants indicated having multiple friends depending on ideological background. During membership the majority of the participants indicated having friends only within the right-wing extremist group. This shows that during group membership ideology becomes a criterion for friendship. This is illustrated by the following excerpt of a German male participant.

The group was more important to me than anything else. That is, I had no interest in school and these kind of things. I had a girlfriend who was not in the [right-wing extremist] scene. We broke up pretty quickly because of that. The friends who were not in the [right-wing extremist] scene, they turned their back on me.

(Interview 5)

Regarding the previous excerpt, it can be concluded that bridge burning can be a two-way process. In the case of this participant, friends who were not part of the right-wing extremist scene excluded him. Ultimately, the extremist group became the most important source of close social relationships for him. That the group can fulfil social needs is a notion that was already pointed out earlier.

Second, relations with the family can be examined to test the bridge burning hypothesis. In Table 3.11 the results show the number of participants who indicated having a bad relationship with family members. Seven out of 13 participants indicated this was the case before membership. During membership this was the case for eight out of the 13 participants. This factor was also coded for when the group restricted contact with family-members during membership. The following excerpt is an example of this situation.

Also vacation was restricted. That is, I lived in [...] and my mother lived in [...], that was for me very close, I could get there pretty quickly. But that became more difficult,

just driving there, that was not possible anymore. All that was controlled [by members of the right-wing extremist group].

(Interview 4)

Table 3.11 Factors indicating bridge-burning

		Number of participants
Friends dependent on ideological background	Before membership	
	During membership	
Negative relations with family	Before membership	
	During membership	
Has work or goes to school	Before membership	
	During membership	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

Finally, we examined whether participants had work or were attending school before and during membership. Here it can be seen that before becoming a member 10 out of 13 participants had work or were in school compared to six out of 13 during membership. This finding is in line with Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) who also conclude that involvement in a right-wing group negatively influences school performance.

In Table 3.11 we see the proportion of the participants who showed signs of bridge burning. This variable was positively coded when at least one of the following conditions was met: (1) having friends only within the right-wing extremist group during membership; (2) deterioration in family relations; and/or (3) dropping out of school or losing work when becoming actively involved in the right-wing extremist scene. It can be concluded that 11 out of the 13 participants showed signs of bridge burning.

Developing self-esteem.

As discussed in Chapter 1, according to the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people can derive self-esteem from group membership. To investigate the role of self-esteem in the radicalisation process, we examined levels of self-esteem among the participants before, during, and after group membership. In Table 3.12 it is shown that before and after membership, only few participants

were coded to have high levels of self-esteem compared to a majority of participants during membership.

The majority of the participants indicated a drop in self-esteem when they left the group as shown by the following excerpt by a German male participant

I did not have a good relationship with my parents, when I left the group I focused on my job. Mostly from early onwards, 4 AM until evenings, 8 PM I worked, just because I had nothing else to do and I did not know how to take up other things. I ended up in a black hole so to speak and it is very difficult to get out of that.

(Interview 10)

These excerpts illustrate how the group positively boost an individual's self-esteem. However, one's a person leaves the group, self-esteem drops.

Table 3.12 Level of self-esteem before, during, and after membership

Level of self-esteem: High	Number of participants
Before membership	
During membership	
After membership	

Note.  1-3 participants;  7-9 participants.

3.3.8 Testing the bridge burning and self-esteem hypothesis: Summary

The present analyses show support of the bridge burning hypothesis as connectedness to society deteriorates once people become engaged in right-wing extremist groups. The data show that while relations with family do not change greatly (relations were negative for most participants before and during membership), friends are chosen based on ideology once people become engaged. In addition, the data show that once people become engaged in the group, this is often associated with deteriorating school performance and becoming unemployed. In addition, the data show the importance of the group for participants' self-worth. The number of participants indicating high levels of self-esteem increased once people became engaged in the group and decreased after disengagement. This is in line with the self-esteem hypothesis.

3.3.9 Evaluations of Programs for Leaving the Group

In line with previous work by Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) and Möller and Schumacher (2006, 2007), most participants in the present research regretted having been a member of the right-wing extremist group. As can be seen in Table 3.13 participants were mixed about the role of family members as possible interveners in a prevention stage.

Table 3.13 How to prevent membership, who should intervene in prevention and what to say to those who like to join a right-wing extremist group

Specification	Coding option	Number of participants
Who can best intervene to prevent engagement?	Family	
	Authorities	
	Front-line workers	
	Schools	
How to prevent engagement	Use role models	
	Gain trust	
	Gain respect	
	Offer an alternative	
	Development of competences	
	Intervention by authorities	
	Education	
What to say to persons who want to join a right-wing extremist group	Negative effect for the person	
	Negative effect for his/her social environment	
	Negative aspects of right-wing extremist groups	

Note.  1-3;  4-6;  7-9;  10-13 participants.

Regarding authorities, about half of the participants were positive, but several participants mentioned they were pessimistic about the role authorities could fulfil.

The majority stated that it would help if a professional institution would intervene at a later stage, as the following Dutch participant put it:

[Programs like EXIT] they can offer something. The guys from the core, they are still there, my former friends. They really have to quit by themselves. Because nobody will help them. They are so long together and organizing things for such a long time. The group remains intact and the bonds only grow stronger.

(Interview 12)

Notably, the majority of participants mentioned front-line workers (social workers, teachers) to possibly play an important role. As is emphasized in the next excerpt, it is important to have contact persons who are accessible for individuals who are still in an early phase of engagement and for group members who are thinking about disengagement from the group.

Well, if you look at the website of the Anne-Frank foundation, or Alert or Kafka [the latter two are extreme left groups], they only confirm [what you already thought] or use difficult language. The Anne-Frank foundation is not very accessible for a boy of 15 who has a low-level education, and the other options are the extreme-left who only make you feel worse and motivate you to go in the direction you should not go. So you are only motivated to go even more to the right. If you take the example of Germany, there exists the option that besides a website you can actually contact a person. So, for example, if someone is arrested of whom you know he has an interest in the extreme right, then give him a contact card including a website or [contact information of an] employee. So, if nobody can go there, at least give them that card.

(Interview 12)

The majority of participants also mentioned school as an important context for prevention, but it was stressed several times that this should be done with competent teachers:

The school could do a lot, but then without the moral finger.

(Interview 4)

In order to prevent people from becoming a member, about half of the participants mentioned the use of role models, like former extremists. Notably, the majority of participants indicated that an alternative should be provided for the youngsters, as the following German female points out:

You have to look at individuals: What do they want, why have they already come this far. Then you can pick them up from there.

(Interview 3)

Also, about half of the participants mentioned that one should work at making youngsters resilient against the extremist ideology. Participants mentioned proper education as an important means of intervention.

You have to make clear that the National Socialistic ideology makes no sense.

(Interview 1)

In this respect, several participants mentioned it would be good to tell the youngsters themselves about the negative aspects of the right-wing movement, and

point out negative consequences for the person themselves. Regarding disengagement from the group at a later stage, participants mentioned that there is no standard intervention that could help for all. A distinction should be made between those members who really believe in the ideology and those who are there for other needs, like friendship. As the following Dutch woman put it,

I think that each person has a unique need. Sometimes work could do the trick. Or a house, getting to know other people, start a social life outside the group. [...] You have to get to know them really well. [...] Some really believe strongly [in the group ideology]. I think you need a person they can trust, a person from the outside.

(Interview 13)

3.3.10 Evaluations of programs for leaving the group: Summary

With regard to prevention of engagement, participants mention that schools, parents, social workers and authorities could play a role. Almost all participants mentioned front-line workers and professional organisations like EXIT Germany. Two participants in the Netherlands emphasized the need for an organisation or trustworthy person who could contact individuals who show an interest in right-wing extremist ideology or who think about leaving the group. Regarding instruments for preventing engagement, education is often mentioned about group membership and possible (negative) consequences of joining an extremist group for the person. Regarding disengagement from a group, the majority of participants mentioned the importance of offering alternatives like housing, work, education and a social network.

3.4 Conclusion

In the concluding section of this chapter we discuss the main findings of the present research in light of the three objectives presented at the beginning of this chapter.

3.4.1 Importance of factors at different stages of radicalisation

Previous research on radicalisation has pointed out the importance of distinguishing between different phases in the radicalisation process (Bjørngo, 2011; Kruglanski, & Fishman, 2006; Linden, 2009; Moghaddam, 2005; Möller & Schumacher, 2006; 2007; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). In the present research we conducted such a 'phase-method' by examining which factors played an important role in the engagement phase, the time during membership, and the disengagement phase. Both socialization factors and psychological factors were found to play a key role in the phase shortly before and at the time of becoming engaged in an extremist group. To provide an overview of our results, we depicted the factors that were found to be most important among our participants (Figure 3.1).

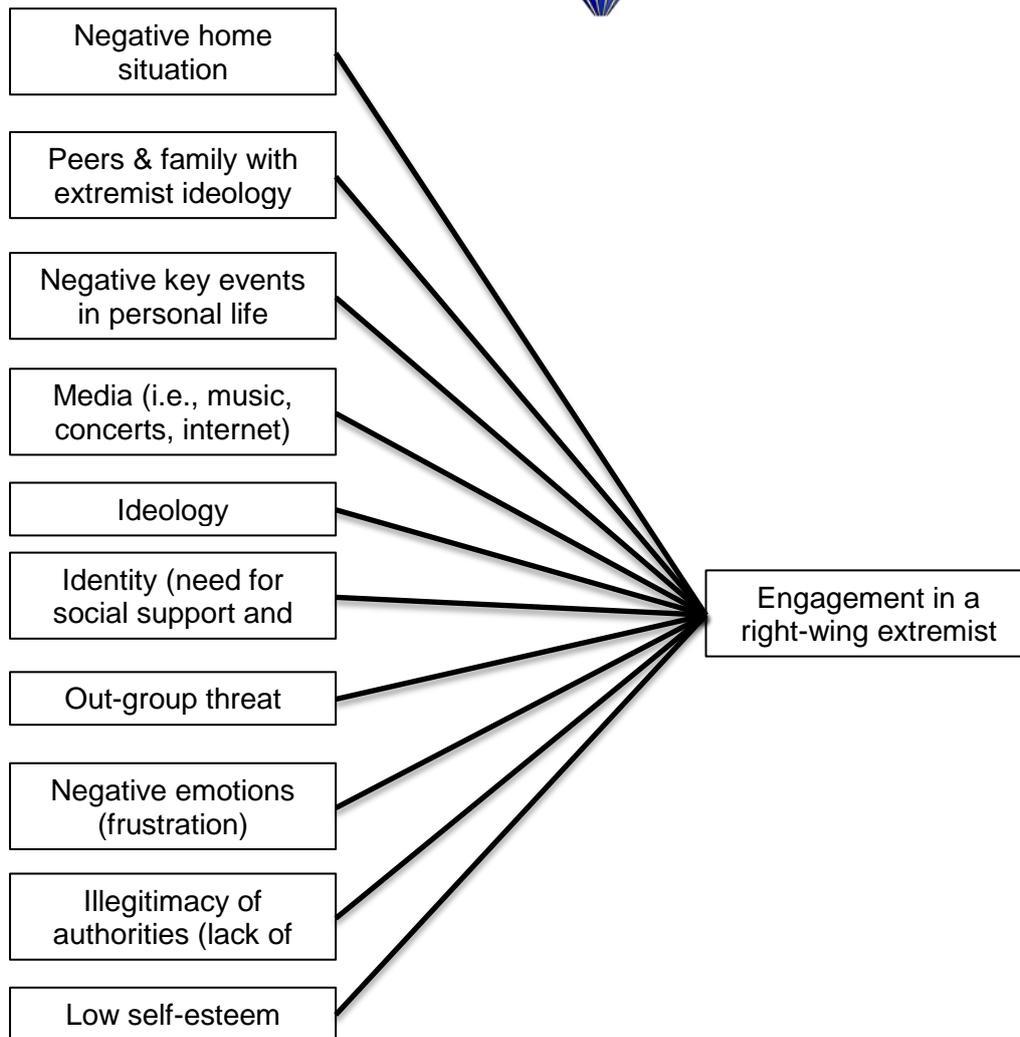


Figure 3.1 Most important factors in predicting engagement in a right-wing extremist group based on interviews with 13 former right-wing extremists.

Several socialization factors were found to play an important role. Among many participants a negative home situation is encountered and this situation remains negative during membership. The peer group seemed to be an important factor. The majority of our participants became engaged in a group at a very young age (often during puberty, age 12-15). In this period the role of peers is crucial. Ideology within the family was also found to be an important factor. As outlined in the section on engagement factors, especially with regard to development of xenophobic attitudes towards out-groups, family and peers play a key role. An additional key-factor in the engagement phase seems to be the media. Not only the internet was frequently mentioned as a way of coming into contact with like-minded persons, but also music concerts seem to play a crucial role here. This is in line with results of studies in the Netherlands by Van der Valk & Wagenaar (2010) and Germany (Möller & Schumacher, 2006; 2007).

Regarding psychological factors it was found that feelings of frustration, out-group threat and distrust in authorities were most important. An interest in right-wing ideology was also found among most participants at the time before active membership. Furthermore, the group seems to be an attractive source of friendship, safety and possible collaboration. Regarding the period during membership, it was

found that the group fulfilled a major part of the participant's life. It provided safety, friendship, acceptance and a purpose in life.

With regard to psychological variables it can be concluded that the group was very important for a person's self-worth. Indeed, low levels of self-esteem were found before membership. In contrast, high levels of self-esteem were found among most members during membership. After leaving the group, self-esteem was found to be low again. By examining psychological factors like self-esteem over time we can get more insight in possible interventions that work. For example, EXIT Germany provides social support for people who disengage from right-wing extremist groups. One reason why these programs work well is because they provide in the needs of those who consider in leaving the group.

It was found that negative attitudes existed towards a whole range of groups including other right-wing extremist groups. Feeling a threat of an out-group was found to be an important factor mentioned at the time of becoming engaged in the group. Regarding ideology, it was noteworthy that the majority of participants reported both a match and mismatch between group and personal ideals. Finally, it is noteworthy that almost all participants could describe a key event that motivated them to become engaged in an extremist group. This is in line with the notion that the radicalisation as well as the de-radicalisation process is non-linear: Key events can suddenly trigger individuals to join or leave the group.

3.4.2 Comparison with factors in the WP4 network model

A range of factors that were found to be important in becoming engaged in a right-wing extremist group were also included in the WP4 network model of the radicalisation process. Specifically, it was found that negative emotions (frustration) and low levels of self-esteem motivate individuals to join up. The bridge-burning phenomenon illustrated that at the time of becoming engaged in the group, participants felt a greater distance to other groups (i.e., people not sharing their ideology) and social disconnectedness increased. Feelings of threat and perceptions of relative deprivation were also found to play a role among participants in the present study. A lack of trust in authorities (illegitimacy of authorities) was found to be an important predictor of engagement. Importantly, socialization factors (like influence of family and media) were not included in the WP4 network model. These could be added as key factors explaining the radicalisation process.

3.4.3 The bridge-burning and self-esteem hypothesis

The present research also shows how factors can change over time when looking at different stages of the radicalisation process. For example, it was shown that connectedness to society deteriorates once people become engaged in right-wing extremist groups. Relations were found to be negative among most participants before and during membership. A change with regard to friendship choice was found as most participants exclusively befriended others based on ideology once they became engaged in the group. Regarding school performance and work it was found that membership often goes associated with deteriorating school performance and becoming unemployed. Regarding the factor self-esteem, changes were found as the number of participants indicating high levels of self-esteem increased once people became engaged in the group and decreased after disengagement. These results indicate it is worthwhile not only to investigate factors at one moment in time,

but take into account change on these factors in relation to different stages of radicalisation.

3.4.4 Conclusions development of interventions

Regarding interventions several conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, a distinction should be made between the different phases of radicalisation when designing an intervention. With regard to the early phase, a combination of different sources seems most effective in preventing engagement in extremist groups. Schools, parents, social workers, but also authorities like police could play a role here (see also Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). Key factors, as identified in the network model of WP4 can be targeted. For example, interventions that lead to an increase in self-esteem, greater connectedness to general society and provide people with a sense of agency seem to be effective. In addition, an intervention should teach individuals to deal with possible negative emotions like frustration, injustice and relative deprivation, but also with feelings of threat. Importantly, these factors are already focused upon by many programmes used by social workers (see also Lub, 2013). These interventions could be applied on a large scale making them relatively cost-effective. These findings are in line with the SAFIRE findings in WP3 in which experts evaluated interventions that aimed to prevent radicalisation. The researchers concluded in line with our findings that a strong positive identity should be created (increasing self-esteem and agency) while reducing negative emotions.

Regarding disengagement, professional organizations play a valuable role. Many of the participants in this research mention the need for a professional organization or trustworthy contact person who can mediate a way out of the group. This is in line with the SAFIRE findings as reported in WP3 where it is stressed that in repressive interventions, trust should be created and role models should be used who have sufficient legitimacy to actively intervene. An example is EXIT Deutschland. This organization helps people who want to leave right-wing extremist groups. These persons can contact EXIT after which they are helped to organize a social network (providing contact, mentor with problems) and to deradicalise by dismantling the radical ideology from where it started (i.e., by reassessing their past).

As a limitation it should be added at this point that with thirteen participants, care should be taken with generalizing the results. Finding former extremists who were willing to talk about their experiences was a lengthy and difficult process. Nevertheless, we think these interviews provide important insights in regard to processes of radicalisation and de-radicalisation.

A clear finding in the present research is that for most participants the decision to disengage came forth out of bad functioning of the extremist group or bad behaviour of its members. Afterwards, people seem to fall into a void after their group falls away, often together with its social capital. In designing interventions, this void should be filled up, by supporting people in meeting this challenge.

Importantly, participants themselves often mention a third person, such as an important family member or friend from the past. A lack of this social capital could take away a person's motivation to leave the group. Interventions aimed at getting people to disengage from the extremist group should take this factor into account.

4. General Conclusions

In this research report two studies were presented in which factors related to radicalisation were investigated. Factors that were identified in the SAFIRE social network model (WP4) were validated in (1) the context of a training in the prevention stage of violent radicalisation and (2) among former right-wing extremists in the Netherlands and Germany. Furthermore, a training aimed at improving resilience against violent radicalisation among non-radical adolescent Muslims was evaluated.

In both studies key factors were identified that are important in the radicalisation process. The first study (the evaluation of the DIAMANT training) was conducted with 46 non-radical adolescents. All participants were Islamic. The study included mostly young adults from Turkish and Moroccan background. As mentioned in the introduction, this group is frequently stigmatized in Dutch society (e.g., Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007, 2009). In the second study, 13 former right-wing extremists were interviewed to examine the importance of the factors before, during, and after group membership. In addition, we asked these participants which interventions they thought would be effective in preventing young adults to become engaged in an extremist group and how to stimulate disengagement from extremist groups.

In paragraph 2.3.5 and 2.4.5 the conclusions from the survey and interviews of the evaluation of the DIAMANT training have been discussed. In paragraph 3.3.4 conclusions were drawn based on the interview study with former right-wing extremists. What is most noteworthy when taking into account the results of these studies? First of all, it should be noted there currently exists a lack of empirical research in regard to the effectiveness of first-line interventions aimed at prevention of violent radicalisation (see also Lub, 2013; Wijn, 2012). To validate factors that may be important in the radicalisation process we used the network model as developed in SAFIRE (WP4). In our view, this model is helpful in determining factors that can be targeted for the design of interventions. For example, based on associations in the network model as given in Figure 1.1. (p. 14), it can be hypothesized that positive attitudes toward ideology-based violence can be reduced by:

- decreasing a distance to other people (i.e., by increasing contact with out-group members);
- increasing self-esteem (i.e., by providing social support and increasing a sense of agency);
- increasing a connection to society (i.e., by providing education or work/internship);
- increasing trust in authorities (i.e., by organizing meetings with governmental representatives);
- reducing negative emotions and feelings of relative deprivation (i.e., by learning how to manage discrimination).

In the present study we validated these factors and explored other factors that were considered important in regard to countering radicalisation. Examples of factors that have not yet been included are peer and family influences in development of ideology and the role of media (i.e., internet but also music concerts). In the next sections we discuss the factors in relation to possible interventions at a preventive

stage and at the restorative stage (motivating people to disengage from extremist groups).

4.1 Interventions aimed at prevention of violent radicalisation

The results of the present research in regard to radicalisation point to the conclusion that in the preventive stage much can be done by applying front-line interventions aimed at self-esteem, agency, perspective taking, empathy towards out-groups and managing negative emotions. Based on the interview studies among former extremists, these interventions should be implemented at a young age. The question we aimed to answer in the present research is which factors could be effectively targeted to counter radicalisation. As reported in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the following factors were directly related to positive attitudes in regard to ideology-based violence among (non-radical) Muslim-adolescents:

- Identification with the (ethnic and religious) in-group
- Perceiving the in-group to be superior
- Having a sense of agency
- Personal uncertainty
- Perceived humiliation of the in-group
- Low levels of empathy towards the out-group

In addition, the study among former right-wing extremists showed the following factors to be important factors at the time before becoming engaged in an extremist group:

- A negative situation at home
- Ideology among peers and family
- Negative key events in personal life
- Media (music, concerts, internet)
- Identity
- Out-group threat
- Negative emotions
- Lack of trust in authorities
- Low self-esteem

In both studies it appears that identity and negative emotions play an important role in the radicalisation process. This is in line with the conclusions drawn by experts who assessed effectiveness of interventions in the SAFIRE study presented in WP3. Those interventions aimed at reducing or dealing with negative emotions and creating a strong identity were considered most effective in regard to prevention of radicalisation.

The evaluation study of the DIAMANT training provides reason for optimism. Muslim adolescents that were described as being vulnerable for radicalisation participated in the training. They completed a survey and interview before, halfway, and after participation and (in case of one of the three participating groups) three months after completing the training. It was concluded that the training resulted in an increase of empathy towards non-Muslims and a decrease in social disconnectedness. This is important as participants with higher levels of empathy

also showed less positive attitudes towards ideology-based violence. Importantly, those individuals who felt more connected to Dutch society also identified themselves as being Dutch. This factor, in turn, was related to lower levels of out-group threat, more trust in authorities, less relative deprivation, less perceived humiliation and less intention to use ideology-based violence. Based on the interviews with the participants it was found that the training also resulted in less feelings of relative deprivation and participants were found to be better able to deal with negative emotions and discriminatory events. It is important to note at this point that by targeting one factor, one could also indirectly influence other factors. For example, an intervention aimed at reducing disconnectedness could ultimately lead to less support for ideology-based violence.

The evaluated training (DIAMANT, SIPI, 2010) was considered to be effective as it targeted explicitly possible identity problems Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch adolescents may have. This occurred in a module named Turning Point. In addition, two other modules, Moral Reasoning, and Conflict Management, were expected to teach participants how to deal with possible conflicts in daily life (how to judge people who think differently? How to deal with a discriminatory event?). Besides this, youngsters were helped in finding an education or internship by the trainers. Based on the interviews, it could be concluded that the social support of the trainers, as well as of other group members in the training was of great importance of the effectiveness of the training. Also after participants completed the training, trainers were still available for help or advice and contact with parents was maintained.

This latter aspect, contact with the family, was also considered to be important in the effectiveness of the training. Both family members as the school (if present) were kept updated about the progress of the participant. This so-called 'system-approach' (see also Lub, 2013) is considered to be an effective approach in countering radicalisation at a preventive stage. As noted by Van San and colleagues (2010), involving the parents, the school, and social workers can have positive effects on maintaining contact with young adults when there are signs of radicalisation. Teachers and parents should in that case be supported in how to deal with adolescents when are confronted with extremist point of views. Indeed, the former right-wing extremists in our interview study mentioned that schools, parents, social workers and authorities could play an important role in preventing engagement in extremist groups. Almost all participants mentioned front-line workers and professional (non-governmental) organisations like EXIT Germany. Two participants in the Netherlands emphasized the need for an organisation or trustworthy person who could contact individuals who show an interest in right-wing extremist ideology or who think about leaving the group. Regarding instruments for preventing engagement, education is often mentioned about the life in extremist groups and possible (negative) consequences of joining an extremist group for the person and his/her environment.

4.2 Interventions aimed at disengagement from extremist groups

The interviews with former extremists confirmed that a key factor that plays a role in leaving the extremist group is bad functioning of the group or disappointment in its members. In addition, it seems that over time, possible disagreements with the group's ideology and one's personal opinions play an important role as well. In regard to interventions aimed at making group members to disengage, it can be concluded that there is no one solution that fits them all. Based on the interview with

former right-wing extremists, we conclude that group members who are motivated to disengage could be targeted individually by trustworthy third persons. These could be first-line workers, family members or former friends. Also, role models like former extremists could fulfil this role.

Importantly, it should be clear from the outset how to meet the needs of the individual leaving the group. The present research shows that once people are embedded in the group and have embraced the group's ideology, it is very difficult to intervene from the outside. Notably, after leaving the group the data showed that the majority of participants had low levels of self-esteem. The interviews confirmed that people fall in a 'black hole' after leaving the group. Restorative interventions aimed at disengagement should take the needs of participants into account, for example by providing social support and by helping to re-integrate into society. Indeed, the majority of participants mentioned the importance of offering alternatives like housing, work, education and a social network. As an example can be mentioned the work of organizations like EXIT Germany. This organization helps people who want to leave right-wing extremist groups by providing them with a social network, contacts and by dismantling the radical ideology (i.e., de-radicalisation). The genuine motivation to change your life is thereby considered as most essential. Contacting organizations like EXIT can be seen as a first step to overcome the barrier.

4.3 Concluding remarks

The present study provides a rich dataset including both qualitative and quantitative data on factors that were shown in WP4 to be important in the radicalisation process and provides supporting evidence of a training to be effective in preventing violent radicalisation. The social network model in WP4 proved to be effective in studying factors that are related to violent radicalisation and identifying possible target factors for interventions. Data that were collected in the two studies presented in this report can be added to the social network model, partly to validate and strengthen (or to disconfirm) existing associations between factors, partly by adding factors that had not been included beforehand. In regard to the WP3 assessment study of interventions by experts, we could confirm the importance of focusing on strengthening identity (i.e., increase self-esteem), and reducing negative emotions and social disconnectedness when developing preventive interventions. In regard to restorative interventions, the focus should be on the individual by determining his or her needs. An independent organization or professional worker could do the intervention. This person or organization should have sufficient legitimacy and be able to create trust. Peers and family of the individual could mediate in this process. Key events were found to motivate individuals to join an extremist group as well as to leave the group. To conclude, our findings support the notion that radicalisation is not simply the sum of its parts. Different factors play an important role at different stages of the process and key events can trigger people to radicalise further or to de-radicalise which illustrates we are dealing with a dynamic, non-linear process.

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Appendix 1: Information Brochure for DIAMANT Participants

We would like to ask you to participate in a study examining the DIAMANT training. This study is conducted by researchers from the University of Amsterdam. Before the study begins it is important that you carefully read the following information:

Goal

The purpose of the study is to observe whether the DIAMANT training is effective. This research is part of a larger European project called SAFIRE. This project investigates, among other things, the relationship between developing identity, self-confidence and skills and how this ties in with the development of radical ideas in certain young people.

How will the study be done?

We would like to know how the participants of the DIAMANT training think about themselves, about others and Dutch society. There will also be questions asked about what they think of the DIAMANT training. The study consists of a questionnaire and an interview. Filling out the questionnaire will take about 20 minutes. The interview will last about 15 minutes. First the questionnaire will be filled out, followed by the interview.

When will the study be done?

The questionnaire will be taken four times. Just before the start of the DIAMANT training, in the middle, at the end, and three months after the training. The researchers will have a short interview with you two times, this being before and after the training.

Confidentiality

The study is completely confidential (anonymous). The information from the study will be used in reports. These reports will not contain any names or personal information. That means no one will know what you said or filled in.

Voluntary

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time without providing a reason. This will have no consequences for you. You can also decide after participation that you want the answers you have given to be destroyed. In order to do this you should contact Dr. Allard R. Feddes (telephone: 020 525 8863, e-mail: a.r.feddes@uva.nl; Weesperplein 4, 1018 XA Amsterdam).

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form for DIAMANT Participants

I declare I have received sufficient information about the goal and the method of this research. All my questions have been answered. My participation is voluntary. I know I have the right to stop the interview at any moment without giving a reason.

Participation is anonymous. My personal information will not be linked to the information I provide.

For further questions about this study I can contact Dr. Allard R. Feddes (telephone: 020 525 8863, e-mail: a.r.feddes@uva.nl; Weesperplein 4, 1018 XA Amsterdam).

If I have complaints about this research I can contact the president of the ethical committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Dr. Mark Rotteveel (m.rotteveel@uva.nl; 020 525 6713).

Signed in twofold

Signature participant:

.....

Signature researcher

.....

Date:

.....

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form for the Parents of Underage DIAMANT Participants

I declare I have received sufficient information about the goal and the method of this research. All my questions have been answered. I approve of my child's participation in this study. I know my child has the right to stop the interview at any moment without giving a reason.

Participation is anonymous. My child's personal information will not be linked to the information that they provide.

For further questions about this study I can contact Dr. Allard R. Feddes (telephone: 020 525 8863, e-mail: a.r.feddes@uva.nl; Weesperplein 4, 1018 XA Amsterdam).

If I have complaints about this research I can contact the president of the ethical committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Dr. Mark Rotteveel (m.rotteveel@uva.nl; 020 525 6713).

Signed in twofold

Signature parent of the participant:

.....

Signature researcher

.....

Date:

.....

Appendix 4: Survey DIAMANT Evaluation Study (Version of participants with a Moroccan ethnic background at the T1; the measurement before the study)

Thank you for participating in this research! This questionnaire is confidential. This means that nobody can know what you have answered. It is about your own opinion, therefore, there are only correct answers.

We start with some questions about you:

1. I am a: *(please circle your answer)*: man / woman.
2. My date of birth is *(complete DAY-MONTH-YEAR)*:.....
3. In which country were you born?
4. In which country were your parents born? a) Mother:.....
b) Father:.....
5. Do you have a religion? No *(Proceed with question 7)*
Yes, namely:
6. How important is your religion to you? *(please circle your answer)*

1 2 3 4 5

Not important A little bit Not important/ A little bit Verv much

Now some questions on what you want to get out of the DIAMANT training... By following the DIAMANT training I would like to:

7. Find a good job or go back to school.

1 2 3 4 5

Helemaal niet Mee Niet mee eens / Mee Helemaal
mee eens oneens niet mee oneens eens mee eens

8. Get a better relationship with parents and family.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

9. Be a good Muslim.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

10. Built up a normal life. *(With for example a house, job, children)*

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

11. Be a good person for myself and others.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How do you feel about your Moroccan heritage and religion?

12. It is very important to me to have a Moroccan heritage.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

13. I feel a strong connection with others who have a Moroccan heritage.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

14. I am very proud to have a Moroccan heritage.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

15. I feel connected to others who have a Moroccan heritage.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

16. I only socialise with people that have a Moroccan background.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

17. I avoid people who are not Muslim.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

18. I feel a great distance to non-Muslims.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

19. Muslims and non-Muslims are very different from each other.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

20. I think everybody should be Muslim.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

21. Muslims are pre-destined to change the world.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

22. Islam is better than other religions.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

23. Muslims are better people than non-Muslims.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

These questions are about you:

24. I would teach my children to be a unique individual.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

25. I have a clear will of my own.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

26. I feel proud if I have done something good.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

Where do you feel at home?

I feel at home:

27. in my neighbourhood.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

28. in Amsterdam.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

29. in the Netherlands.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

30. in Morocco.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

These questions are about the Moroccan group:

31. I would teach my children to help out people who have a Moroccan background.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

32. When I have to take a difficult decision I always listen to my family.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

33. I feel proud when people with a Moroccan background have done something good.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

Do you know what you want and what you are able to do?

34. I know what I want.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

35. I know what I am good at.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

36. I know what I am able to do and what I am not able to do.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

37. I know my strong and weak points.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

38. I am doing well.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How do you deal with difficult situations?

In a difficult situation:

39. I quickly feel restless.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

40. I get angry very quickly.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

41. I give up easily.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

42. I worry easily.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

43. I trust in God.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

44. My family tries to help me.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

45. My family helps me to take a decision.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

46. My friends try to help me.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

47. I can talk with my friends about it.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How are you treated compared to other people?

Compared to other people in the Netherlands:

48. I am treated less well.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

49. I am less well off.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

50. I am discriminated more often.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

51. I get fewer opportunities.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How do you feel about yourself the last couple of weeks?

52. I am content with myself.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

53. I have a number of good qualities.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

54. I have a lot to be proud of.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

55. I have a high self-esteem.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

The next questions are about Muslims and non-Muslims. In the Netherlands:

56. Non-Muslims see themselves to be better than Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

57. Non-Muslims will never understand Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

58. Muslims should get more respect.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

59. Non-Muslims have different norms and values than Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

60. Non-Muslims have more power than Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

61. Companies will prefer non-Muslims over Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

62. Non-Muslims earn more money than Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

63. Muslims have more trouble getting an internship compared to non-Muslims.

I do not agree at all - - - - - I agree completely

How do you feel about the government, police, etc.?

64. I respect the Dutch government.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

65. I respect the police.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

66. The government needs to be respected.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

67. I trust the Dutch educative system.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

68. I trust in democracy.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

69. I trust non-Muslims.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

70. In the next elections I will vote for sure.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How are people with a Moroccan background treated in the Netherlands?

Compared to other groups in the Netherlands:

71. People with a Moroccan background are treated less well.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

72. People with a Moroccan background are less well off.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

73. People with a Moroccan background are discriminated more often.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

74. People with a Moroccan background receive fewer opportunities.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

These questions are about how other people behave towards you.

I sometimes worry that other people:

75. Make fun of me.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

76. Humiliate me.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

77. Exclude me.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

78. Laugh at me.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How do you see yourself?

79. I think it is easy to make other people do what I want them to do.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

80. I see myself as a good leader.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

81. I can fool other people easily.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

82. I am a special person.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

These questions are about how other people behave towards people of Moroccan descent in general.

I sometimes worry that other people:

83. Make fun of people with a Moroccan background.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

84. Humiliate people with a Moroccan background.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

85. Exclude people with a Moroccan background.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

86. Laugh at people with a Moroccan background.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

How do you feel about Muslims interacting with non-Muslims?

87. I don't think this is a bad thing.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

88. I support that.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

89. That should happen more often.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

90. That has positive consequences.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

These questions are about whether you can understand others.

91. I understand how non-Muslims raise their children.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

92. I can understand what non-Muslims think, even though I do not always agree.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

93. I listen to the opinion of non-Muslims, even if I do not agree.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

94. I understand non-Muslims better if I take their point of view.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

What would you feel if something bad would happen to non-Muslims?

95. I would be worried.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

96. I would feel empathy.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

97. I would also feel bad.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

98. I would feel affected as well.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

Do you understand the reaction of Muslims?

**Imagine: the prophet Muhammad is insulted in a Dutch newspaper.
I would understand it if Muslims would react by:**

99. Disrupting the social order (for example by rioting).

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

100. Destroying things.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

101. Using violence against others.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

102. Threatening journalists.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

What would you do?

If the prophet Muhammad is seriously insulted in a Dutch newspaper I am prepared to:

103. Disrupt the social order.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

104. Destroy things.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

105. Use violence against others.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

106. Threaten journalists.

I do not agree at all 1 2 3 4 5 I agree completely

This is the end of the questionnaire, thank you for participating!

Possible remarks about this research:

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Appendix 5: Interview Scheme DIAMANT Participants T1 (Before Training)

Instructions for the interviewer:

- *Blow off steam after the survey has been filled out: prior to the interview and following the interview (How was it? What did you think about it? Was there anything that you found difficult?)*
- *Ask the participant if all the survey questions have been filled in, sometimes pages can be missed.*
- *First, briefly explain what the purpose of the interview is. Also indicate what is expected of the interviewer and the interviewee. You ask the questions, the participant only has to answer them. Second, ask if the interviewee has understood everything and if there are any questions. The advantage of this process is that the division of roles has been made clear and that you have agreed these roles with the participant. If they begin to deviate from their assigned role as interviewee (i.e., by asking you questions) then you can give them a brief reminder of this agreement.*
- *Indicate that difficult/intense subjects could possibly be discussed. Say that you are aware of the sensitivity of some of these topics, but that you are very interested in the opinion of the interviewee. If they find a question difficult or confronting they can inform you so that you can account for this in your questioning.*
- *At the introduction: Refer to the information brochure, anonymity; ask permission for the interview to be recorded; how they would like be addressed?*
- *At the beginning of the interview: Ask for their birthdate to use as identification;*
- *Try not to use any difficult words.*

START INTERVIEW

I. Introduction & Trust (5 minutes)

- IQ (*Introduction Question*): Could you start by telling me something about yourself? (*If any factors are mentioned, ask the interviewee to expand further on the following points of interest*)

- Family & friends;
- Social activities (sports, clubs);
- Religion (how important).

- AQ (*Additional Question*): How did you end up with DIAMANT?
Enrolled on their own / through a government agency.

II. Goal participation DIAMANT (7 minutes)

- IQ: Could you tell me what you want to accomplish with the DIAMANT training?

- Develop skills (learn what you can do and what you can't do);
- Education / employment (increase chances of a good education / job).
- Start a family (live a normal life; house, job).

III. Identity (7 minutes)

- IQ: Could you tell me something about the people you feel most comfortable with?

- AQ: And in what groups do you feel at home?

- Ethnic group (Moroccans);
- Religious group (Muslims / Islam);
- Family / friends

- Morocco / The Netherlands / other country
- Dutch people (Dutch society)
- Possible contrasts between cultures (*e.g., Moroccan vs. Dutch*).

IV. Socialization processes (7 minutes)

- IQ: Could you tell me something about how you were raised?
 - Parenting style: authoritarian (*control, rules*) vs. permissive (*open*);
 - Communication (*mutual understanding*);
 - Social support from parents in difficult situations
- AQ: Were your parents born in this country?
- AQ: What lessons did your parents teach you?
 - Superiority own group
 - Norms and values Dutch vs. Moroccan
 - Is this similar to what the respondent believes?
- AQ: How do you feel about the Dutch authorities? (*E.g. local / national government, police*)

V. Relative deprivation (7 minutes)

- IQ: Have you ever felt like you were treated worse than others?
 - If yes: How did you respond?
 - If no: How would you respond if this happened to you?
- AQ: Could you tell me how people treat Moroccans / Muslims in comparison to others? (*Does the participant think that their own group is being treated worse than other groups?*)
 - Discrimination based on ethnic origin / religion (*e.g. internship positions*)
 - Dutch authorities (*e.g. government, police*)
- AQ: How do Moroccans / Muslims deal with this?
 - Stand up for themselves or walk away;
 - Talk about it or use violence.

VI. Key events (7 minutes)

- IQ: What were important events in your life?
 - Key events (*e.g. family events, the invasion of Afghanistan by the USA*)
 - Possible fights / bad experiences in the past due to ethnic origin / religion.

VII. Future (5 minutes)

- IQ: In conclusion, could you tell me how you see your future?
 - Family / education / employment
 - Role of Islam in the Netherlands
 - Relationships with different people (*different ethnicity / religion*).

Finish

Turn the recording device off. Thank the participant and let them blow off steam: What did the participant think of the survey? What did they think of the interview? Refer to the next meeting. Emphasize that you will be the one to interview them next time.

Duration: 45 minutes (15 minutes of margin meaning a maximum duration of 1 hour).

Appendix 6: Interview Scheme DIAMANT Participants T2 (During Training)

Instructions for the interviewer:

- *Blow off steam after the survey has been filled out: prior to the interview and following the interview (How was it? What did you think about it? Was there anything that you found difficult?)*
- *Ask the participant if all the survey questions have been filled in, sometimes pages can be missed.*
- *First, briefly explain what the purpose of the interview is. Also indicate what is expected of the interviewer and the interviewee. You ask the questions, the participant only has to answer them. Second, ask if the interviewee has understood everything and if there are any questions. The advantage of this process is that the division of roles has been made clear and that you have agreed these roles with the participant. If they begin to deviate from their assigned role as interviewee (i.e., by asking you questions) then you can give them a brief reminder of this agreement.*
- *Indicate that difficult/intense subjects could possibly be discussed. Say that you are aware of the sensitivity of some of these topics, but that you are very interested in the opinion of the interviewee. If they find a question difficult or confronting they can inform you so that you can account for this in your questioning.*
- *At the introduction: Refer to the information brochure, anonymity; ask permission for the interview to be recorded; how they would like be addressed?*
- *Try not to use any difficult words.*

START INTERVIEW

I. What is your date of birth? (*For identification*)

II. Module 1

- IQ (*Introduction Question*): What do you think of the training so far?
- AQ (*Additional Question*): What do you think are positive aspects of the first module?
- AQ: What do you think could be improved?
- AQ: What did you learn from Module 1?
- AQ: Has the training had any results for you?
- AQ: To what degree do you feel obligated to attend the training?
If obligated: Would you attend if it was voluntary? Why?

III. The group

- IQ: What do you think about the group?
- AQ: How is the group atmosphere?
- AQ: Do you feel like the group has been supportive towards you?
- AQ: Were there things you recognized in other group members?

IV. The trainer

- IQ: How do you think the trainer is doing so far?

V. Comparison to before Module 1

- IQ: If you think about how you were before you started module 1, what do you think has changed about you?

VI. Relative deprivation

- IQ: Have you ever felt like you were treated worse than others?
 - If yes: How did you respond?
 - If no: How would you respond if this happened to you?
- AQ: Could you tell me how people treat Moroccans / Muslims in comparison to others? (*Does the participant think that their own group is being treated worse than other groups?*)
 - Discrimination based on ethnic origin / religion (*e.g. internship positions*)
 - Dutch authorities (*e.g. government, police*)
- AQ: How do Moroccans / Muslims deal with this?
 - Stand up for themselves or walk away;
 - Talk about it or use violence.

VII. Key events

- IQ: What were important events in your life?
 - Key events (*e.g. family events, the invasion of Afghanistan by the USA*)
 - Possible fights / bad experiences in the past due to ethnic origin / religion.

VIII. Future

- IQ: In conclusion, could you tell me how you see your future?
 - Family / education / employment
 - Role of Islam in the Netherlands
 - Relationships with different people (*different ethnicity / religion*).

Finish

Turn the recording device off. Thank the participant and let them blow off steam: What did the participant think of the survey? What did they think of the interview? Refer to the next meeting. Emphasize that you will be the one to interview them next time.

Duration: 15-30 minutes.

Appendix 7: Interview Scheme DIAMANT Participants T3 (After Training)

Instructions for the interviewer:

- *Blow off steam after the survey has been filled out: prior to the interview and following the interview (How was it? What did you think about it? Was there anything that you found difficult?)*
- *Ask the participant if all the survey questions have been filled in, sometimes pages can be missed.*
- *First, briefly explain what the purpose of the interview is. Also indicate what is expected of the interviewer and the interviewee. You ask the questions, the participant only has to answer them. Second, ask if the interviewee has understood everything and if there are any questions. The advantage of this process is that the division of roles has been made clear and that you have agreed these roles with the participant. If they begin to deviate from their assigned role as interviewee (i.e., by asking you questions) then you can give them a brief reminder of this agreement.*
- *Indicate that difficult/intense subjects could possibly be discussed. Say that you are aware of the sensitivity of some of these topics, but that you are very interested in the opinion of the interviewee. If they find a question difficult or confronting they can inform you so that you can account for this in your questioning.*
- *At the introduction: Refer to the information brochure, anonymity; ask permission for the interview to be recorded; how they would like be addressed?*
- *At the beginning of the interview: Ask for their birthdate to use as identification;*
- *Try not to use any difficult words.*

START INTERVIEW

I. What is your date of birth? (For identification)

II. Effect of the training

- IQ (*Introduction Question*): You have now completed the DIAMANT training. When looking back, how did you feel about it?

- AQ (*Additional Question*): The training consisted of four parts; a module about your identity, a module about moral judgements, a module about handling conflicts and a practical exercise (internship / education). If you think back, which of these parts was the most useful to you? (*Why?*)

*Points of interest: Positive / negative aspects of the module; what could be better; what was enjoyable; what was difficult; what wasn't useful.

- AQ: Which part wasn't as important to you? (*Why?*)

- AQ: Has the training changed you? (*If yes, how? If no, why not?*)

- AQ: Did the training change your way of thinking about certain things? (*If yes, give an example? If no, why not?*)

- AQ: Looking at yourself now, how would you describe yourself?

*Points of interest: Pleased with self; own qualities; proud of self or not; self-confidence.

- AQ: Are you doing things differently now in comparison to before the training? (*What, how and why?*)

III. Module 2: Moral Judgement

- IQ: During the training you have been discussing how to make difficult decisions. For example, you want to do something (like going to a party) that your family or your religion doesn't allow you to do. How would you handle this?

IV. Module 3: Handling Conflicts

- IQ: Do you ever feel like you're treated worse than others?

- If yes: How do you react at that moment?
- If yes: In comparison to whom?
- If no: How would you react if this happened to you?

- AQ: What would you do if you disagreed with someone?

- AQ: Imagine that you got into an argument with someone, how would you handle the situation?

- AQ: Imagine that your friends are involved in a physical fight, what would you do?

*Points of interest: Stopping the fight or not / what does the participant think about the use of violence.

V. Module 4: Practical Exercise

- IQ: An important purpose of the training was to participate in a practical exercise. Can you explain about how this worked out for you?

- AQ: Have you become acquainted with new people in the last few months, for example in the neighbourhood, at school / internship, or online? Could you elaborate?

*Point of interest: Developing contacts real life & internet (e.g. Facebook).

VI. Future

- IQ: In conclusion, could you tell me how you see your future?

*Points of interest: Family / employment / education; set goals; positive or negative expectations.

Finish

Turn the recording device off. Thank the participant and let them blow off steam: What did the participant think of the survey? What did they think of the interview? Refer to the meeting in three months. Emphasize that you will be the one to interview them next time.

Duration: 30-45 minutes.

Appendix 8: Interview Scheme DIAMANT Participants T4 (Three Months after Training)

Instructions for the interviewer:

- *Blow off steam after the survey has been filled out: prior to the interview and following the interview (How was it? What did you think about it? Was there anything that you found difficult?)*
- *Ask the participant if all the survey questions have been filled in, sometimes pages can be missed.*
- *Again, briefly explain what the purpose of the interview is. Reference previous interviews, possibly with a different interviewer.*
- *Indicate that difficult/intense subjects could possibly be discussed. Say that you are aware of the sensitivity of some of these topics, but that you are very interested in the opinion of the interviewee. If they find a question difficult or confronting they can inform you so that you can account for this in your questioning.*
- *At the introduction: Refer to the information brochure, anonymity; ask permission for the interview to be recorded; how they would like be addressed?*
- *Try not to use any difficult words.*

START INTERVIEW

I. For identification, what is your date of birth?

II. Social environment, social media

- IQ (*Introduction Question*): To start, could you describe what your life is like at the moment?

- AQ (*Additional Question*): Are you currently enrolled in school or do you have a job? If yes, could you tell me some more about that?

- AQ: What do you do in your free time?

- AQ: Could you tell me something about your home life?

- AQ: Could you tell me about the friends that you currently hang out with?

- AQ: Could you tell me how you keep in touch with your friends?

*Points of interest: Social media; Facebook; Twitter.

III. Connectedness with society

- IQ: Elections were held recently. To what extent did you pay attention to them?

- AQ: Did you vote?

- AQ: How do you feel about the results of the elections?

- AQ: To what extent do you feel that the government is there for you?

- AQ: How do you feel about the Dutch authorities? (*Local / national government, police*)

IV. Self-confidence, relative deprivation

- IQ: Could you describe yourself?

- AQ: Do you feel good about yourself?

- AQ: To what degree do you feel in control of your own life?

- AQ: Have you ever felt like you were treated worse than others?

- If yes: How did you respond?

- If no: How would you respond if this happened to you?

V. Contact with trainers, participants and SIPI staff members

- IQ: You finished the DIAMANT training in April. Have you kept in touch with the trainers since? What was your interaction like? (*Support, advice*)
- AQ: Have you since had contact with the other participants? If so, could you tell me a little more about that?
- AQ: Have you since been in contact with other SIPI staff members? If so, could you say some more about that?

VI. Reflecting on the DIAMANT training effects

- IQ: Looking back now, what did you think of the DIAMANT training?
- AQ: To what degree did the training give you what you needed?
- AQ: What would you improve about the training?
- AQ: What did you think of the organisation of the training?

VII. Future

- IQ: In conclusion, could you tell how you see your future?
*Points of interest: Family / employment / education; set goals; positive or negative expectations.

Finish

Turn the recording device off. Thank the participant and let them blow off steam: What did the participant think of the survey? What did they think of the interview? Thank the interviewee for participating in the study; gift.

Duration: 30-45 minutes.

Appendix 9: Coding Schemes of Interviews DIAMANT Training

Factor	Specification	Coding Option	Example
A) Before Training (T1)			
I) Social environment	1. Family	a. Good relationship with parent(s)	"Thankfully I have a sweet father"
		b. Bad relationship with parent(s)	"I haven't seen my father in two months"
		c. Good relationship with brother / sister	"I prefer to hang out with my sisters"
		d. Bad relationship with brother / sister	"My siblings get jealous and call me names"
		e. Positive situation at home	"My family is proud of me"
		f. Negative situation at home	"I can't live at home anymore"
		g. Other	"My father has two wives"
	2. Romantic attachment	a. Unattached	"A girlfriend would be nice"
		b. Relationship functions well	"She wants to get married"
		c. Has relational issues	-
		d. Other	-
	3. Friendships	a. No friends	"I have no Dutch friends and no Moroccan friends"
		b. One best friend	"I have a best friend"
		c. Multiple friends	"I keep running into friends in the city"
		d. Friends belonging to in-group	"Yes, two Moroccan guys"
		e. Friends belonging to out-group	"I do have Dutch friends"
		f. Friends regardless of ethnic background	"I'm not the type that only hangs out with Moroccan guys"
		g. Other	"In the end, friends aren't good"
	4. General attitudes towards in-group and out-group	a. Positive interaction in-group	"You understand each other better"
		b. Negative interaction in-group	"I don't like the Turkish side"
c. Positive interaction out-group		"Dutch people are good, they help me"	
d. Negative interaction out-group		"Moroccans understand you, Dutch people don't"	
e. Other		"I care about everyone"	
II) Religiosity	1. Religious belief	a. Believer	"I pretty much am my religion"
		b. Non-believer	"You wouldn't see me going to a mosque"
		c. Other	"I don't do everything by the rules"
	2. Importance of religion	a. Religion is important	"I find religion very important"
		b. Religion is not important	"I believe, but not much"
		c. Other	-
III) Cause for applying	a. Own decision		"I wanted to see what you were doing"
	b. Family		"Because of my dad actually"
	c. Peers		"I came here because of a friend"
	d. Partner		-

		e. Government agency	"The Unemployment Service told me to go here"
		f. Other	"I came here through the community centre"
IV) Social connectedness with the Dutch society	1. Social activities	a. Sport	"Swimming, cycling, every Friday or Sunday I go to the gym"
		b. Culture (e.g. dance, theatre)	-
		c. Community centre	"I feel comfortable in community centres"
		d. None	"I used to do kickboxing but not anymore"
		e. Other	"I spend time on the street with my friends"
	2. Education	a. Currently enrolled	"I use most of my time for studying"
		b. Currently not enrolled	"So now I don't have any school"
		c. Dropped out	"Yeah, then I quit"
		d. Other	"I used to be in school but I got kicked out"
	3. Work/ Internship	a. Has a job / internship	"I move things at the thrift shop"
		b. Does not have a job / internship	"Every day I get a check from the Unemployment Service"
		c. Other	"I was turned down for the job because of my contact lenses"
V) Training goals		a. Develop skills	"Learn to speak Dutch"
		b. Obtain an education / employment	"At least get a degree because without one I'll get nowhere"
		c. Start a family	"In the future I want a house with a white picket fence"
		d. Other	"I want to make my parents proud"
VI) Social identification		a. Family	"Family is important to me"
		b. Partner	-
		c. Friends	"Friends are the most important"
		d. Religious / ethnic group	"I'm Muslim and Moroccan"
		e. Family's land of origin	"My own country, Morocco"
		f. City of origin	"Amsterdam is the city where I'm from and I want to stay there"
		g. Own neighbourhood	"I can talk to my neighbours about anything"
		h. The Netherlands	"For me being Dutch is important"
		i. Other	"I am Dutch and Moroccan"
VII) Socialization	1. Parenting style	a. Authoritarian	"I do have a strict mother"
		b. Permissive	"My mother lets me do and think what I want"
		c. Other	"I have been hit by my father"
	2. Parental norms	a. Superiority in-group	-
		b. Negative attitudes towards out-groups	-
		c. Norms and values of own culture	"I have been raised in a family where we live by the Islam"

	3. Social norm compliance	d. Other	"My mother taught me to have respect for everyone"
		a. Conform to norms	"As a Muslim woman you have to know the limits"
		b. Reject norms	"I'm not afraid to be seen in public with my pierced friend"
		c. Other	"In Morocco girls can go out, but over here you shame your family"
VIII) Legitimacy of Dutch authorities	1. Government	a. Government legitimate	"They have good laws"
		b. Government not legitimate	"Almost every agency screws you over"
		c. Other	"I am outraged that reducing spending is more important than helping the youth"
	2. Police	a. Police legitimate	"The police can also help"
		b. Police not legitimate	"There are many corrupt officers"
		c. Other	"The police could win the trust of the youth on the street"
IX) Relative deprivation	1. Experience	a. Has been treated worse than others	"I wasn't hired because I'm half Turkish"
		b. In-group members have been treated worse than others	"Here we are seen as immigrants, as bad people"
		c. Other	"People here get public aid, they don't in Morocco"
	2. Reaction	a. Acceptance	"That's when I thought to myself: it's pointless to look for a job"
		b. Negative reaction	"It makes me really mad and I yell at them"
		c. Positive reaction	"For the most part I am friendly and I just leave"
		d. Other	"I hide it very deep inside of me"
X) Key life events	1. Self	a. Positive	"Studying is very important, in my country I had no opportunity"
		b. Negative	"Being in court was one of the worst things I have experienced"
		c. Other	"Going from Morocco to the Netherlands"
	2. Family	a. Positive	"So I got told I have a sister, that was a great day"
		b. Negative	"My uncle suddenly died"
		c. Other	"Then my mother moved to France"
	3. Other group members	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
	4. World events	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"I remember the disaster in the fireworks factory, that was scary"
c. Other		-	
XI) Future	1. Personal future	a. Optimistic	"To go to school, get my degree, a good job, my own house"
		b. Pessimistic	"My future isn't good, I have a big problem"

		c. Other	"I'll give what I've learned to other people so they can pass it on"
	2. Societal future	a. Optimistic	"The children interact more than the older generation"
		b. Pessimistic	"I view it negatively because of the crisis"
		c. Other	"Maybe Islam will be the only religion"
XII) Duration of stay in the Netherlands		a. Parents spent the majority of time in the Netherlands	"My mother was twelve when she came here"
		b. Parents spent the majority of time outside of the Netherlands	"My mother lives in Morocco"
		c. Lived in the Netherlands for the majority of time	"I was four years old when I came to the Netherlands"
		d. Lived outside of the Netherlands for the majority of time	"I have been living here for almost five years"
		e. Other	"I was in my native country for half my life"
XIII) Other			"I don't trust the media at all", "I have debts", "I feel broken"
B) During Training (T2)			
I) Evaluation Module 1: Turning Point		a. Positive aspect	"Without them I wouldn't be getting my degree this year"
		b. Negative aspect	"The questions are stupid and for little children"
		c. Other	"I wasn't there most of the time"
II) Module 1: Turning Point Results	1. Insight into own abilities	a. Improved	"It makes you take a close look at yourself"
		b. Deteriorated	-
		c. Other	"I haven't learned anything new"
	2. Social and professional skills	a. Improved	"They teach people how to speak Dutch"
		b. Deteriorated	-
		c. Other	"I didn't have any social problems in the first place"
	3. Personal goals	a. Clear personal goals	"It makes your goals clearer"
		b. No personal goals	-
		c. Other	"I learned about my future"
	4. Ability to consider other viewpoints	a. Improved	"If someone doesn't agree, then you listen to that person"
		b. Deteriorated	-
		c. Other	-
	5. Motivation	a. Low	"I didn't do everything, it's too much work"
		b. Moderate	"At first I didn't want to do anything, but now I'm hopeful"
		c. High	"This is just an opportunity that you have to embrace fully"
		d. Other	-
	6.	a. Feels that participation is	"I don't feel obligated at all"

	Voluntariness of participation	voluntary	
		b. Feels that participation is mandatory	"This training is mandatory for me"
		c. Other	"I don't feel like it's mandatory, but I obligated myself"
	7. Taking own responsibility	a. Takes responsibility for actions	"If you want something, then you have to commit yourself to it"
		b. Takes no responsibility for actions	-
c. Other		-	
8. Other		"I have more self-confidence", "I now have a place to sleep"	
III) Training group	1. Evaluation of the group	a. Positive	"Everyone is very motivated"
		b. Negative	"The group needs to be separated because the boys are too disruptive"
		c. Other	"I feel at home here because they're from my neighbourhood"
	2. Effect of the group on own progress	a. Positive	"Before this I thought I was alone"
		b. Negative	"It was difficult sometimes"
		c. Other	"There were some things I didn't want the group to know"
IV) Supervision	1. Trainer	a. Positive	"I like them all"
		b. Negative	"No one is following the rules"
		c. Other	"If you don't understand something, they'll translate it into Arabic for you"
	2. SIPI employee	a. Positive	"This employee gives me motivation"
		b. Negative	"They say they'll help you but nothing happens"
		c. Other	"I don't know if they can help me"
V) Social environment	1. Family	a. Good relationship with parent(s)	"My mother is here, always helping me"
		b. Bad relationship with parent(s)	-
		c. Good relationship with brother / sister	"If I don't understand something my brother can always help"
		d. Bad relationship with brother / sister	-
		e. Positive situation at home	"I'd love to stay in East Amsterdam, my whole family lives there"
		f. Negative situation at home	-
		g. Other	-
	2. Romantic attachment	a. Unattached	-
		b. Relationship functions well	"I already have a boyfriend"
		c. Has relational issues	-
		d. Other	-
	3. Friendships	a. No friends	-
		b. One best friend	"I don't have fights with my friend"
		c. Multiple friends	"I have a lot of friends in this group"

		d. Friends belonging to in-group	-
		e. Friends belonging to out-group	"I have a Dutch friend"
		f. Friends regardless of ethnic background	-
		g. Other	-
	4. General attitudes towards in-group and out-group	a. Positive interaction in-group	-
		b. Negative interaction in-group	-
		c. Positive interaction out-group	-
		d. Negative interaction out-group	"I don't speak with boys"
		e. Other	"Other people are very annoying"
	VI) Social connectedness with the Dutch society	1. Social activities	a. Sport
b. Culture (e.g. dance, theatre)			"I dance every now and then"
c. Community centre			-
d. None			-
e. Other			-
2. Education		a. Currently enrolled	"I'll get my degree at the end of this year"
		b. Currently not enrolled	"School is difficult for me"
		c. Dropped out	"I quit school, but I'm going back"
		d. Other	"This motivates me to get a higher education"
3. Work/ Internship		a. Has a job / internship	"I'm an intern for SIPI"
		b. Does not have a job / internship	"Now all I have to do is find an internship"
		c. Other	"I applied for a job as police officer"
VII) Relative deprivation		1. Experience	a. Has been treated worse than others
	b. In-group members have been treated worse than others		"A lot of friends say stupid headscarf, I can't find an internship"
	c. Other		"At first I thought no one would hire me, but that changed"
	2. Reaction	a. Acceptance	-
		b. Negative reaction	-
		c. Positive reaction	"It helps to talk about it"
		d. Other	-
	VIII) Key life events	1. Self	a. Positive
b. Negative			-
c. Other			-
2. Family		a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
3. Other group members		a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-

	4. World events	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
IX) Future	1. Personal future	a. Optimistic	"To get my degrees and a job, house, wife"
		b. Pessimistic	"Before the training I was ambitious, but now I don't know if I can really do it"
		c. Other	"I still have doubts, I don't know"
	2. Societal future	a. Optimistic	-
		b. Pessimistic	-
		c. Other	-
X) Other		"I'm now debt free", "I was just insecure"	
C) Directly After Training (T3)			
I) Evaluation Training		a. Positive aspect	"It's changed the way I think"
		b. Negative aspect	"I didn't understand everything"
		c. Other	"It seems to be just for people who are still assimilating"
II) Training Results	1. Insight into own abilities	a. Improved	"I know I am a hard worker"
		b. Deteriorated	-
		c. Other	"I thought I was a problem child"
	2. Social and professional skills	a. Improved	"I'm more serious now"
		b. Deteriorated	"I've actually become lazier"
		c. Other	"I cry easily"
	3. Personal goals	a. Clear personal goals	"I've decided to go to school to become a teacher"
		b. No personal goals	"I don't know what I want anymore"
		c. Other	"I'm still seriously doubting"
	4. Ability to consider other viewpoints	a. Improved	"I would want to talk to that person, it could be my mistake"
		b. Deteriorated	"I can only imagine how I think"
		c. Other	"I like hearing criticism"
	5. Motivation	a. Low	"The last few months I've really been deteriorating"
		b. Moderate	"I've given up hope, but I keep on going"
		c. High	"I'm close to my goal, so I'm trying to do my best"
		d. Other	"I still have a lot of steps to take"
	6. Taking own responsibility	a. Takes responsibility for actions	"You just have to fix it yourself"
		b. Takes no responsibility for actions	"They're being difficult, it's just difficult to hire someone"
		c. Other	-
	7. Level of confidence	a. Low	"I'm insecure and I view myself negatively"
		b. Moderate	"I'm getting more confident"
		c. High	"I'm on the right track"
		d. Other	"I've always been confident"
	8. Other		"Inner peace is most important"

III) Evaluation of Modules	1. Module 1: Turning Point	a. Positive aspect	"It was good to learn about yourself"
		b. Negative aspect	"Stupid questions, everyone knows who they are"
		c. Other	"It's hard to think back to what the module was like"
	2. Module 2: Moral Judgment	a. Positive aspect	"Maybe I should ask other people about their opinions"
		b. Negative aspect	"It's useless to me"
		c. Other	"There were things that I didn't want to write down"
	3. Module 3: Handling Conflicts	a. Positive aspect	"It's important to know how to deal with it"
		b. Negative aspect	"I've had this all before"
		c. Other	"There are some people you can't talk to"
	4. Module 4: Practical Exercise	a. Positive aspect	"I'm back at school because of the project"
		b. Negative aspect	"I didn't show up, I slept in"
		c. Other	"I don't think I had this module"
IV) Training group	1. Evaluation of the group	a. Positive	"It was fun together"
		b. Negative	"The girls in the class kept yelling"
		c. Other	"It's not like you can trust people after three weeks"
	2. Effect of the group on own progress	a. Positive	"It shows you more about yourself"
		b. Negative	"I learnt almost nothing"
		c. Other	"It wasn't like I imagined it"
V) Social connectedness with the Dutch society	1. Social activities	a. Sport	"I train kids, football"
		b. Culture (e.g. dance, theatre)	-
		c. Community centre	-
		d. None	-
		e. Other	"I mostly see my friends in a café or coffee shop"
	2. Education	a. Currently enrolled	"Retail, I started in February"
		b. Currently not enrolled	"I don't go to school"
		c. Dropped out	"Yes, quit school"
		d. Other	"This isn't a stimulating environment"
	3. Work/ Internship	a. Has a job / internship	"I started my internship"
b. Does not have a job / internship		"I only need to find an internship"	
c. Other		"I asked one of the guidance counsellors and they told me I had to figure it out alone"	
VI) Relative deprivation	1. Experience	a. Hasn't been treated worse than other	"No, I don't feel badly treated"
		b. Has been treated worse than others	"I feel like I'm treated a little worse"
		c. In-group members have been treated worse than others	"Because you're Moroccan, they find a reason"
		d. Other	"It's not exactly discrimination, but"

			it's similar"
	2. Reaction	a. Acceptance	"I just try to keep going, that's my only option"
		b. Negative reaction	"I think it's disgusting that they didn't want me to have that"
		c. Positive reaction	"I just don't let it bother me"
		d. Other	"After a while you're done talking about it"
VII) Conflicts	1. Involvement	a. Hasn't experienced conflict	"I have no problems with people"
		b. Has experienced conflict	"I've had to fight plenty of times"
		c. Members of own group have been involved in conflict	"My uncle pushed him"
		d. Other	"We're all adults now, those times have passed"
	2. Reaction	a. Positive reaction	"I try to avoid conflicts now"
		b. Negative reaction	"Usually it really gets out of hand"
c. Other		"It would depend on the situation"	
VIII) Social environment	1. Family	a. Good relationship with parent(s)	"My father is very sweet, yes"
		b. Bad relationship with parent(s)	"I have no contact with my mother"
		c. Good relationship with brother / sister	"My sister would bring my homework with her"
		d. Bad relationship with brother / sister	"When me and my brother fight, I just keep screaming"
		e. Positive situation at home	"My mom tells me to get out of bed so I don't miss the training"
		f. Negative situation at home	"Nobody has time for me at home"
		g. Other	"I don't even trust my own cousins"
	2. Romantic attachment	a. Unattached	-
		b. Relationship functions well	"I would tell my girlfriend"
		c. Has relational issues	"I was fighting with my boyfriend"
		d. Other	"He has already thought of baby names"
	3. Friendships	a. No friends	-
		b. One best friend	"A really good friend"
		c. Multiple friends	"I also have a lot of friends"
		d. Friends belonging to in-group	-
		e. Friends belonging to out-group	"My Dutch friend is fun"
		f. Friends regardless of ethnic background	"Yes, I made Dutch friends but I also made a Moroccan friend"
		g. Other	"It's important to spend time with people who grow with you"
	4. General attitudes towards in-group and out-group	a. Positive interaction in-group	"I also became friends with a Moroccan"
		b. Negative interaction in-group	"They were just talking, you know how those Moroccan girls are"
		c. Positive interaction out-group	"I get along fine with Dutch guys"

		d. Negative interaction out-group	"It's going to get worse now that the borders are open"
		e. Other	"I'm in the Netherlands, so I want to see Dutch people"
IX) Key life events	1. Self	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"I lost someone and went completely hysterical"
		c. Other	-
	2. Family	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"My father and mother were afraid of losing me"
		c. Other	-
	3. Other group members	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
	4. World events	a. Positive	-
b. Negative		-	
c. Other		-	
X) Future	1. Personal future	a. Optimistic	"Just the perfect family"
		b. Pessimistic	"Everything is becoming difficult"
		c. Other	"I don't know my future"
	2. Societal future	a. Optimistic	-
		b. Pessimistic	"The crisis makes everything more difficult"
		c. Other	"If it keeps going on like this, it won't be good, we've got to keep a white neighbourhood"
XI) Other			"I have a fear of failure", "I've got a lot of things on my mind now"
D) Three Months After Training (T4)			
I) Social connectedness with the Dutch society	1. Social activities	a. Sport	"Football, I'm a pretty good player"
		b. Culture (e.g. dance, theatre)	-
		c. Community centre	-
		d. None	"I spend most of time at home"
		e. Other	"On weekends I sometimes go to the city with my friends"
	2. Education	a. Currently enrolled	"I'm going to school"
		b. Currently not enrolled	-
		c. Dropped out	-
		d. Other	"I studied in Morocco, but it's not recognised here"
	3. Work/ Internship	a. Has a job / internship	"I just need to finish my internship and I'm done"
		b. Does not have a job / internship	"Now I'm looking for a job"
		c. Other	"I've already had a trial day and it was fun"
	4. Use of internet communication	a. Often uses internet to communicate	"We just ping or WhatsApp"
		b. Rarely uses internet communicate	"Sometimes I use Facebook, but mostly I just call"

		c. Does not use internet to communicate	-
		d. Other	"I'm too busy to talk"
II) Social environment	1. Family	a. Good relationship with parent(s)	"I'm proud of my parents, they always support me"
		b. Bad relationship with parent(s)	"I still live with my aunt"
		c. Good relationship with brother / sister	"My brothers and sisters support and help me"
		d. Bad relationship with brother / sister	"When my sister showed no respect for me I hit her"
		e. Positive situation at home	"Home is perfect"
		f. Negative situation at home	-
		g. Other	"I live with my aunt, uncle and three cousins"
	2. Romantic attachment	a. Unattached	-
		b. Relationship functions well	-
		c. Has relational issues	-
		d. Other	-
	3. Friendships	a. No friends	-
		b. One best friend	"I have a friend from school"
		c. Multiple friends	"Just hang around with my friends"
		d. Friends belonging to in-group	"My friend is also from my country"
		e. Friends belonging to out-group	"Sometimes I hang out with that Moroccan"
		f. Friends regardless of ethnic background	"I have made some Dutch and some foreign friends"
		g. Other	"I don't have that many friends because I only recently moved here"
	4. General attitudes towards in-group and out-group	a. Positive interaction in-group	"I have some Tibetan friends"
		b. Negative interaction in-group	-
c. Positive interaction out-group		"They're all fun people"	
d. Negative interaction out-group		-	
e. Other		-	
III) Legitimacy of Dutch authorities	1. Interest in politics	a. Great interest	"I've stayed up until they announced the results, at 3 AM"
		b. Low interest	"I sometimes watched"
		c. No interest	"I don't care that much"
		d. Other	"Every day they say something different"
	2. Voting	a. Voted	"I voted, but my party lost"
		b. Did not vote	"I didn't even go"
		c. Was not allowed to vote or was impeded	"I'm not 18 yet"
		d. Other	"When I'm allowed I'll vote, why not?"
	3. Government	a. Government legitimate	"It is important"

		b. Government not legitimate	"This politician says things that are just bullshit"	
		c. Other	"Sometimes they can be pig-headed"	
	4. Police	a. Police legitimate	"They do their job right"	
		b. Police not legitimate	"Maybe they just want to fine people"	
		c. Other	"In the area where I live the police keep sending you away"	
IV) Training Results	1. Insight into own abilities	a. Improved	"I know myself"	
		b. Deteriorated	-	
		c. Other	"I can never describe myself"	
	2. Social and professional skills	a. Improved	"Now I'm not ashamed to talk"	
		b. Deteriorated	-	
		c. Other	"I can understand, but I can't talk so well"	
	3. Personal goals	a. Clear personal goals	"Getting a degree and finding a job, that's my goal"	
		b. No personal goals	"I've reached my goals"	
		c. Other	"Maybe I'm going to change direction"	
	4. Ability to consider other viewpoints	a. Improved	"Everyone is allowed their own opinion"	
		b. Deteriorated	-	
		c. Other	-	
	5. Motivation	a. Low	-	
		b. Moderate	"I feel pretty motivated"	
		c. High	"You've got to try your best"	
		d. Other	"The trainers gave you the feeling that you could achieve anything"	
	6. Taking own responsibility	a. Takes responsibility for actions	"I've got control over my life"	
		b. Takes no responsibility for actions	-	
		c. Other	-	
	7. Level of confidence	a. Low	-	
		b. Moderate	"Positive and negative"	
		c. High	"A guy on the path to a good future"	
		d. Other	-	
	8. Other		"I learned how to act in public"	
	V) Relative deprivation	1. Experience	a. Hasn't been treated worse than other	"No, it's all good"
			b. Has been treated worse than others	"We were refused entry"
			c. In-group members have been treated worse than others	"I'm not the only one this happens to"
			d. Other	"It happens daily"
2. Reaction		a. Acceptance	"We just left"	
		b. Negative reaction	"We felt like we didn't belong there"	
		c. Positive reaction	"I just laugh at them, because I	

			know what I'm like"
		d. Other	"I also work as a bouncer, and I did the exact opposite"
VI) Training Evaluation	1. Evaluation	a. Positive aspect	"It has really helped me with a lot of things"
		b. Negative aspect	"Maybe they could have taken us on a trip"
		c. Other	"They help people, but it doesn't always work"
	2. Organization	a. Positive	"It was well organized"
		b. Neutral	"It was good, but the second part was a bit messy"
		c. Negative	"The locations could have been better"
		d. Other	"They are Moroccan and you can trust them more"
VII) Contact	1. Other participants	a. Still has contact with other participants	"Yeah, we see each other and hang out sometimes"
		b. Does not have contact with other participants	"I'm not in touch"
		c. Other	"We're good friends"
	2. Trainers/ SIPI employees	a. Still talks to trainers / SIPI employees	"I see her in the neighbourhood"
		b. Does not talk to trainers / SIPI employees	-
		c. Other	"I can always go to them for help"
VIII) Future	1. Personal future	a. Optimistic	"House with a white picket fence, millionaire"
		b. Pessimistic	"There will be more setbacks"
		c. Other	"I don't know what will happen in the future"
	2. Societal future	a. Optimistic	-
		b. Pessimistic	"The crime rate will rise because everything is getting so expensive"
		c. Other	-
IX) Key life events	1. Self	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"I had an accident and then I quit my job"
		c. Other	-
	2. Family	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
	3. Other group members	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
	4. World events	a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	-
		c. Other	-
X) Other			"There's nothing to do in my neighbourhood so we're on the street"

Appendix 10: Informed Consent Form for former Right-wing Extremist Participants (in case of EXIT Germany this form was signed by the organization on behalf of the participants, see the ethics report of WP1)

I declare I have received sufficient information about the goal and the method of this research. All my questions have been answered.

My participation is voluntary. I have the right to stop the interview at any moment without giving a reason. This has no consequences for the compensation I will receive.

I will receive compensation for the travel costs I have made in relation to this study.

Participation is anonymous. My personal information will not be linked to the information I provide. The information I provide is only for use by the principal investigator. Third parties have no access to the information I provide without my permission.

I know that the information I provide can be used for reports of the SAFIRE research project of the European Commission or scientific journals. In both cases I will remain anonymous.

I can stop the interview at any time during or afterwards. The information I have given will then be destroyed. For this I can contact the principal researcher Dr. Allard R. Feddes (a.r.feddes@uva.nl; 020 525 8863) [EXIT Deutschland in case of the German participants]. For further questions about this study I can also contact Dr. Allard R. Feddes [EXIT Deutschland in case of the German participants].

If I have complaints about this research I can contact the president of the ethical committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Dr. Mark Rotteveel (m.rotteveel@uva.nl; 020 525 6713) [EXIT Deutschland in case of the German participants].

Signed in twofold

Signature participant:

.....

Signature researcher [EXIT Deutschland in case of the German participants]:

.....

Date:

Appendix 11: Interview Scheme Interview Study Former Right-wing Extremists in the Netherlands and Germany

1. Introduction

Interviewer introduces him/herself and refers to the informed consent form procedure that EXIT has signed the informed consent form in two-fold on behalf of the interviewee. Confirmation that the participant has received a copy of the form and that all questions of the participant have been answered.

START INTERVIEW

2. Becoming a Member of the Right-Wing Extremist Group

- Introduction question (IQ): Can you tell me about your life before you became a member of the right-wing extremist group? *Points of interest are relations with the family, friends, romantic relationship, and social activities.*

- Additional question (AQ): When and how did you learn about the right-wing extremist group? *Points of interest are contact initiative (by actor or the group, medium (e.g., internet, music scene)*

- AQ: If you look back, can you tell me why you got involved in the group? *Points of interest are life events, events in society, key events, emotions, sensation / adventure.*

- AQ: Did you have the idea that people like you, who shared your ideals, were not taken seriously? If so, by whom? *Point of interest is feelings of humiliation, being excluded.*

3. Being a Member of the Right-Wing Extremist Group

- IQ: Can you tell me about your experiences of being a group member? *Points of interest are at what moment the participant felt integrated in the group, importance of the group for self-esteem, connection with society (bridge burning).*

- AQ: Can you tell me about how you perceived your group in relation to other groups like (1) other right-wing groups; (2) democratic right-wing groups; (3) immigrant groups; (4) Muslim extremists

- AQ: What were advantages of being a group member?

- AQ: What were disadvantages of being a group member?

- AQ: Can you tell me something about the extent to which your ideals were in line with the ideals of the group?

4. Leaving the Right-Wing Extremist Group

- IQ: Can you tell me something about why you left the group? *Points of interest are doubts about group functioning and behaviour of group members; polarisation of ideology.*

- AQ: Can you tell me something about how you left the group? *Points of interest are whether the participant received outside help or contacted others; connection to society; support by others after leaving the group.*

- AV: As a group member did you ever use violence? *Points of interest are opinions about violence and feelings of shame /guilt.*

5. Identity and Self-Esteem

- IQ: We have now talked about the period before, during, and after group membership. If you look back, do you think you were a different person when you were involved in the group compared to now? If so, can you tell me more about this? *Points of interest are purpose in life, self-esteem, individual freedom to express opinions.*

6. Evaluating Interventions

- IQ: The last part of the interview is about how to prevent young adults from becoming members of right-wing extremist groups. Who do you think can best intervene and how? *Points of interest are the role of parents, teachers, authorities, front-line workers.*

- AQ: How do you think young adults can be prevented from becoming involved in right-wing extremist groups? *Points of interest are role models, gaining trust, development of competences.*

7. Conclusion

- AQ: To conclude, what message would you give to youngsters who are considering becoming involved in a right-wing extremist group?

- END –

Thank participant and ask if he/she can complete the questionnaire with biographical information.

Appendix 12: Questionnaire with biographical information

Please answer the following questions:

1. Gender (please circle answer): Male / Female

2. Date of birth: _____

3. Place of birth: _____

4. Date of ENTRY in group: _____

5. Date of EXIT from group: _____

6. Current profession (if unemployed please indicate your last paid profession):

7. Highest completed education: _____

8. Profession of your father: _____

9. Profession of your mother: _____

10. Marital state: _____

11. Children (please circle answer): Yes / no

Appendix 13: Coding Scheme of Interviews Former Right-wing Extremists

Factor	Specification	Coding Option	Example	
A) <i>Becoming a Member of the RWE Group</i>				
I) Family and peer relations before becoming a member	1. Family	a. Good relationship with parent(s)	"I was normally raised! We are not asocial!"	
		b. Bad relationship with parent(s)	"My mother was never present"	
		c. Good relationship with brother / sister	"Then my brother got a house and after the divorce I was often at my brother's place"	
		d. Bad relationship with brother / sister	-	
		e. Positive situation at home	"I was raised in a protective home"	
		f. Negative situation at home	"I did not know my father"	
	2. Romantic relationship	a. Does not have a partner	"I was married, but that is a long time ago"	
		b. Has a good relationship	-	
		c. Relationship does not go well	"My girlfriend was a drug addict, it was going back and forth"	
	3. Friends	a. No friends	"I was all by myself with my problems"	
		b. One best friend	-	
		c. Multiple friends	"with a group of friends, we stood up for each other"	
		d. Friends independent of ideological background	"in the first year of high school I got real friends, not political by the way"	
		e. Vrienden op basis etnische/ideologische achtergrond	"Among my fellow classmates I also had supporters, who also took a stand in public"	
	4. General attitudes towards in-group and out-group	a. Positive interaction in-group	"In [city], this warmth of people, this was very important"	
		b. Negative interaction in-group	"my classmates made me suffer"	
		c. Positive interaction out-group	"I had a weird relationship with my classmates, but I was invited to their parties"	
		d. Negative interaction out-group	"foreigners were pestering me"	
	II) Social disconnectedness before becoming a member	1. Social activities	a. Sport	"I was playing soccer"
			b. Culture (i.e., theatre)	-
c. Neighbourhood centre			-	
d. None			"I was not a member of a club or an organization"	
2. Education		a. Follows an education	"I was at school"	
		b. Currently not enrolled	-	
		c. Stopped an education		I was at the highest level of high school but it did not work anymore, then I went to the lowest level"

	3. Work/ Internship	a. Has a job / internship	"I had an internship at a company"
		b. Does not have a job / internship	"I had my own company... but I stopped"
III) Becoming a member of the RWE group	1. Initiative	a. Participant looked actively for group	"I wrote a letter to the NPD president whom I saw at TV"
		b. Group contacted participant	"I was invited for meetings"
		c. Family	"I was indoctrinated by my father and grandfather"
		d. Peers	"friends at my soccer club introduced me"
		e. Partner	-
	2. Medium	a. Event / meeting of RWE group	"I went to a Nazi demo in Leipzig and there I contacted them"
		b. Social/cultural group (i.e., hooligans, music scene)	"There were Skinheads at my school"
		c. Internet	"I got in touch with new people on the internet"
		d. Newspaper / TV	"the Deutsche National Zeitung"
		e. Promotion (flyers, posters)	"stickers"
		f. Pseudo literature	"my grandfather's right-wing literature"
	3. Age at the time of entry	a. 12-14	"Well the first contact I had when I was about 13, 14"
		b. 15-17	"I was quite young, about 15 years at the time"
		c. 18-20	"The first contact was in 2006, but I was an active member by the end of 2009" [participant was 18 at the time]
		d. 21-23	-
		e. > 23	"It took about 5 years to become an active member, but the time I was active was about 2002" [participant was 54 at the time]
	4. Reaction of social environment	a. Passive	"My teacher never really reacted to my right-wing opinions"
b. Negative		"I get into a [verbal] fight with a survivor of the death camps"	
c. Positive		"Among my fellow classmates I found support"	
IV) Reason for becoming a member	1. Key event	a. Event in personal life	"I saw a Dutch girl being chased away of a playground by Somali children"
		b. Event in direct environment	"I was at a demonstration and got arrested, there I got to know a leader of the group who guided me further."
		c. Event in country	-
		d. Event abroad	-
	2. Emotions	a. Frustration	"I was looking out of the window and there were four of them [immigrants], so frustrating"

		b. Rage	-
		c. Anger	"Already in pre-school I was known to be aggressive... I had problems adapting"
		d. Humiliation	"Well, I have really suffered under my fellow schoolchildren... absolute humiliation"
		e. Sensation seeking	"[The RWE group] attracted attention because of several of their actions (...), for me it was clear by then: That is where I have to go"
		f. Fear	"I was glad I was left in peace [after joining the RWE group]"
	3. Friends/ family	a. Friends are in the group	"I came in contact with [the RWE group] through a friend of mine"
		b. Is looking for friends	"I was a classic follower"
	4. Ideology	a. Personal ideology	"...at school I denied the Holocaust from group eight onwards"
		b. Ideology of RWE group	"Well, for me national-socialism was mainly about the social [...] and that made it for me easier to go along with it"
		c. Ideology in family. Family was really living in a right-wing extremist environment"	
		d. Ideology in media	"I was reading the Deutsche Nationalzeitung"
		e. Ideology among friends	"Among us there was a right attitude"
		f. Ideologie in direct environment	"The farmers in our village thought [the NPD] was great"
	5. Relative deprivation	a. Feels him/herself to be treated unfair	"You are being exploited"
		b. In-group members are being treated unfair	"At demonstrations our routes were cut off"
	6. Lack of trust	a. School	"I did not believe what was written in the history books"
		b. Authorities	"the whole [multicultural] system was the enemy"
		c. Media	"the press is run by the system"
	7. Threat	a. Realistic threat (i.e., losing work)	"Foreigners are taking our jobs"
		b. Symbolic threat (i.e., losing culture)	"The whole [multicultural] system was the enemy"
	8. Negative event	Negative event in the past (i.e., being bullied)	"In preschool I already had a hard time adapting"
	9. Lack of trust in authorities	Lack of trust in the school, particular organization	"The government did not support us"
	10. Group is attractive	Group is attractive (safe haven)	"they offer programmes that are not common among normal citizens"

V) Self-esteem before becoming a member of the group	Level of self-esteem	a. Low	“well it was a vulnerable time in my life anyway because I started smoking marijuana and cigarettes and I was kind of looking for my identity”
		b. Average	-
		c. High	“I stood by my opinion”
B) Being a Member of the Right-Wing Extremist Group			
VI) Family and peer relations during membership	1. Family	a. Good relationship with parent(s)	“The relation with my father was actually always good”
		b. Bad relationship with parent(s)	“I did not have any respect for my mother anymore”
		c. Good relationship with brother / sister	-
		d. Bad relationship with brother / sister	-
		e. Positive situation at home	-
		f. Negative situation at home	“My mother was ill so that caused a lot of stress. At home I could not do my thing”
	2. Romantic relationship	a. Does not have a partner	-
		b. Has a good relationship	“The only one who helped me at that time was my life companion”
		c. Relationship does not go well	“I quit my relationship [because of the RWE]”
	3. Friends	a. No friends	“[Friendships] I did not have those 20 years. No, that did not exist”
		b. One best friend	-
		c. Multiple friends	“I had a big group of friends [within the RWE]”
		d. Friends only from in-group	“I did not have any contact anymore with people outside the RWE”
		e. Friends independent of ideology	“My girlfriend was Polish”
	4. General attitudes towards in-group and out-group	a. Positive interaction in-group	“I did not see any disadvantages”
		b. Negative interaction in-group	“For me the group was only an instrument, I only felt obligated to my ideology”
c. Positive interaction out-group		“We had a good atmosphere in the classroom. I was even class representative”	
d. Negative interaction out-group		“Every foreigner was an enemy”	
VII) Social disconnectedness during membership	1. Social activities	a. Sport	-
		b. Culture (i.e., theatre)	“Well I also went to normal concerts so that was my link with the outside world”
		c. Neighbourhood centre	-
		d. Other	“I stayed a member of the fire-fighter department”

	2. Education	a. Follows an education	"I was at school and, ehm, that was how I was. And that was accepted"
		b. Currently not enrolled	-
		c. Stopped an education	"Well, I quit doing sports, [...] and at a certain moment I also quit my education"
	3. Work/ Internship	a. Has a job / internship	"I continued my education, I did not lose my connection with the outside world"
		b. Does not have a job / internship	"24 hours for the scene; normal work was not possible anymore"
	4. RWE group	a. Low	"There was always a certain distance towards the RWE"
		b. Average	"Most of the time I was more like a bystander"
		c. High	"24 hours, always for the scene"
	VIII) Attitudes towards other groups	1. Other RWE groups	a. Positive
b. Negative			"I was absolutely against this skinhead subculture"
2. Popular RWE groups		a. Positive	"[I was] member of the NPD"
		b. Negative	"NPD is a mix of enormous stupidity and corruption"
3. Immigrants in general		a. Positive	"Foreigners who behave can stay"
		b. Negative	"Every foreigner was an enemy"
4. Muslims		a. Positive	"We demonstrated together against Israel"
		b. Negative	"The current problem in Germany are the Muslims"
5. Jews		a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"The Jews are the cause of our lack of happiness"
6. Left-wing extremists		a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"The left beat me up"
7. Politics in general		a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"I did not like the total control by the government"
8. Other groups		a. Positive	-
		b. Negative	"Normal civilians were also opponents in my view"
IX) Function of the group for the participant	Specific function	a. Self-esteem	"That is the group, here you can demonstrate your strength"
		b. Safety (physical)	"We stood up for each other 24 hours in case someone had problems, got into a fight or something like that"
		c. Friendship	"The community, the connectedness was the law"
		d. Acceptance	"At the beginning I felt completely understood [within the RWE group]"

		e. Meaning	"[the RWE] gave me a sense of meaning in my life"
		f. Financial support	"we had several funding sources available"
X) Congruence between own and group ideals	Level of congruence	a. Low	"Their lifestyle had nothing to do with national socialism"
		b. High	"[their ideology] was most similar to the Nazi ideology"
XI) Attitudes towards the use of violence	Valence of attitude	a. Positive	"I was prepared to die for the cause"
		b. Negative	"To beat each other to pieces was against my life philosophy"
XII) Self-esteem during membership	Level of self-esteem	a. Low	"Within the group you feel powerful, outside rather useless"
		b. Average	-
		c. High	"I was convinced to be a follower of the true teaching"
C) Leaving the Right-Wing Extremist Group			
XIII) Reason for leaving the group	1. Functioning of the group	a. Bad group functioning	"I was not prepared to compromise anymore"
		b. Bad behaviour group members	"They couldn't tell me what was bothering them"
		c. Polarization of opinions	"they did not appreciate my opinion at all"
		d. Incongruence own and group ideology	"after reading the right-wing extremist literature I recognized that it did not make any sense and was inconsistent"
	2. Personal future	a. Wants to start a family	"I wanted to start a family, build a house"
		b. Wants a good job	"I managed to pass my high school degree"
	3. Key event	a. Key event in personal life	"All my email addresses were hacked and [another RWE group member] uploaded images of swine as my profile photo"
		b. Key event in society	"The recent history [NSU murders in Germany] showed what could happen"
		c. Key event in the world	-
	XIV) How did the person leave the group	1. Help from others	a. Family
b. Friends			"A friend of mine approached me and asked whether I was going out of my mind [by becoming a member of the NPD]"
c. Help of particular person			"My life partner quit together with me"
d. Help of professional organization			"Through the EXIT programme I started to make sense of my life again"
e. Help of authorities			"I had security in front of my front door"

	2. Manner in leaving the group	a. Said farewell to group members	"I tried to contact those who meant something to me"
		b. Moved out	"I left [...] to find another place to live"
		c. Looked for alternative within RWE scene	"I wanted to start my own party"
		d. Gradually took a distance	"I said goodbye inside myself"
XV) Self-esteem after leaving the group	Level of self-esteem	a. Low	"I did not have anything anymore. Not even an ideology"
		b. Average	-
		c. High	"I had a good feeling of self-worth, and I still have"
D) Evaluating Interventions			
XVI) Who should intervene?	1. Family	a. Yes	"Young people can be helped by a good upbringing"
		b. No	"My father thought it was too dangerous to help"
	2. Authorities	a. Yes	"It would make a difference if authorities would intervene"
		b. No	"What use would it be, going to the police?"
	3. Front-line workers	a. Yes	"One should go to EXIT"
		b. No	"It won't work [that professionals go to members of the RWE to get them out]"
	4. Schools	a. Yes	"The school can do a lot, but then without the moral finger"
		b. No	"If you look at schools it is shocking; it would be more important to have good teachers in front of the classroom"
XVII) How to prevent membership	Measure	a. Use role models	"Politicians should give an example"
		b. Gain trust	"You first have to listen to those youngsters"
		c. Gain respect	"I would talk to them [...] tell them about my experiences"
		d. Offer an alternative	"You should look at them individually: What do they actually want, why did it come that far [...] then you should pick them up from there"
		e. Development of competences	"It is about content, real content, how are these children guided, what are they learning"
		f. Powerful intervention by the authorities	"Forbid the NPD"
		g. Education	"Make clear that the ideology of national socialism does not make sense"

XVIII) What to say to those who like to join a RWE group	What to point out	a. Negative aspects for youngster	"I would recommend they not choose that way"
		b. Negative aspect for social context	"It doesn't help to change society"
		c. Negative aspects of RWE group	"Tell young adults what is going on there, how you are being manipulated"

Appendix 14: Key events for Engagement and Disengagement mentioned by participants

1. Personal key event for Engagement

No. 1, German male:

Saw a television broadcast about the NPD (at the public broadcasting channel)

No. 5, German male:

Parents got divorced.

No. 6, German male:

Lost his job. Mother passed away.

No. 7, German male:

Older children at school gave him flyers. They told him he should not believe what they teach in history class. Gets to know another person from the right-wing extremist scene at a demonstration. He gets arrested.

No. 8, German male:

Is in prison, gets first contact with a person from the right-wing extremist scene who offers him help. Feels unfairly treated as some letters in prison are not given to him. He receives legal counsel of a right-wing extremist person, eventually he manages to get hold of right-wing extremist materials (propaganda).

No. 9, German male:

Father is a socialist and takes him to a demonstration. The participant sees how right-wing extremists are being excluded and develops an antipathy towards left propaganda; he ask his father what the Hitler salute is and when he gives the Hitler salute he gets into a fight with his father. This stimulates his interests in a right ideology; one of his right mentors brings him to another right-wing organization where he is received in a very friendly way. He starts to cooperate with the organization.

No. 10, German male:

Gets a cassette tape with right-wing music. He is introduced by a friend into a right-wing extremist group where he is received in a very friendly way. At school some aspect of the NAZI time, like the Dresden bombing, were not open for discussion. When he said something about it his teacher reported it to the director, police, and parents.

No. 11, Dutch male: I was sitting behind the computer and looked outside and saw the playground where I grew up since I was four years old. I saw Somali children playing there, girls with a headscarf. And then there was a Dutch child who wanted to play and who was beaten away. That was the last straw and I typed the words 'white power'.

No. 12, Dutch male:

Well, I was quite young, 14-15 years, we went out in (...), I did not really have right-wing sentiments, and I was actually more leftish. Quite leftish actually. But when going out, that was a mess. Much tension between Dutch youth and immigrant youth. This increased. Every weekend we got into fights. There I met a brother of a friend of mine. He already was a nationalist. Red, white, blue. That contact, there it started. I was pretty young. Before that time I was quite normal. No problems actually. Pretty leftish.

No. 13, Dutch female:

I did not know what to do, I did not know about anything other than horses. And I was always working with horses, and if you lose that, yes, what are you going to do then? You ask yourself who you are. I think the group gives everybody that which he or she needs at that moment. That can be different for everyone.

2. Personal key events for disengagement

No. 1, German male:

After I read the right-wing literature I recognized the senselessness of it.

No. 2, German male:

The mother of another right-wing extremist blames him for the reason his son turned to the right-wing extremist scene. During the disengagement he got in touch with other former members.

No. 3, German female:

Children express negative feelings about the right-wing extremist scene.

No. 4, German female:

Partner is trading guns in their own home. When her daughter leaves the right-wing extremist group she is forced to kidnap her own grandchild.

No. 5, German male:

Was left alone by group members when the left beat him up.

No. 6, German male:

A friend asked him if he had gone crazy (when he became a member of the NPD).

No. 7, German male:

Was beaten up by the left. They asked him to convince his girlfriend to enter the right-wing extremist movement. Because he was just beaten up by the left shortly before that he was angry because they asked him to endanger his girlfriend.

No. 8, German male:

When his boss in the right-wing extremist group was arrested he feels free and starts to think.

No. 9, German male:

At a demo in the Netherlands he witnesses how members of the “Autonomous Nationalists” act stupidly and foolishly. During his studies in philosophy he starts to realise that his goals can never be reached and he changes his opinions.

No. 10, German male:

Members of his group beat up a man from the left. His boss gives him a leadership position in the group. He gets to know a leftish girl.

No. 11, Dutch male:

We got into fights more and more. In the end we were only busy with political enemies, so also political enemies within. I really was there to make a change in the world. And for me that was the reason to get out, because I realised we were getting nowhere and no good thing would come of it.

No. 12, Dutch male:

That I got arrested. That Blood & Honour disintegrated. And that I had those friends, a good friend. That relationship, it was a former neighbour, got stronger again. So besides my group of friends [within the right-wing extremist group] I also had a friend outside whom I could count on. An anchor, an anchor because that was important for me. That social isolation, that is a big problem. If you lose the group, sometimes I am still pretty lonely.

No. 13, Dutch female:

I was in a demonstration in Germany, I saw an older lady there, well, how she looked. At me of course. Yes, I don't want people looking at me like that. That woman looked at me as if I was the one who caused all that happened in the past.