YOUNG PEOPLE’S TRAJECTORIES THROUGH ANTI-ISLAM(IST) AND EXTREME RIGHT MILIEUS

Introduction

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DARE: Dialogue about Radicalisation and Equality

Young people’s trajectories through anti-Islam(ist) and extreme right milieus

INTRODUCTION

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Executive Summary:

This report provides a general introduction to the series of country-level reports on young people’s trajectories through anti-Islam(ist) and extreme right milieus. It provides a short description of each of the country-level cases but is designed to be read in conjunction with the full individual case study reports. It outlines the research design of this strand of the DARE project including: the overall research questions; the criteria for the selection of case studies; the selected research methods; the ethical principles and process followed; and the data analysis procedure. It includes details of the shared skeleton interview schedule adopted and adapted for each case study as well as the shared skeleton coding tree used as the starting framework for data analysis. Details of the rationale, scope, methodology and respondent sets of each country level case study are found in the relevant sections of individual case study reports.

1. Introduction

To study young people’s trajectories through anti-Islam(ist) and extreme right milieus, the DARE project adopted a case study approach. This approach is widely used, and accepted, within qualitative social research where no claim to ‘representativeness’ is made and, on the contrary, capturing the significance of the ‘particular’ is emphasised.

Central to the qualitative case study is the recognition of the fundamental importance to understanding the context of social research. As Burawoy (1998: 13) puts it, qualitative research is based on the epistemological premise that ‘context is not noise disguising reality but reality itself’. The principle of reflexivity embedded in qualitative social science, moreover, assumes that social research is the product of the interaction of externally produced theory and internal narratives (indigenous narratives, respondents’ interpretations of the social world etc.) that are profoundly located in time and space. Although DARE is a large transnational project, it starts from the premise that these locations are not limitations on, but central to, the knowledge produced through social research.

This approach is reflected in a two-stage analytic process. First, the data generated in each of the individual ethnographic case studies included in the project are analysed in local languages by Consortium member teams on an individual case study basis. Second, additional knowledge and new insight is generated through cross-case analysis employing an adaptation of meta-ethnographic synthesis approach (Noblit and Hare, 1988; Britten et al. 2002; Pilkington, 2018).

This report outlines the first stage of analysis of data, namely the findings from the holistic analyses of individual cases completed by Consortium partners in nine countries. However, it is important to note the two-stage analytic design as the requirements of the second stage have informed and shaped the practices and protocols adopted across both stages of analysis. In particular, in order to maintain consistency in analysis between the two stages, and to avoid the duplication of work, a common coding practice has been employed at the first (individual case) level of analysis. On the basis of this coding, a set of coding documents has been produced from each case, which are used in the second (cross-case) level of analysis and reported on separately.

In this introduction to the individual case study reports, the common research questions, selection of cases, ethics, methods, research instruments, data pseudonymisation, storage and management protocols and data analysis guidelines employed in the conducting of all country level cases are outlined.
2. Research questions

The main objective of the ethnographic strand of work in DARE was to explore the trajectories and motivational pivots and patterns in radicalisation trajectories. The overall research questions envisaged in the research design were:

➢ Why do some young people become engaged in violent extremist ideologies while others in similar structural locations take non-radicalisation trajectories?
➢ How do sustained inequalities and perceived injustice impact upon radicalisation?
➢ How do young people themselves understand ‘radicalisation’ and the discourse surrounding it? What role does this play in radicalisation trajectories?
➢ What is the role of social relationships (in-person or virtual) in facilitating radicalisation of ideas and behaviour? To what extent do individuals ‘self-radicalise’?
➢ How do extra-ideological factors - emotional experiences, sense of identity and ‘coolness’ of radical milieu - shape radicalisation trajectories?
➢ Are distinctive trajectories evident between young men and young women and between different national contexts?
➢ What pushes individuals beyond a certain threshold to commit violent acts? And why do most people with militant beliefs not engage in violent action?

These questions are rooted in a set of agreed definitions of 16 core concepts¹ setting out our understanding of e.g. ‘radicalisation’, ‘non-radicalisation’, ‘self-radicalisation’, ‘(perceived) inequality’, ‘milieu’ and ‘trajectories’.

While, through interviews, these questions were addressed at the individual level, trajectories were envisaged as being profoundly shaped at both the group and societal level. The skeleton interview scenario (see Appendix 6.1) was developed in order to ensure all these levels were captured notwithstanding the individual focus of the interview method.

3. Selection of cases

In devising the case studies of young people’s trajectories, partners were asked to select appropriate anti-Islam(ist)/extreme right ‘milieus’ as the focus of study. By studying young people’s engagement with radicalisation messages in situ (in their everyday milieus) and over a sustained period of time, the aim was to capture the complexity, and situational nature of the paths young people take. This approach was premised on an understanding of radicalisation trajectories as non-linear, complex and situational.

The definition of milieu employed for the selection of cases was broad and allowed for significant flexibility in terms of the territorial or non-territorial delimitation of the object of study. A milieu was defined as ‘the people, the physical and the social conditions and events and networks and communications in which someone acts or lives and which shape that person’s subjectivity, choices and trajectory through life.’ It was not required to be territorially fixed and it was anticipated that in most cases it would not be. However, to constitute a milieu, there should be an evident connection (human, material, communicative, ideological) between individuals interviewed and observations conducted. An appropriate milieu for

¹ The short versions of these concept descriptions are available on the DARE website at: http://www.dare-h2020.org/concepts.html. Longer, academically referenced concept notes for each of the concepts were shared internally within the Consortium.
selection should also be a space of encounter with radical or extreme messages (via the presence in the milieu of recruiters, high receptivity to radical messages etc.). The extended concept notes on ‘extreme right’ and ‘anti-Islamism’ guided researchers in selecting such milieus. Broadly speaking, ‘extreme right’ was understood as a political ideology characterised by opposition to democracy, biological or cultural racism and anti-Semitism while ‘anti-Islamism’ was understood as active opposition to what its proponents refer to as ‘radical Islam’ or the ‘Islamification’ of western societies but that often includes a general antipathy towards Islam or all Muslims and is thus characterised by Islamophobia or cultural racism. In practice it was recognised that few actors understand themselves as holding ‘extreme right’ views and that there is significant overlap between ‘anti-Islam(ist)’ and ‘extreme right’ views and behaviours. It is important to emphasise here the high degree of dissonance between how movements and ideologies are described exogenously and endogenously; indeed this was one of the questions for research in DARE. Thus, it was not a requirement that participants in milieus thought of the milieu as ‘extreme right’; if this milieu or the movements or participants in it were considered as such in public discourse, then it was considered a potential milieu of study.

There was no requirement that the selected milieu be ‘typical’ of the country or that multiple milieus be included in order to cover the range of different forms that radicalisation takes. Rather the selected milieu should constitute a pertinent case in the country context and be sufficiently similar to other milieus in other country locations to allow the transnational synthesis of cases. This ‘fit’ with the descriptor of ‘extreme right’ or ‘anti-Islamist’ while broad nonetheless remained challenging. This is due, first, to the very different spectrum of views and size of milieus in the different participating countries, which have populations ranging from less than half a million (Malta) to more than 140 million (Russian Federation). Since our target of study was milieus in which young people encountered extreme-right or anti-Islamist messages, rather than individuals convicted of terrorism or hate-crime related offences, it also made the choice of possible milieus very wide. While no formal criterion for ‘clustering’ of cases was employed, a constant process of discussion of cases being considered for selection and communication between partners ensured that all cases met the criteria for selection but also had some point of connection with other cases. Broadly speaking we might say two clusters of cases emerged: those where the milieu consists of activists in nationalist, radical or extreme right or ‘new right’ movements (France, Malta, Norway, Netherlands, UK); and those where the milieu is focused on a non-political interest (e.g. football, shooting, religion) but there are strong ideological connections between this milieu and nationalist, radical or extreme right movements and ideologies (Germany, Greece, Poland, Russia). The finally selected cases are detailed in Table 1.

Initial proposals for milieus were made by partners using a common ‘milieu description template’. Often a number of potential milieus were selected and investigated in the early stages of research to evaluate feasibility (in terms of access, the presence of the target demographic, risk etc.). Once the milieu was selected, it became the focus of ethnographic research as outlined in Section 4.
Table 1 Selected milieu case studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Short description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Youth involved in, or close to, Corsican right-wing nationalist movements</td>
<td>This case focuses on youth involved in or close to Corsican nationalist movements accessed either via prisons or anti-immigrant groups. Participants in the study are mostly middle class or upwardly aspirant members of the working class frustrated at their perceived treatment as a low-status minority group by the French state. They see Christianity as an important identity marker in the struggle against a perceived Islamic takeover in the west and take inspiration ideologically from the French new right. They have sought contact with a number of radical/extreme European right-wing groups but reject the ascription of labels of racism, fascism or Nazism towards themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Marksmen’s clubs in Germany in the context of mainstreaming the extreme</td>
<td>This study explores the particular milieu of Germany’s ‘Marksmen’s clubs’ in the context of the mainstreaming of authoritarian populist and anti-Muslim attitudes in wider German society. The Marksmen’s clubs have their roots in a centuries-old tradition and today take the form of a nationwide network of ideologically conservative clubs in which millions of people participate. Their attraction for far right protagonists is evident in attempts by such actors to influence the Marksmen’s clubs milieu and to appropriate aspects of it. This study considers the responses of young people participating in Marksmen’s clubs to these developments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Young orthodox Greeks with Islamophobic/anti-Muslim views and attitudes</td>
<td>This case focuses on Islamophobic/Anti-Muslim attitudes, behaviours and sentiments among young people associated with the Greek Orthodox church. The milieu is characterised by a synthesis of the ideological and identity characteristics that bring together Orthodox zealots (who see themselves as ‘soldiers of Christ’), Greek Orthodox far-right activists, militarists and neo-Nazi Golden Dawn supporters. They view themselves as participants in a common struggle for the protection of ‘faith and fatherland’ from the threat of Islamification and for the propagation of nationalist and authoritarian far-right political programmes necessary to resist perceived threats and injustices faced by the Greek-Orthodox majority due to globalisation, multiculturalism, immigration and secularism. Attention is paid to comparing and contrasting attitudes between the more and less radical groups of participants in the study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>Mapping online and offline spaces of engagement with the extreme right among Maltese young people</td>
<td>This case considers Maltese young people’s online and offline experiences of engaging with extreme-right ideas, individuals and groups. Narratives were collected from young people currently or formerly affiliated with extreme right groups and young people living in areas subject to social upheaval. In a broader sense, the case explores how young people make sense of, and engage with, their place and individual identities in the context of Malta’s insularity from mainland Europe, its geopolitical position between Europe and Africa, and the transformations brought about by EU membership and new migration dynamics. Its findings suggest an absence of belonging and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Case Study</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Norway           | Globalisation, identity and nationalism – the case of radical right wing youth in Norway | This case explores the political trajectories and motivations of individuals within a milieu involved in, or with links to, groups and networks from a wide spectrum of radical anti-Islamist and nationalist ideologies including Identitarians, neo-Nazis and ‘national conservatives’. Participants in the study share a common purpose in ‘defending the nation’ - its assumed unique values, history and culture - in the context of the perceived threat posed to Europe and the West more widely by immigration. Most participants support ‘remigration’, inspired by the ideology of ‘ethnopluralism’ and ‘traditionalism’ associated with the thought of Julius Evola. These tendencies are discussed through the frame of Fukuyama’s discussions of ‘identity politics’.

| Poland           | Radical football fans in Poland                                             | This case focuses on the milieu of radical football fans as a site of radical nationalist ideological expression and violence directed not only against supporters of other clubs but other perceived ‘enemies’. The expression of ideological symbolism in football culture is a significant element of the contemporary construction of national identity in Poland and connections between the football fan movement and the Catholic Church (epitomised by the annual pilgrimage of Polish football fans to Czestochowa) is indicative of the fan milieu’s engagement with the social mainstream. Nationalist ideology and symbolism is deployed in the radical fan milieu as a tool for constructing not only the nation but also a vision of the enemy, excluded from the imagined community, and subject to vilification. This study of radical fan milieus in a number of Polish cities analyses examples of such expressions and argues that football culture has been used as a cultural resource and political tool by nationalist movements promoting particular versions of national ‘memory’ and ‘identity’.

| Russian Federation | (Neo) Cossacks in St. Petersburg, Russia                                   | This case considers the right wing milieu of the young (neo) Cossacks of St Petersburg. Originally a free military formation originating in the sixteenth century, the Cossacks gradually became an ethno-social community performing the function of protecting and defending the increasingly militarised state and its political and social order. Today the Cossack movement is characterised by a rigid hierarchical structure, which, supported by the state, performs an informal ‘policing’ function including the deployment of violence against the civilian population in the event of protest and disorder. Ideologically, the Cossacks see themselves as defenders of Orthodox Christianity but also share xenophobic and anti-immigrant positions, ‘traditional’ and neo-patriarchal values. These positions, alongside a sense of perceived injustice, regarding rights and access to resources, acts as a basis of radicalisation within the (neo) Cossack milieu.

| The Netherlands   | The rise of the New Right in                                               | This case focuses on the New Right milieu (including Alt Right, Alt Light and Identitarian movements) as it manifests in the Netherlands.                                                                                                         |
today. This milieu comprises a mixture of groups and strands that distinguish themselves from the old Extreme Right by a more modern style, international orientation and intellectual discourse as well as by its online methods of recruitment, organisation and communication and ideological focus on anti-Islam. The study finds that the radical ideas of the milieu are seeping through to mainstream public debates, being identifiable, for example, in discussions about race (‘race realism’), the influence of race on IQ and in the discussion on (traditional) gender roles. This is both undermining trust in authority and polarising society around ethnic and religious identities and political views.

This case explores the trajectories of young people affiliated with a wide range of movements, parties or political campaigns in the UK routinely referred to as ‘extreme right’ or ‘far right’. While not co-located, physically or ideologically, these individuals inhabit a common milieu and are connected either personally or through shared activism. The study identifies the growing influence of identitarianism and the ‘alt-right’ not least in the perceived threat posed to white identities from demographic change and the commitment to multiculturalism among the political establishment. However, this co-exists with a continued discomfort in talking about race and awareness that the naturalisation of racial difference leads to racism, which participants in the study see as unacceptable. The study pays particular attention to the dissonance between the conceptual descriptor (‘far right’, ‘extreme right’) applied to the views and behaviours of those in the milieu and the almost complete absence of anti-democratic or pro-authoritarian positions or the legitimation of violence in the pursuit of political goals among participants.

### 4. Research methods

The empirical research conducted for these case studies is broadly ethnographic in design and took place over a period of 18 months from November 2017-April 2019. Field preparation and access period was scheduled from August 2017-April 2018 but research teams were able to start data collection as soon as ethical approval was received and access negotiated. In practice, the difficulty of access to the field meant that in a number of cases data continued to be gathered in the field also beyond April 2019.

It was agreed by consortium members that a number of common research instruments would be adopted to ensure consistency across case studies and enhance the ‘value-added’ of cross-case analysis. Below, the shared approach, methods and research instruments used in these studies are outlined. Specific adaptations and implementation in each case are described in individual case study reports.

#### 4.1 Ethics and security

All partners completed ethical clearance procedures ahead of commencing fieldwork either through their own institutional ethical review committees (and verified for compliance with DARE project guidelines) or, where institutions did not have their own ethical review procedures, through a formally constituted
procedure for ethical review via the DARE Ethics Sub-Committee (ESC). A full description of the ethics and security framework and procedures can be found in the DARE Data Handbook.

All participants in the studies were recruited on the principle and practice of informed consent and relations with respondents were conducted in strict adherence to the ethical guidelines set out in the DARE Description of Action and Data Handbook.

The DARE ESC continued to be operational throughout fieldwork and analysis stages advising on issues from pseudonymisation of data through withdrawal from the field to the ethics of what should be included in the final report. Issues arising in individual cases are reported on in the individual case reports. All researchers completed a security checklist prior to submitting their final reports in which any security-related issues were indicated and passed to the DARE Security Officer for advice before finalisation of the report. No security issues or unintended findings (disclosure) were encountered during fieldwork.

4.2 An ethnographic approach

The case studies conducted were all ‘ethnographic’ in that they employed a research method based on O’Reilly’s (2005) minimum definition of ‘sustained engagement’. Ethnography, she says, is an inductive and evolving approach to research which, crucially involves ‘direct and sustained contact with human agents, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures); watching what happens; listening to what is said; asking questions…’ (ibid.: 2). This minimal definition of an ethnographic approach was envisaged from the outset in order to allow for the necessary flexibility in methodology to make it appropriate for the range of milieus in which researchers were working. This understanding of ethnography means that all case studies were fieldwork-based. However, the relative weight between observation and interview material varies between studies. This depends on the number of events occurring (which were high in countries such as the UK but minimal in countries such as Norway), the relative importance of offline and online activity in the milieu and, in the case of Russia, gendered access to events.

Each case study employed an appropriate combination of fieldwork techniques including: semi or unstructured person to person audio recorded or online interviews with key informants; the creation of a detailed field diary to record observations, reflections and questions for further inquiry, and information to support the interview material; and written records of informal conversations with individuals or groups. A wealth of visual and online materials (streamed chat shows, videos and other materials created by respondents) as well as text documents (information booklets, flyers for events, mission statements etc.) were also collected. Events attended ranged from religious services, through football matches to demonstrations, protests and criminal trials. Individuals were interviewed in dozens of venues from home and leisure and sports clubs, indoor public spaces such as cafes and shopping centres through outdoor public spaces such as parks and squares through to prisons and court buildings.

4.3 Common skeleton interview schedule

A skeleton interview schedule was designed to be used as a baseline for interviews for both the ‘extreme-right/anti-Islamist’ ethnographic case studies and the parallel study of ‘Islamist’ case studies’. The interview schedule consisted of 12 blocs of questions addressing the research questions outlined above. In each of these blocs there were: a series of opening questions pertinent to the theme of the bloc; suggested prompts; and follow up questions. While each of these blocs of questions had to be addressed in each case study, partners were encouraged to adapt and add to the ‘prompts’ and ‘follow up questions’ elements of the skeleton interview schedule in order to reflect their country or case context. As part of the implementation of cases partners translated, amended and extended the skeleton interview scenario.
The interview schedule was long and often a second interview was conducted with respondents to ensure key issues were covered. Given the length of the full interview schedule, and the variation introduced in different language versions, it is not included in full here. Rather, in Appendix 6.1 the graphic overview of the 12 blocs in the interview schedule is reproduced. This was used by researchers in the field as a quick check that all key themes in the interview scheduled had been discussed.

For each interviewee (or other key respondent), researchers also completed a socio-demographic data sheet collecting standardised data on age, gender, education, employment, household, ethnicity and religion. These data were imported into the Nvivo database ‘classifications’ function to allow a socio-demographic profile of the respondent set to be generated. The summary data were also included in a ‘respondent memo’ for each respondent. This was completed after an interview and also recorded brief details pertinent to the context or process of the interview conducted. This respondent memo template including, the summary table for socio-demographic data, is appended here as Appendix 6.2.

4.4 Data pseudonymisation, storage and management

The nature of ethnographic data makes its sharing with other researchers more complex than other kinds of qualitative data. For this reason, detailed guidelines on pseudonymisation, transcription and preparation of various forms of data (textual, visual, audio etc.) for upload to NVivo were provided in the DARE Data Handbook. In order not to repeat that detailed information, in this section, the principles underpinning those guidelines – adhered to by all participants in the Consortium – are outlined briefly followed by a diagrammatic overview of the data management process (See Figure 1)

The data management protocols devised for DARE sought to create – as far as possible – an ‘authentic’ (full, honest, holistic) database that minimised the removal of data, even where data were of a sensitive or personal nature and could only be fully understood with the experiential knowledge of the original field researcher. However, this objective was always set against the priority of ensuring that no data were disclosed that could allow the identification of individuals or groups. This meant that all data - interview transcripts, field diaries, messaging, documents – were uploaded in their fullest possible form. However, before uploading, all materials were subjected to the following processes:

- Pseudonymisation of data (replacing original names of people, places and organisations with pseudonyms) was undertaken immediately after collection of data through the assignment of a pseudonym to any record of data collected from a participant and the storing of the record of relationship between personal data and pseudonym assigned separately and in secure and encrypted form.
- Anonymisation (the removal of names of places, incidents, other individuals that could identify interviewees of those they referred to) was undertaken at the point of transcription of interviews following protocols set out in the DARE Data Handbook. Field diaries, documents, social media messages and visual images were also anonymised as soon as possible after their collection.
- Any sensitive sections of data were flagged (using a convention set out in the Data Handbook) at the point of checking the transcription. This convention indicated the marked text should not be used by other researchers without consultation with, and approval of, the original field researcher.

Particular issues or problems encountered by teams – for example where naming of a town, city or organisation from which respondents were recruited – might lead to their identification, were discussed with the Ethics Sub-Committee. Advice given always prioritised the interests of the respondents.
**Fieldworker:**
- Discusses the study with potential participant(s)
- Provides a current copy of the PIS and ICF
- Answers any questions / concerns.

**Participant agrees to take part**

**ALLOCATE A PSEUDONYM**

(i.e. link between pseudonym and participant’s name)

**Consent (written or verbal)**

Arrange interview(s), and collect

- Fieldwork diary
- Audio-recording of interview
- Video/film/music recordings
- Other documents

**TRANSCRIBE (in same language) into Word; check accuracy**

**E-files (e.g. interviews, notebook, photos, videos, music, etc.)**

**STORE IN NVIVO**

**Pseudonymisation log**
(if generated – not compulsory):

STORE IN SECURE STORAGE AREA 3 (e.g. encrypted hard drive with password-controlled access)

**upload all files to NVivo**

**ANALYSE DATA**

**WRITE REPORT**

**National report**

**SHARE electronic data files**
(Upload to UNIMAN ‘Dropbox for Business’)

**ANALYSE DATA**

**WRITE REPORT**

**Cross-national report**

**BEFORE SHARING DATA, CHECK/ENSURE:**
- all pseudonyms are in place
- photos of faces are pixelated (unless specific additional consent was given)

**Figure 1 Data management flowchart**
4.5 Data analysis

As noted in the Introduction, the ethnographic strand of research in the DARE project is designed on the basis of a two-stage analysis process. In this document, only the first stage - single case analysis - is described. This process is depicted figuratively in Steps 1-3 of Figure 2 (below).

Data analysis is premised on a ‘multi-grounded theory’ (Goldkuhl and Cronholm, 2010) approach. This works on the principle not that new theory is induced from data analysis but that theory is essential to interpretation and knowledge production and can result in the revision or refining of theory. How this works in practice is outlined in the DARE Data Handbook but essentially employs standard inductive coding followed by a process of ‘theoretical matching’ and validation against both data and existing theoretical frameworks at the interpretative level.

Coding was conducted by all teams using NVivo 12 computer assisted qualitative data analysis software. Textual materials such as (original language) transcripts of recorded and online interviews, field diaries, social media communication and notes of informal conversations, as well as relevant sound and image files, were uploaded as ‘sources’ into the relevant NVivo 12 project.

As depicted in Figure 2, the first step of coding consisted of the coding of qualitative data sources (e.g. semi-structured interviews, field diaries, images) in native language by partners as separate, individual projects. Ethnographic case data were coded, in the first instance, to a maximum of two hierarchical levels. It was agreed with the Consortium to employ a ‘Skeleton coding tree’ for Level 2 nodes (parent nodes). This meant that a list of Level 2 codes (in English) were agreed by partners prior to the commencement of coding. These were imported into each Nvivo data base and used, where appropriate, as ‘parent nodes’ under which inductively generated Level 1 nodes (in native language) were grouped. Where Level 1 nodes did not fit within pre-determined Level 2 nodes - for example because this activity or experience was specific to the case - new Level 2 nodes could be created for that case. Equally, if no data fitted a pre-designed Level 2 node, this was left blank. The skeleton coding tree is appended as Appendix 6.3.

Extensive guidelines on coding, designed to standardise coding practice (length of text coded, multiple-coding, types of codes generated etc.) as far as possible across cases, were provided in the DARE Data Handbook. Following coding to two hierarchical levels and the production of documents required for cross-case analysis, researchers continued to analyse their data sets, drawing on theoretical frameworks to generate third level nodes or ‘themes’. These themes, together with the socio-demographic data from respondents imported into Nvivo, were used to refine the overall findings of the case and prepare the individual case study reports (Step 3 in Figure 2).

In presenting the findings of the case studies in the series of country-level reports, which this report introduces, researchers were given scope to interpret the data through theoretical frameworks appropriate to their particular case and national context. However, in order to provide some consistency across cases, they were asked to include in the report findings related to six dimensions of the milieu: understandings of extremism, radicalism and radicalisation; radicalisation trajectories (encounters with, and responses to, radicalisation messages); the respective roles of ideology and extra-ideological factors in radicalisation; social relationships, online and offline, within the milieu; the role of inequality and injustice, objective and subjective, in driving radicalisation; and the gendered dimensions of radicalisation. Each national level report also contains a section contextualising the study in historical and contemporary events and a section locating the milieu, describing the respondent set and detailing adaptations of methodology and shared research instruments in their case.

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2 This inductive coding was conducted in the languages of the interviews being coded. However, these Level 1 node names were subsequently translated into English to facilitate cross-national analysis.
Figure 2 Data analysis flow diagram

Step 1: Coding
1) Done for each national data set;
2) ‘Item’ is any segment of interview, field diary or visual data coded;
3) Done in NVivo by researchers (national teams) to two hierarchical levels only;
4) Done in local language.

Step 2: Production of Node memos and Respondent memos for cluster analysis
- Done by researchers (national teams)
- Done for each national data set: one node memo for each Level 2 node, and one respondent memo for each respondent
- Done in English

Step 3: Single case analysis and interpretation
- Done for each national data set
- Done by researchers (national teams)
- Can use NVivo (producing Level 3 nodes/themes) but not obligatory
- Level 3 nodes/themes are theory-informed.
- Analysis/interpretation done in local language
- Deliverable reports in English

Step 4: Transnational analysis
- Employs meta-ethnographic synthesis method using node memos and respondent memos for cases in data set
- Done by WP leads only
- Can use NVivo (producing Level 3 nodes/themes) but not obligatory
- Analysis/interpretation done in English
- Deliverable reports in English

Item [Interview excerpt]
‘The right to offend, having the right to offend is far more crucial to a free and just society than having the right not to be offended.’

Item [Field diary entry]
‘When the masses see that democracy is a lie […] That’s when they will become radical…’

Item [Interview excerpt]
‘And the more and more the divide between people and government, it’s gonna… I mean, the violence will come.’

Item [Photo]
Slogan on England flags worn by demonstrators reads: ‘We will not be silenced’

Level 1 Node
Free speech
Level 1 Node
Democracy – problems with
Level 1 Node
Polarisation
Level 1 Node
Silencing, political correctness

Level 2 Node
Ideology and politics

Item
[Photo]
Slogan on England flags worn by demonstrators reads: ‘We will not be silenced’
5. References


Appendix 6.1 Skeleton interview schedule (graphic overview)
Appendix 6.2 Respondent memo template (with summary of socio-demographic data)

DARE Respondent Memo (template)

Exported attributes from the classification sheet applied to the relevant data source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number people in household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of own children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiosity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reflections on interview context and process *(where these are potentially relevant to the interpretation of data)*
Anything else deemed relevant, but not recorded elsewhere

For example:

- key moments in the respondent’s ‘story’ *(although should not be used to simply summarise the interview)*;
- sections of the interview that the respondent requested not to be recorded;
- gesticulations or visual signals made by the respondent *(e.g. suggesting ironic attitude to certain things said, or indicating unspoken meanings that will not be discernible in the written transcription)*;
- tone of engagement with the researcher *(e.g. ironic, sarcastic, enthusiastic, which might not be evident from the transcribed data)*.
### Appendix 6.3 Skeleton coding tree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Level 2 node name</th>
<th>Level 2 node description</th>
<th>Example of kind of level 1 nodes that might fit in this Level 2 node</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1   | Parents/family background        | Family/parents’ status, experiences and being in the world                                | Parents’ employment  
Parents’ education, achievements  
Parents’ experiences of place where they live, housing  
Parents’ experience with authorities  
Parents’ experience of discrimination  
Parents’ traumas, war, refuge, losses, critical events in the past  
Parents’ dreams for the future,  
Siblings’ employment, education, experiences (as per above) |
| 2   | Familial relationships           | Experience of family life or life in care                                                   | Respondent’s relationship with parents, siblings, grandparents, carers  
Styles and ethos of upbringing/parenting,                                                                                           |
|     | [draws on Life history and      |                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                  |
|     | Social relationships from        |                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                  |
|     | interview scenario]             |                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                  |
| 3   | Growing up                       | Biographical experiences of growing up                                                    | Memories - good experiences and bad experiences, funny events  
Critical moments  
Childhood fears, fantasies,  
Reflections on self (self-esteem, ‘type’ of child etc.)                                                                 |
| 4   | Education                        | Biographical experiences of and trajectory through education                                | Educational achievements  
Kind of school/higher education attended  
Problems at school, supporting/good teachers, problematic/bad teachers,  
Stigma  
Dropping out  
Critical events                                                                                                                     |
| 5   | Employment and training          | Biographical experiences of employment and training                                         | Employment prospects – getting a job and dead end jobs  
Experiences of employment  
Unemployment  
Training, level and experience  
Important achievements, Own money                                                                                                     |
| 6   | Intimate relationships           | Biographical experiences of love, sexuality, gender,                                       | Good experiences, bad experiences,  
Discovering sexuality, feeling different, provoked by or identifying with alternative sexualities, parental pressure,  
Having a baby,  
Marriage, fears, fancies, critical events                                                                                              |
|| Peer and friendship relationships | Biographical experiences of friendship and peer relations | Making friends
Losing friends,
Friends of different backgrounds,
Friends from same background
Designation of in-group |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Conflictual relationships | Biographical experiences of conflicts with ‘out groups’
[n.b. Where these ‘enemies’ and out-groups are ideological, they are coded separately as ‘Ideologised enemies’ (see below)] | Designation of non-ideological ‘out groups’
References to local level (non-ideological) ‘enemies’ and conflicts
Conflictual relationships with state, authorities, welfare office, police, societal authorities, religious authorities |
| 9 | Networks of radicalisation | Trajectories of joining or forming a group, maintaining a group, trajectories of leaving or dissolving a group or network, influence of individual within milieus, how are views transmitted | Motivations, steps, events and developmental processes in the formations of a group or network of some sort of formal organisation.
What attracts?
What prevents? |
| 10 | Everyday life | Leisure interests and practices, youth cultural affiliation (music, film, tv programmes, dance, animals, sports, drugs, food, style), locality, mobility, social media and personal encounters in everyday life | Preferences and practices within music, dance, films, games, sports, animals, drugs, clothing, hairstyle, food which reflect social position, political position and/or demonstrate coolness, uncoolness or solidarity with group
Mobility and travel
Migration |
<p>| 11 | Outlook on life | Views on the world, biographical experiences of injustice, feelings of anger, existential wonder, existential despair | View on the world past and present, own and significant others’ experiences of injustice, expressions of existential wonder, existential despair, doubt, faith, anger, regrets, critical events |
| 12 | Dreams, ideals and utopias | Personal or group level expressions of dreams of ideal society, situations, happiness, goals aiming for, items to possess, | Expressions of dreams and utopias, and the development towards these ideals, from which agents (people, texts, situations, films, narratives) have they come/developed?, experiences of glimpses of these ideals, and the longing for them, inspirations for them, fantasies about them, what nurtures them? |
| 13 | Death | Views on death and the meaning of life and death | Death or death-related experiences by ego or significant others, Death as existential fact, What is – if something is - worth dying for |
| 14 | Future | Expressions of hopes and fears for the future, imaginations of the future | Expressions of hopes and fears and fantasies and directions – what goals do we work for – for the future? In what ways will, or do we want the future to be different from the present or the past? |
| 15 | Ideology and politics | Relationship to politics, and injustice caused by political systems or actors | Emotional reactions to perceived injustice, Reflections on how to obtain change, Feelings of disrespect, being humiliated, being under attack (by whom), Good or bad politicians, Critical events and critical structures in global, national and local politics, Ideal political system, views on, democracy, authoritarianism, theocracy, Justified use of violence, Political role of religion, Views on the radicalisation of the state, Views on gender, feminism, immigration, race, Morality and immorality |
| 16 | Ideologised enemies, their attributes | Perceptions of and experiences with ideologised enemies and their perceived attributes and aims | Expressions and images of enemies and their perceived attributes and aims, what provokes Fantasies, Conspiracy theories, Concrete experiences, encounters, critical events, Perceived differences |
| 17 | Identity.1. Ethnicity | Trajectories of personal and group experiences of identity/identifications | Experiences of having/developing an identity as an individual, a group, community, vulnerability, being under attack, strength, weakness, conflicts with others, demand for respect, identity markers, identity changes, how does it feel to be you? |
| 18 | Identity 2. Gender and sexuality | As above | Identity related expressions and experiences of gender and sexuality: being a woman, a man, gay, trans, stigmatisation, dis/respect, stereotypes, the ‘male, Muslim monster’, ‘the white, liberal chik’ |
| 19 | Identity 3. Class | As above | Experiences of poverty, unemployment, social mobility (or lack of), dreams of affluence and special items, needs, stigmatisations, dis/respect ‘living in the slum, the ghetto, the dangerous zone, the no-go areas’. Fears of ‘the slum, the ghetto, dangerous, no-go areas’. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Sub-Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Biographical experiences and views related to religion</td>
<td>Religions’ role in different life phases, feeling of (existential) importance, relevance, comfort, transcendence, moral guidelines, experiences of discrimination, suspicion, fear of other’s religion, threats, alienation to, relationship to religious authorities or agents, critical events, turning points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Stigmatisation/representations of ‘us’</td>
<td>Personal experience of feeling stigmatised, or as part of a group. Representations and counter representations in the media, and by political and societal authorities</td>
<td>Refused entrance to attractive arenas, jobs, bad glances, hate speech, bad glances, racism, poverty, stigma of the place, critical events. Feelings, reactions to and experiences of negative (or positive) representations, humiliation, dis/respect, victimisation, us versus them, unjust/wrong images, critical events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Criminality</td>
<td>Experiences of being involved in crime, as a victim, offender, or ‘gainer’</td>
<td>Experiences of becoming involved in crime, as victim offender, or ‘gainer’, and the ideologies, legitimisations and reflections around them, motivations and consequences, what attracts? What prevents? Relations to politics, religion, thrills, style?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kicks, thrills and sensory stimuli</td>
<td>Experiences of kicks, thrills and sensory stimuli</td>
<td>Experiences or longings for kicks, thrills and sensory stimuli in various actions (fighting, physicality, excitement, rhythm, demos, feeling of community, oneness, strength, being dangerous, creating fear, obtaining coolness, sexuality, intoxications with or without drugs, feeling power). Expressions of attractive or non-wanted sensory stimuli (smells, touch, visuals, tastes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Understandings of ‘radicalism’, ‘extremism’ and ‘terrorism’ etc.</td>
<td>Where these terms heard or talked about, how understood, what causes are attributed, is being radical a positive thing?</td>
<td>Who is labelled as ‘radical’, ‘terrorist’, ‘extremist’ etc.? Labels and counter labels. What do these terms mean and cover? Who is labelling whom? Rhetorical use of these terms How are these terms understood?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Encounters with radical messages</td>
<td>Online and offline encounters, sites and agents, content, context of reception</td>
<td>Social media use Impact of shutting down of websites, social media pages etc. Sites and contexts of encounters Contexts of reception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Responses to radicalisation</td>
<td>Own responses, responses of others, violence and thresholds</td>
<td>Un/coolness of radicalisation and radicals, support of the case but not the means, feelings of heroism, of doing the necessary, fulfilling religious and ideological obligations, support or refusing of violence, support (or non-) of violence, legitimising injustice and humiliation,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: Nodes are colour coded to reflect the key themes from interview scenario: Everyday encounters with radical messages; Criminality; Understandings of ‘radical’ etc.; Responses to radicalisation; Everyday life; Social relationships; Ideology; Life history; Identity.