DRIVE
Resisting Radicalisation Through Inclusion

8.4 Training Materials

Authors: Tahir Abbas, Cátia Moreira de Carvalho, and Inés
Bolaños Somoano

Project Information

DRIVE project information	
Grant agreement number	959200
Project full title	Determining multi-level led causes and testing intervention design to reduce radicalisation, extremism and political violence in north-western Europe through social inclusion.
Project acronym	DRIVE
Funding scheme	H2020 Research and Innovations Actions (RIA)
Start date of the project	1 January 2021
Duration	42 months: 1 January 2021 - 30 June 2024
Project website	https://www.driveproject.eu/

History of Changes

Version	Publication date	Author	Description of change
1.0	12-07-2024	Tahir Abbas, Cátia Moreira de Carvalho, and Inés Bolaños Somoano	• First draft
1.1	21-07-2024	Tahir Abbas, Cátia Moreira de Carvalho, and Inés Bolaños Somoano	• Final draft

Contents

Executive Summary

Overview of the DRIVE Project

Launched in January 2021, the European Commission funded **DRIVE project** examines the complex interplay between social exclusion, identity and belonging, and radicalisation among Muslim and ethnic majorities in four Northwestern European countries: **Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands and The United Kingdom**. The project aimed to provide a nuanced understanding of the factors that shape social cohesion and foster inclusivity within diverse communities. The DRIVE project focuses on preventing radicalisation through a holistic approach that involves social inclusion, community engagement, and multi-agency collaboration. It aims to empower practitioners by providing comprehensive guidelines and practical tools.

Purpose of Training

The training, based on the findings of the DRIVE project, aims to communicate the key insights derived from the systematic analysis of field interviews and focus groups. It delves into how identity politics, social injustice, and discrimination can lead individuals down paths of radicalisation. The training aims to equip practitioners with strategies to identify signs of and support individuals potentially vulnerable to radicalisation, addressing both direct experiences of discrimination and broader ideological concerns. Furthermore, it seeks to enhance the existing assessment models and tools by incorporating findings on social exclusion and its impact on radicalisation. Using fictional case studies inspired by fieldwork interviews, the training explores the dynamics of social exclusion and alienation, offering practitioners concrete examples and innovative approaches to address these complex factors.

Core Objectives

By the end of this training, participants will have:

➢ An in-depth understanding of the concepts and factors contributing to radicalisation processes.

➢ Practical skills to identify signs of and address negative experiences that may contribute to radicalisation.

➢ Strategies to foster resilience and social inclusion within their communities.

➢ Enhanced ability to support potentially vulnerable and at-risk individuals through community engagement and positive intervention.

This handout serves as a reference guide, providing theoretical and practical dimensions of better understanding the complexities of radicalisation and extremism to equip front-line practitioners in developing more effective strategies to prevent and counter potential manifestations of radicalisation, thereby fostering safer and more resilient communities. It is designed to be used in conjunction with the handouts, presentations, and practical exercises provided during the workshops, offering a robust framework for developing and implementing effective prevention and intervention strategies.

The project's findings may be used as a supplementary element of assessment for policymakers, community leaders, and educators. They highlight the importance of other contributing factors such as social exclusion and alienation in potential pathways to radicalisation.

Training Structure

Introduction to the Training Course

This training course, developed under the DRIVE project, is designed to provide comprehensive insights and practical skills for front-line practitioners working in environments where potential vulnerabilities to radicalisation can become evident, and who has a key role in mitigating risks through fostering social cohesion and inclusion, individual resilience, and safer communities. Based on extensive fieldwork and research, this course aims to enhance understanding of the complex factors that can contribute to radicalisation pathways and to equip participants with additional prosocial tools to address these challenges effectively.

The extensive data set includes 417 interviews, 5,501 survey respondents, 14 focus groups, intervention workshops, and over 30 event observations. The research focused on the lived experiences of Muslims and nationalists to understand how social exclusion impacts potential vulnerability to radicalisation.

This document outlines the contents of the training course addressing potentially vulnerable individuals to radicalisation, developed from the insights gained through the research undertaken by the DRIVE project. The course comprises several modules designed to build a deeper understanding of the factors potentially contributing to radicalisation and to develop practical skills for intervention.

Module 1: Concepts and Definitions

This module lays the groundwork for understanding the fundamental concepts used by the DRIVE project related to radicalisation. Amongst them are:

- Alienation
- Belonging
- Identity
- Social Exclusion
- Radicalisation
- Deradicalisation
- Extremism and Violent Extremism
- Ideology
- Nationalism
- Radical Politics
- Polarisation
- Resilience

Module 2: Understanding the factors of radicalisation

This module focuses on the practical aspects of identifying individuals at-risk of radicalisation. Practitioners will learn about the signs, indicators, and risk factors, which are crucial for early detection and intervention.

Key Components

- Identifying **behavioural and attitudinal changes** that signal potential vulnerability to radicalisation.
- Understanding **personal, social, and environmental factors** that increase vulnerability.

- ➢ **Recognising the progression** from initial exposure to engaging into radicalisation paths.
- ➢ **DRIVE project observations**: the importance of recognising bad experiences, particularly within educational and social environments. Many young people reported feeling alienated and discriminated against, which contributed to their radicalisation.

Module 3: Public Mental Health and Radicalisation

Understanding the complex interplay between mental health and extremism is crucial in addressing the root causes of radicalisation. This module explores how mental health issues can intersect with radicalisation and the importance of mental health support as a resilience and preventative measure.

Key Components

- ➢ **The impact of trauma and mental health disorders**: how trauma and disorders like PTSD can contribute to radicalisation.
- ➢ How **recruiters can exploit** mental health vulnerabilities.
- ➢ The **role of the internet** in exacerbating mental health issues and promoting radicalisation.
- ➢ Strategies for **offering mental health support** and improving resilience.
- ➢ Project DRIVE Observations – observations made by practitioners noted that young individuals with mental health issues are particularly vulnerable to radicalisation factors.

Module 4: Addressing Social Exclusion and Reciprocal Radicalisation

This module examines the relationship between social exclusion and reciprocal radicalisation, highlighting their manifestations and implications. It focuses on experiences of social exclusion in public spaces, schools, and through state policies.

Key Components

- ➢ Understanding the **impact of exclusion** in various settings.
- ➢ **Reciprocal radicalisation**: Exploring the cycle of escalating hostility between opposing groups.
- ➢ Practical **approaches to mitigate** reciprocal radicalisation.
- ➢ DRIVE project observations.

Module 5: Youth Observation

This module delves into the specific factors that make youth particularly vulnerable to radicalisation. It covers the impact of identity politics, intergenerational changes, and the role of social media.

Key Components

- ➢ The **role of identity** in shaping radical beliefs.
- ➢ **The role of intergenerational change and continuity**: how generational shifts may influence radicalisation.
- ➢ How **online platforms** contribute to radicalisation among youth.
- ➢ **DRIVE project observations**: young people often feel misunderstood and marginalised, leading them to seek out radical groups for a sense of belonging and purpose. Practitioners observed that addressing these feelings early on is crucial in preventing radicalisation.

Module 6: Engagement Strategies and Practical Skills for Practitioners

Engaging individuals potentially vulnerable and/or at-risk of radicalisation is crucial. This module provides strategies for building trust and effective communication, which are essential for successful intervention.

Key Components

- ➢ **Building trust and establishing rapport** with potentially vulnerable and at-risk individuals.
- ➢ **Effective communication**: techniques for clear and empathetic communication.
- ➢ **Cultural sensitivity**: understanding and respecting cultural differences.
- ➢ DRIVE project observations
- ➢ **Case studies**: practice based on real-life case studies

Module 1: Concepts and Definitions

Overview of Concepts

POLARISATION

The process that divides or causes a division between groups or individuals, often based on contrasting identities, opinions, beliefs, or ideologies

ALIENATION

A state of isolation or estrangement from society, which can lead to feelings of detachment and marginalisation

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The process by which certain individuals or groups are marginalised or excluded from full participation in society

VULNERABILITY

The susceptibility of individuals or groups to radicalisation or recruitment to extremist ideologies

[In the context of P/CVE]

AT-RISK INDIVIDUALS

Individuals exhibiting specific signs or behaviours, such as sudden ideological changes or associations with known extremists, are considered "at-risk"

RESILIENCE

The capacity of individuals and communities to resist, adapt to, and recover from the challenges posed by violent extremism

IDENTITY

The intricate array of attributes that delineate an individual or group, encompassing cultural, ethnic, religious, and personal characteristics

IDEOLOGY

Refers to a set of beliefs, values, and ideas that shape and guide an individual's or group's actions, decisions, and worldviews

NATIONALISM

An ideology that places significant emphasis on a collective national *identity*, interests, and autonomy

RADICALISATION

The process by which individuals adopt extreme political, social, or religious ideologies that challenge or reject mainstream values and beliefs

RECIPROCAL RADICALISATION

Process where extremist groups provoke and amplify each other's rhetoric and actions, including violence, creating a cycle of hostility

DERADICALISATION

The process by which individuals adopt extreme political, social, or religious ideologies that challenge or reject mainstream values and beliefs

RADICAL POLITICS

Advocacy for fundamental change in political, social, or religious systems, often challenging establish power and advocating for transformative agendas

EXTREMISM

Refers to the advocacy or support for *radical politics* or *ideologies*, sometimes leading to *violent extremism*

VIOLENT EXTREMISM

The use of force to promote political, religious, or social objectives, and it is an unusual outcome of radical politics

What is Social Exclusion and Alienation?

The discussion around social exclusion is complex, covering aspects from economic disparities to broader societal marginalisation. Though there's no single definition, **social exclusion typically refers to the systematic marginalisation of individuals or groups, hindering their full participation in the social, economic, cultural, and political life of their communities.**[1] This marginalisation can result from various factors, including discrimination, poverty, lack of education, and inadequate access to social services. Social exclusion limits opportunities, resources, and rights, leading to disparities in health, education, employment, and overall quality of life.[2]

This marginalisation can stem from a lack of access to essential resources and opportunities, such as income, education, and employment, as well as from discrimination, stigma, and alienation. While some view social exclusion primarily through an economic lens, focusing on objective indicators of disadvantage, others argue for a broader perspective that incorporates subjective perceptions and lived experiences of marginalisation, including everyday discrimination, internalised oppression, and cultural alienation. This broader view underscores the importance of considering how exclusion in social, political, and cultural domains contributes to an individual's overall exclusion from society.

Alienation is often presented as a significant risk factor in academic studies dealing with radicalisation into violent extremism.[3] Alienation can emerge from a persistent pattern of exclusion, humiliation, selective mistreatment, and prejudice towards particular groups or individuals by the community, the state and its institutions, or wider society. Unequal access to essential services and the rule of law for particular minorities or groups can also be a critical factor. Perceptions of gross inadequacy at the individual or group level, especially when dealing with widespread or sudden social or demographic changes, can lead to alienation.[4]

What is Radicalisation?

Radicalisation is often viewed as a contested concept, with no universally agreed-upon definition.[5] At the core of these debates lie fundamental questions regarding the definition of "radical." Perspectives vary widely, from narrow conceptions equating radicalisation solely with violent extremism and terrorism to broader definitions that include non-violent yet extreme beliefs and actions. Where one falls within this spectrum

[1] Farrington, "Towards a Useful Definition".

[2] Levitas, "What Is Social Exclusion?"

[3] Vergani et al., "Examining the Relationship Between Alienation and Radicalization into Violent Extremism".

[4] UNDP, "Preventing Violent Extremism through Inclusive Development and the Promotion of Tolerance and Respect for Diversity | United Nations Development Programme", 24.

[5] Neumann, "The Trouble with Radicalization'"; Sedgwick, "The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion'"; Schmid, "Radicalisation, de-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation".

significantly influences how the processes and outcomes of radicalisation are characterised and countered.

It generally refers to the process by which individuals adopt extreme political, social, or religious ideologies that challenge or reject mainstream values and beliefs. These ideologies often advocate for significant societal change, which can sometimes lead to supporting or engaging in violent or non-violent actions to achieve their goals.

The complexity of radicalisation lies in its manifold nature, influenced by a range of personal, social, and environmental factors. Different disciplines and stakeholders, including policymakers, academics, and practitioners, may emphasise various aspects of the process based on their perspectives and objectives.[6] This variation in focus contributes to the ongoing debate and the lack of a single, clear definition. Despite these differences, the core idea revolves around a **transformative process that results in a marked shift in beliefs and behaviours, often towards more extreme positions**.

Beyond definitional issues, debates also centre around whether radicalisation primarily refers to the processes through which individuals develop extreme views or the outcomes of adopting extreme views. Focusing heavily on outcomes risks overlooking the gradual progression of radicalisation and the need for early preventative interventions. Conversely, analysing processes in isolation ignores the consequential results of radicalisation: violence and extremist group activity. Integrating perspectives on both process and outcomes may thus be most effective.

Deradicalisation

The concept of deradicalisation remains a subject of debate among scholars, although certain elements are widely accepted. At its core, deradicalisation involves a significant shift in ideology and beliefs, distinguishing it from disengagement, which focuses on behavioural changes without necessarily altering underlying extremist ideologies. A critical point of consensus is that deradicalisation is a gradual and multifaceted process.

Horgan and Braddock describe deradicalisation as a social and psychological process that reduces an individual's commitment to and involvement in violent actions to the extent that they are no longer at risk of engaging in such activities.[7] On the other hand, some scholars, advocate for a broader definition, underlying that deradicalisation encompasses not only a reduction in violent behaviour but also a lessening of commitment to the radical group and its ideology. This broader perspective implicitly includes a shift in views on violence as part of the process.[8]

The practical application of deradicalisation efforts, such as those in Germany, underscores the individualised nature of the process. Deradicalisation work focuses on assisting radicalised individuals in abandoning extremist beliefs and severing ties with their previous networks of extremist supporters. Unlike preventive measures aimed at those not yet radicalised, deradicalisation specifically targets individuals who already

---

[6] Peels, "Towards a Fruitful Concept of Radicalisation".

[7] Horgan and Braddock, "Rehabilitating the Terrorists: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of Deradicalization Programs'".

[8] Doosje et al., "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization".

hold extremist worldviews.[9] Fernando Reinares suggests deradicalisation involves attitudinal change, marked by the abandonment of the belief that violence is a privileged tool for political struggle.[10]

Effective deradicalisation programs often involve a range of professional support, including social workers, psychologists, violence prevention coaches, social scientists, and religious experts. These professionals provide tailored support to individuals willing to move away from extremist thinking and behaviour. Family members, friends, and other close associates also play a crucial role, as they are often the first to notice signs of radicalisation and can be instrumental in reversing the process.

While definitions of deradicalisation vary, there is broad agreement on its core elements. It is a gradual process involving significant changes in ideology and beliefs, distinct from mere behavioural disengagement. Deradicalisation programs benefit from a focused approach on reducing violence but can also adopt broader definitions that encompass a complete shift in belief systems, leading to the rejection of extremist ideologies and the embrace of mainstream values.

The Difference between Extremism and Violent Extremism

Extremism remains an ill-defined concept, and there is no consensus among scholars and policymakers as to its meaning. Some scholars see extremism as a challenge to liberal democratic values, while others see it as a legitimate form of political expression.[11]

Violent extremism, on the other hand, may be defined as the **use of force or violence to achieve the political or ideological goals of extremist groups or individuals**.[12] Violent extremists aim to destabilise societal structures and create fear in their target populations. The use of violence is often seen as an extreme and illegitimate form of political expression, which is why violent extremism is widely seen as a threat to social stability, security, and peace. Violent extremist acts can result in significant harm to individuals and communities, as well as cause lasting damage to social structures, institutions, and relationships.

Overall, while there is no uniform or definitive definition for extremism, it is generally agreed upon that extremism refers to ideologies and beliefs that deviate significantly from mainstream or prevailing norms, with non-violent extremism being a subset of extremism that aims to achieve normative change through non-violent means.

What Do We Understand by Polarisation?

Polarisation refers to the process where society splits into hostile groups, each viewing the other as an enemy. This fragmentation corrodes social cohesion and security, providing fertile ground for radicalisation. According to the EU Radicalisation Awareness

---

[9] Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community, "Deradicalisation".
[10] Reinares, "Exit From Terrorism".
[11] Berger, "Researching Violent Extremism", 5.
[12] Berger, "Researching Violent Extremism"; Schmid, *Violent and Non-Violent Extremism*; Orofino and Allchorn, *Routledge Handbook of Non-Violent Extremism*, chap. 2.

Network (RAN), polarisation involves a "sharp psychological division between 'us and them'," leading to increased alienation and hostility, fostering a climate where prejudices, hate speech, and even hate crimes flourish.[13]

The term polarisation has been increasingly mentioned in political and intellectual debates, particularly since the wave of terrorist attacks in recent years. Defining polarisation is challenging due to its complexity and the risk of oversimplification.[14] It can be seen as a regular state in democratic societies, which inherently involve differences and conflicting interests. However, current discussions focus on a more insidious form of polarisation, where society fragments into opposing collectives seen as existential threats to each other.[15] Unlike healthy democratic pluralism, this form of polarisation undermines shared values and social bonds, leading to increased social fragmentation and conflict.[16]

Understanding Reciprocal Radicalisation

Reciprocal radicalisation is the process where extremist groups provoke and amplify each other's rhetoric and actions, including violence, creating a cycle of escalating hostility. This concept emerged notably after the 2001 riots in Northern England and was reinforced by the establishment of the English Defence League in 2009, in response to demonstrations by Islamist extremists.[17] Reciprocal radicalisation involves a dynamic interaction between opposing groups, where the actions and rhetoric of one group incite and intensify the responses of the other. This mutual escalation can be mediated by various factors such as state interventions, digital technology, and media coverage.

Reciprocal radicalisation is both a theoretical and an empirical phenomenon that suggests that extremist or radical groups on different ends of an issue might fuel or escalate each other's behaviour.[18] This might happen through various mechanisms, such as the mimicry or mirroring of messages, strategies or tactics; the use of symbols or acts by one group that serve as an incentive or provocation for the other group to respond in kind; or the co-opting of non-radical or vulnerable individuals or groups, or of members of a target group, to amplify the radical position, among other things. It is not solely a dynamic of online engagement but occurs in physical interactions as well.[19]

Resilience – A Multilayered Concept

Resilience is a key concept in P/CVE policies, aimed at helping individuals and communities resist and recover from factors that contribute to radicalisation. Although the term is widely used, its meaning can vary significantly across different contexts.[20] In P/CVE, resilience often refers to the capacity of individuals and communities to

---

[13] Lenos et al., "EX-POST PAPER - RAN Polarisation Management Manual".
[14] admin, "What Is Polarisation and How to Respond at the Local Level?"
[15] Van Alstein, "Polarisation and Conflict".
[16] RAN, "SPOTLIGHT - Polarisation".
[17] Knott, Copeland, and Lee, *Reciprocal Radicalisation*.
[18] Ibid.; Peace, "Reciprocal Radicalisation - What Is It And How Do We Fight It?"
[19] Knott, Copeland, and Lee, *Reciprocal Radicalisation*.
[20] Stephens and Sieckelinck, "Resiliences to Radicalization".

withstand, adapt, and recover from stresses and shocks, preventing violence and extremism.[21]

Resilience can be understood at multiple levels: individual, community, and societal.[22] It involves factors such as democracy, trust in institutions, sustainable development, and the capacity for reform. Traditionally, resilience was viewed as the ability to return to a pre-stress state, but modern perspectives also include adaptation and transformation in response to adversity.[23]

A definition by the EU describes resilience as "the ability of an individual, a household, a community, a country or a region to withstand, adapt and quickly recover from stresses and shocks".[24] The EU's Global Strategy (2016) further expands on this, defining resilience as a "broad concept encompassing all individuals and the whole of society," which includes "democracy, trust in institutions, sustainable development, and the capacity to reform."[25]

Are We All Vulnerable?

In the context of countering extremism and radicalisation, **vulnerability refers to the susceptibility of individuals or groups to radicalisation or recruitment to extremist ideologies**.[26] It is important to understand that no one is inherently vulnerable; rather, **vulnerability arises from a confluence of psychological, social, economic, contextual and political factors**.[27] These can include personal grievances, mental health issues, isolation, economic inequalities, political oppression, and exposure to extremist propaganda. Individuals exhibiting specific signs or behaviours, such as sudden ideological changes or associations with known extremists, are considered at-risk. Counter- extremism and radicalisation interventions aim to identify and support these **at-risk individuals** by addressing several criteria associated with radicalisation. However, the effectiveness of these concepts can be debated, as the **pathways to extremism are highly individualised and context specific**. Therefore, **generic attempts to identify vulnerable populations may be ineffective or counterproductive if communities feel targeted or stigmatised**. Effective strategies involve early intervention, community engagement, education, psychosocial support, and creating economic opportunities. Understanding and addressing the complex factors

---

[21] EEAS - European Union External Action, "Strengthening Resilience to Violent Extremism II - STRIVE II".

[22] Wimelius et al., "What Is Local Resilience Against Radicalization and How Can It Be Promoted?"

[23] Southwick et al., "Resilience Definitions, Theory, and Challenges".

[24] EEAS, Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe- A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy.

[25] EEAS, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy.

[26] Bouhana, "The Moral Ecology of Extremism", 14.

[27] Clemmow et al., "Vulnerability to Radicalisation in a General Population", 408; Cole et al., "Guidance for Identifying People Vulnerable to Recruitment into Violent Extremism"; Bouhana, "The Moral Ecology of Extremism", 14.

contributing to vulnerability and at-risk status is crucial for preventing the spread of extremism and ensuring the safety and well-being of individuals and communities.

Correlations Between Social Exclusion and Radicalisation/Extremism

The relationship between social exclusion and extremism or radicalisation is not straightforward. Feelings of exclusion, discrimination, and marginalisation have been linked to participation in extremist activities. Research indicates that social exclusion can trigger a desire for recognition, which may serve as a pathway to radicalisation, especially for individuals sensitive to rejection.[28] Studies have shown that exclusion by an outgroup can lead to increased ingroup identity and activism intentions, highlighting the role of perceived discrimination in fostering radicalisation.[29] Additionally, social exclusion can threaten fundamental needs, driving individuals to identify with radical groups and endorse extremist actions.[30] These findings suggest that social exclusion and discrimination can make individuals more vulnerable to radicalisation, as they seek belonging and recognition through extremist ideologies.[31]

In the same way, within **the process of alienation**, relations between an individual or group and the wider structures of family, society, and the state become characterised by withdrawal, anomie, grievances, and decreasing political or economic participation. Alienation often results from the inability to deal with significant social or demographic changes, leading to feelings of exclusion and marginalisation. These feelings can, in turn, make individuals more susceptible to radicalisation as they seek belonging and recognition through extremist ideologies.[32]

---

[28] Pfundmair et al., "How Social Exclusion Makes Radicalism Flourish"; Renström, Bäck, and Knapton, "Exploring a Pathway to Radicalization".
[29] Knapton, "From Exclusion to Extremism".
[30] Renström, Bäck, and Knapton, "Exploring a Pathway to Radicalization".
[31] Knapton, "From Exclusion to Extremism".
[32] Pretus et al., "Neural and Behavioral Correlates of Sacred Values and Vulnerability to Violent Extremism"; Bélanger et al., "Radicalization Leading to Violence".

Module 2: Identifying Radicalisation

Factors Leading to Extremism and Radicalisation

The pathways to extremism and radicalisation are highly individualised and context-specific. Addressing the root causes requires a multifaceted approach that incorporates social, economic, political, psychological, cultural, and technological interventions. By understanding these complex factors, policymakers and practitioners can develop more effective strategies to prevent and counter radicalisation, fostering safer and more resilient communities.

Extremism and radicalisation are driven by a multitude of factors. These influences span across social, economic, political, psychological, cultural, and technological domains, and they often interact in complex ways. Understanding these factors is crucial for developing effective prevention and intervention strategies.

Social Factors

➢ **Alienation and Social Exclusion:** Individuals feeling marginalised or discriminated against may turn to extremist ideologies for belonging and significance.

➢ **Identity Crises:** Struggles with identity, especially during transitional life phases, can make individuals more vulnerable to radicalisation.

➢ **Lack of Social Cohesion:** Weak community bonds and lack of social support can create environments where extremist ideologies thrive.

➢ **Family Dynamics:** Dysfunctional family environments or lack of supportive family structures can push individuals towards extremism.

➢ **Negative School Experiences:** Bullying, discrimination, or failure in school can lead to feelings of rejection and isolation, making extremist groups appealing.

Economic Factors

➢ **Poverty and Unemployment:** Economic hardships and lack of opportunities can drive individuals towards extremist groups promising financial incentives or purpose.

➢ **Inequality:** Real or perceived economic disparities can fuel resentment, making extremist narratives appealing.

Political Factors

➢ **Political Grievances:** Experiences of oppression, corruption, and lack of representation can lead to radicalisation.

➢ **Human Rights Abuses:** Systematic violations of human rights foster anger and a desire for retribution, exploited by extremist groups.

➢ **Weak Governance:** Ineffective or absent government institutions can create power vacuums filled by extremist groups.

Psychological Factors

- ➤ **Trauma and Mental Health Issues:** Experiences of trauma, including violence or abuse, increase susceptibility to radical ideologies.

- ➤ **Need for Significance:** The desire for meaning and purpose can drive individuals toward extremist causes offering a sense of belonging and importance.

Cultural and Religious Factors

- ➤ **Cultural Dislocation:** Individuals experiencing cultural dislocation may turn to radical ideologies to assert their identity.

- ➤ **Religious Manipulation:** Extremist groups exploit religious beliefs to justify violence and attract followers, especially those lacking deep theological knowledge.

Environmental Factors

- ➤ **Conflict Zones:** Ongoing conflict and instability provide fertile ground for extremist recruitment.

- ➤ **Diaspora Communities:** Diaspora communities facing integration challenges are targeted by extremists exploiting their sense of alienation.

Technological Factors

- ➤ **Social Media and Online Radicalisation:** The internet provides platforms for extremist groups to spread ideologies, recruit followers, and coordinate activities.

- ➤ **Echo Chambers:** Online echo chambers reinforce radical beliefs by isolating individuals from countering perspectives and amplifying extremist narratives.

Radicalisation and extremism are two complex and contested term, driven by a combination of factors, including structural conditions within one's socio-political environment and more immediate personal experiences, such as trauma, loss, or political events. It is essential to recognise that the adoption of extreme beliefs does not necessarily lead to radical actions. Focusing too much on ideological expressions can stigmatise or securitise certain views that do not cross into violence or illegality.

The Role of Ideology

Through ideology, individuals make sense of the world around them and construct their understanding of their place within society. Moreover, ideology serves as a powerful tool for creating a sense of belonging and community among those who hold similar beliefs.[33] As a result, ideology can reinforce the individual's sense of identity and help them to achieve psychological fulfilment.[34]

Ideology is particularly important in the radicalisation process because it can serve as a powerful motivator for individuals to reject the status quo and take action to change their

---

[33] Adams, Stahl, and Oberg, "'The Ideology Becomes a Way to Make Sense of That Disconnection'".
[34] Ramakrishna, "The Role of Ideology in Radicalisation".

circumstances. It can provide, as well, individuals with a sense of moral justification for pursuing their goals, even if those goals run counter to the accepted norms of society. Additionally, ideology can be used to criticise and discredit existing social and political institutions, lending credence to the belief that more radical action is necessary to effect change.[35]

In addition, ideology plays an essential role in establishing and strengthening group identity and cohesion.[36] When individuals embrace a shared ideology, they often feel a strong sense of belonging within the group. Ideology can, in a sense, provide individuals with a sense of purpose and identity that transcends their individual selves, leading to a sense of community and collective purpose. This dynamic is particularly relevant to extremist groups, who often use shared ideology to create powerful bonds of loyalty and commitment among their members.[37]

However, ideology can also be a double-edged sword, as it can be manipulated to serve the interests of extremist groups seeking to exploit the grievances and frustrations of vulnerable individuals. For instance, extremist groups may utilise ideology to justify violent action and promote a culture of martyrdom that glorifies violence and encourages individuals to view themselves as martyrs devoted to a higher cause. In such cases, ideology can be seen as a means of psychological manipulation rather than a constructive tool for positive change.

Ideology can be an core factor in the radicalisation process, serving as a motivator for action, providing individuals with a sense of purpose, and reinforcing group identity and cohesion.[38] While ideology can be a constructive force for change, it can also be manipulated to serve extremist groups' interests, leading to violence and harm.[39] As such, it is important to comprehend the role that ideology plays in the radicalisation process when developing effective strategies for countering radicalisation and promoting peaceful social change.

Below is a summary of the role of ideology in radicalisation pathways.

1. **Legitimising Actions**
   a. Ideology provides moral and ethical justifications for actions, including violence, that would otherwise be unacceptable.
   b. It often dehumanises the enemy, making violence against them more palatable.
   c. Historical and religious narratives are frequently invoked to legitimise extremist actions and attract followers[40]

---

[35] Kivimäki, "When Ideologies Became Dangerous".
[36] Harrison and Boyd, "The Role of Ideology in Politics and Society".
[37] Adams, Stahl, and Oberg, "'The Ideology Becomes a Way to Make Sense of That Disconnection'".
[38] Ramakrishna, "The Role of Ideology in Radicalisation".
[39] Khalil, Horgan, and Zeuthen, "The Attitudes-Behaviors Corrective (ABC) Model of Violent Extremism".
[40] Maher, *Salafi-Jihadism*.

2. **Mobilisation and Recruitment**
    a. Ideological narratives appeal to personal and collective grievances, motivating individuals to join extremist groups.
    b. Extremist groups use propaganda to spread their ideology and recruit new members.
    c. Ideology helps construct simple, binary narratives (good vs. evil) that resonate with potential recruits.

3. **Identity and Belonging**
    a. Ideology provides a sense of identity and belonging, particularly for those who feel marginalised or alienated.
    b. It offers a clear sense of purpose and community.
    c. Shared ideological beliefs strengthen group cohesion and solidarity.

4. **Sustaining Commitment**
    a. Once individuals adopt an extremist ideology, it sustains their commitment to the cause.
    b. Ideology fosters a collective identity and sense of mission that can be difficult to abandon.

5. **Complex Interactions**
    a. Ideologies do not operate in isolation but interact with wider cultural and social contexts.
    b. The role of ideology in radicalisation is complex, with scholars arguing that it functions both at individual and group levels, as well as within globally dispersed extremist networks.

The Role of Religion in Extremism and Radicalisation

Religion plays a different role in extremism and radicalisation, acting both as a source of resilience and as a potential factor in promoting extremist ideologies.

The relationship between religion and extremism is complex. While many European foreign terrorist fighters who joined the Islamic State group after 2013 had backgrounds in petty crime and delinquency[41], few possessed a basic understanding of Islam, suggesting that social and economic factors, rather than religious doctrine, significantly influenced their turn to extremism.[42]

Once individuals join extremist groups, religion often becomes integral to their identity and the group's ideology. Salafi-Jihadist groups like Al-Qa'ida and the Islamic State extensively use religious ideas and symbols in their propaganda, supported by authoritative texts and respected scholars.[43] These groups position themselves as

---

[41] Goodman, "ISIS and the Rise of Gangster Jihadism".
[42] Lebovich, "How 'religious' Are ISIS Fighters?"
[43] Ranstorp, "Islamist Extremism: A Practical Introduction', Radicalisation Awareness Network".

defenders of the global Muslim community (Ummah), leveraging religious identity to recruit members and justify their actions.[44]

In the context of extremism and radicalisation, religion can be exploited in several ways:

- ➤ **Collective Identity and Solidarity**: Religion fosters a strong sense of collective identity and solidarity, aiding in mobilisation.

- ➤ **Narrative and Organisation**: It provides a narrative that helps to organise and give meaning to disaffection and grievances.

- ➤ **Legitimisation for Violence:** Religious texts and symbols can be used to legitimise violence.

- ➤ **Divine Purposefulness**: Religion imbues worldly conflicts with a sacred purpose, presenting them as holy missions.

Religion and Right-Wing Extremism

Christian religiosity can sometimes overlap with right-wing extremism. Some authors have identified some links between right-wing extremist youth, traditionally right-conservative, evangelical-fundamentalistic, and youth socialised in a Christian church.[45] Others, have also found a link between religious authoritarianism and right-wing extremist attitudes, particularly within Christian fundamentalism.[46]

Additionally, some studies have revealed that there is a linkage between radical right-wing parties and dominant church institutions in countries like Greece, Italy, and Sweden.[47] The religious electorate can be a source of support for radical right-wing parties: to some extent in Greece, moderately in Italy, and minimally in Sweden. This connection is illustrated in the cases of the Golden Dawn in Greece, the Lega Nord in Italy, and the Sweden Democrats in Sweden. These findings offer valuable insights into the connection between religion and radical right-wing politics in Europe.

Religion significantly influences extremism and radicalisation, serving more as a tool for mobilisation and justification than as the root cause. Effective counter-extremism strategies must address the broader social, economic, and political contexts that enable religious extremism to thrive, acknowledging the multifaceted nature of radicalisation processes.

The Role of Identity

Identity plays a crucial role in the process of radicalisation and violent extremism. Social identity theory, explains how individuals develop strong identification with the norms and values of a group, leading to the convergence of personal and group identity.[48] This theory suggests that a person's sense of self is largely based on group memberships, which

---

[44] Kruglanski, Bélanger, and Gunaratna, *The Three Pillars of Radicalization*.
[45] Hoyningen-Huene, "Religiosität Bei Rechtsextrem Orientierten Jugendlichen."
[46] De Waele and Pauwels, "Youth Involvement in Politically Motivated Violence".
[47] Martino and Papastathis, "The Radical Right and Religious Discourse".
[48] Tajfel and Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict".

provide a significant source of pride and self-esteem, thus influencing behaviour in various social contexts.[49]

Individuals naturally tend to identify with groups, often exaggerating the differences between groups and the similarities within their own group, which can lead to in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. This dynamic becomes particularly dangerous when it fosters extreme views and actions, including violence against out-groups. Dehumanisation of out-groups, a precursor to identity-based violence, is often observed in this context.[50]

Several factors contribute to an individual's turn towards violent extremism. These include the politicisation of group identity, perceived threats to the group's sacred values (such as ideology, ethnicity, or religion), and moral outrage against perceived injustices committed by out-groups. When non-violent means fail to address these issues, conflict between groups can escalate, leading individuals to adopt extreme measures to defend their group.[51]

Key points about the role of identity in radicalisation:

➢ **Group Membership and Identity**: An individual's identity is shaped by their memberships in various groups, such as nationality, religion, or social affiliations. This membership confers a sense of status, belonging, and self-esteem.

➢ **In-group/Out-group Dynamics**: People tend to exaggerate the differences between groups (out-groups) and the similarities within their own group (in-group). This can lead to favouritism towards the in-group and discrimination against the out-group, often escalating to violence.

➢ **Factors Leading to Extremism**: Several factors can turn an individual towards violent extremism, including:

◊ Politicisation of group identity.

◊ Threats to the group's sacred values (ideology, ethnicity, religion).

◊ Perceived injustices by out-groups.

◊ Moral outrage and failure of non-violent means to address issues.

◊ Escalation of conflict between in-groups and out-groups.

➢ **Exploitation by Extremist Groups**: Violent extremist groups exploit identity struggles, especially in marginalised communities. They use narratives that emphasise defending the group against perceived threats, thus fostering a strong collective identity that can drive individuals towards extremism.

➢ **Role of Media and Political Rhetoric**: Negative portrayals and political rhetoric can exacerbate feelings of alienation and non-belonging, particularly among

---

[49] Charkawi, Dunn, and Bliuc, "The Influences of Social Identity and Perceptions of Injustice on Support to Violent Extremism".
[50] Buckley, Winkel, and Leary, "Reactions to Acceptance and Rejection"; Warburton, Williams, and Cairns, "When Ostracism Leads to Aggression".
[51] Sageman, "A Strategy for Fighting International Islamist Terrorists".

minority groups. This can reinforce the in-group/out-group divide and make individuals more susceptible to extremist ideologies.

In conclusion, understanding the role of identity is crucial in addressing radicalisation. The interaction between personal and group identity, influenced by social, political, and media narratives, can drive individuals towards extremist ideologies and actions.

Gender in Radicalisation Processes

Gender plays a crucial role in understanding violent extremist organisations and their recruitment practices. Gender inequalities and harmful masculinities are significant factors drivers for extremism and radicalisation. Underlying gendered social expectations impact how people engage in extremist activities and their motivations for participation. Individual pathways to extremism are inherently gendered, with differing radicalisation strategies and motives for men and women.[52]

Gender Roles in Extremist Groups

The roles played by men and women within extremist groups often differ significantly, shaped by gender-specific expectations and social constructs.[53] These differences can be observed in both right-right extremist (RWE) groups and jihadist organisations like Daesh.[54] Understanding these gender dynamics is crucial for comprehending how individuals are radicalised and the varying ways they contribute to extremist causes.[55]

Masculinity and Extremism

Masculinity plays a critical role in both RWE and jihadist groups. While most extremists are men, the influence of masculinity on the radicalisation process is often underexplored. If the majority of extremists were women, the relationship between gender and violence would be a major topic of discussion.[56] In RWE and jihadist groups, masculinity is often associated with traits such as bravery, violence, and protection of one's community. This construction of masculinity can drive men to join extremist groups as a way to affirm their manhood and gain social status.

The Role of Women in Extremist Groups

Historically, the role of women in extremist groups has been overlooked and underrated. In RWE groups, white women are stereotypically seen as peaceful and caring, which has led to their roles being neglected in both research and prevention efforts.[57]

Despite these stereotypes, recent attention has focused on the significant number of women who have joined groups like Daesh.[58] According to Cook and Vale, women make

---

[52] Kimmel, "EX POST PAPER - The Role of Gender in Extremism and P/CVE".

[53] OSCE, *Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism - Good Practices for Law Enforcement | OSCE*.

[54] Pearson and Winterbotham, "Women, Gender and Daesh Radicalisation'"; Skjelsbæk et al., "What Role Does Gender Play in the Far Right?"

[55] Kimmel, "Almost All Violent Extremists Share One Thing".

[56] Ibid.

[57] Leidig, *The Women of the Far Right*.

[58] Cook and Vale, "From Daesh to'Diaspora'".

up 13% of the foreign terrorist fighters in Daesh.[59] Daesh's propaganda, such as their glossy magazine 'Dabiq,' portrays women as essential to the establishment and longevity of the caliphate, encouraging them to take on roles as supporters, mothers, and even fighters.[60]

Women's Roles: From Support to Leadership

Women in extremist groups can fulfil various roles, from supportive and internal functions to leadership positions. In Daesh, women's participation is often framed within the context of their relationships with men. For instance, women may gain status by marrying male fighters.[61] However, their roles are not limited to being partners; women also contribute significantly to spreading extremist narratives and raising future generations of fighters.

In RWE groups, women's roles are more varied. While traditionally seen as inferior and supportive, women have started to take on more visible and authoritative roles.[62] They participate in demonstrations, engage in community activities, and even hold leadership positions. This shift highlights the evolving nature of women's involvement in extremism.[63]

Both RWE and Islamist extremist groups claim to empower women, which can attract female recruits. However, this empowerment is often paradoxical, given the inherently misogynistic nature of these movements.[64] In FRE groups, women may join self-defense groups and take on hybrid roles, despite the groups' overall anti-feminist stance. This suggests a complex dynamic where women seek recognition and validation within the extremist framework.

Gender-Specific Drivers of Radicalisation

The drivers of radicalisation can differ between men and women. For women, narratives of belonging, romance, and female empowerment are significant pull factors.[65]

Key points about the role of gender in extremism:

➢ **Predominance of Male Perpetrators**: The vast majority of terrorism perpetrators are men, including in far-right terrorism. While female radicalisation is often analysed through a gender lens, male majorities are frequently overlooked in this regard.

➢ **Masculinity in Extremism**: Masculinity is essential in understanding both male and female expressions of extremism. Extremist movements use notions of

---

[59] Ibid.

[60] Lehane et al., "Brides, Black Widows and Baby-Makers; or Not"; Mehran et al., "The Depiction of Women in Jihadi Magazines".

[61] Patel and Westermann, "Women and Islamic-State Terrorism"; Pearson and Winterbotham, "Women, Gender and Daesh Radicalisation'".

[62] Campion, "Women in the Extreme and Radical Right".

[63] Pearson, "Gendered Reflections?"

[64] Kimmel, "EX POST PAPER - The Role of Gender in Extremism and P/CVE".

[65] Haynie, "Women, Gender and Terrorism: Gendered Aspects of Radicalization and Recruitment".

violent masculinity, feelings of entitlement, and gendered grievances like shame and emasculation in their recruitment and discourse.

➢ **Female Participation**: Women's roles in extremism and radicalisation are diverse, extending beyond traditional views of them as peacebuilders or victims. Women can be sympathisers, propagandists, fighters, and leaders. For instance, some women join extremist groups to challenge traditional and Western gender norms.

➢ **Recruitment Narratives**: Extremist groups use gendered narratives to recruit members.[66] Jihadist groups portray male fighters as high-status figures, while far-right groups offer a sense of camaraderie and promise the reclamation of "white male privilege," threatened by societal changes.

➢ **Misogyny and Extremism**: There is a link between misogyny, sexist beliefs, and extremism. Individuals with hostile attitudes towards women and gender equality are more prone to extremist views and violence.[67]

Understanding the gender dynamics within extremist groups is vital for addressing radicalisation effectively. Both men and women are drawn to extremism for different reasons, and their roles within these groups are shaped by broader gender norms and expectations.

Online Dimension of Extremism and Gaming

Online radicalisation has become a pressing issue, with the internet significantly contributing to the spread of violent extremism.[68] Extremist groups exploit online platforms to disseminate propaganda, recruit members, and provide a sense of identity and purpose for individuals seeking belonging. Online communities foster a "collective identity," rooted in shared knowledge and an "us versus them" mentality.[69]

The anonymity provided by the internet lowers barriers to expressing radical views, allowing individuals to explore extremist ideologies without revealing their true identities.[70] Despite efforts to improve content moderation, extremist networks adapt by migrating to fringe platforms such as 4Chan, Telegram, and VKontakte.[71] Far-right extremists use Telegram extensively for recruitment, propaganda dissemination, and coordinating violent actions, while Islamist extremists have utilised platforms like Twitter (now X) and YouTube to spread their messages and recruit followers.[72]

---

[66] Termeer and Duyvesteyn, "The Inclusion of Women in Jihad"; Pearson, "Gendered Reflections?"

[67] Rottweiler, Clemmow, and Gill, "A Common Psychology of Male Violence?"; "Misogyny and Masculinity".

[68] Herath and Whittaker, "Online Radicalisation".

[69] YG, "Online Communities and Identity".

[70] Brown, "What Is so Special about Online (as Compared to Offline) Hate Speech?"

[71] Ibsen et al., *Violent Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism – Transnational Connectivity, Definitions, Incidents, Structures and Countermeasures*.

[72] Guhl and Davey, *A Safe Space to Hate*.

Recent and emerging trends include the use of decentralised web technologies, making it harder for authorities to track and dismantle extremist content.[73] Terrorist-operated websites serve as hubs for propaganda, recruitment, and coordination, presenting challenges for law enforcement. The live-streaming of attacks on platforms like Facebook and Twitch maximises shock value and spreads extremist narratives.[74] Additionally, artificial intelligence (AI) and deepfake technology pose new threats, enabling extremists to create convincing propaganda and false information, undermining trust in mainstream institutions and inciting violence.[75]

The intersection of online gaming and violent extremism is another area of concern.[76] Extremist groups exploit gaming platforms to disseminate content, recruit followers, and incorporate gaming elements into their propaganda. This includes creating their own games, using gamification for radicalisation, and utilising in-game chats for recruitment and communication.[77] While evidence of direct recruitment through gaming is limited, these platforms provide a space for extremists to socialise, build communities, and reinforce their ideologies.

Efforts to counter online radicalisation must adopt a multi-level approach, addressing individual susceptibilities, environmental influences, and systemic factors.

Current trends and dangers in the intersection of online gaming, extremism, and artificial intelligence (AI) include the following:

➤ **Exploitation of Gaming Platforms:** Extremist groups are increasingly exploiting online gaming platforms such as Discord, Twitch, Fortnite, and Steam. These platforms offer a social environment where extremists can disseminate propaganda, recruit new members, and build communities. The integration of gaming into extremist narratives helps radicalise individuals by blurring the lines between virtual and real-world violence.

➤ **Gamification for Radicalisation:** Gamification involves using game-like elements in non-game contexts to engage users. Extremist groups use this technique to make their ideologies more appealing, especially to younger audiences. This includes leaderboards that glorify terrorist attackers and live-streaming violent acts in a way that mimics popular first-person shooter games.

➤ **Creation of Extremist Games:** Some extremist groups have developed their own video games or modifications of existing games. These games are designed to spread extremist ideologies, desensitise players to violence, and recruit individuals by immersing them in a narrative that aligns with the group's agenda.

---

[73] Bodo and Trauthig, *Emergent Technologies and Extremists: The DWeb as a New Internet Reality?*

[74] Ibrahim, "The Sharing Economy and Livestreaming of Terror"; Rarm, "Terror".

[75] Helmus, *Artificial Intelligence, Deepfakes, and Disinformation*.

[76] Lakhani, "Videogaming and Violent Extremism: An Exploration of the Current Landscape, Trends, and Threats".

[77] White, "Building Resilience to Extremism in Gaming: Identifying and Addressing Toxicity in Gaming Culture".

➢ **In-Game Communication for Recruitment**: Extremists use in-game chat functions and private servers to communicate, recruit, and coordinate activities. These chats often lack effective moderation, making them fertile ground for spreading extremist content and engaging with potential recruits.

➢ **Monetisation and Financing**: There are indications that extremists are using gaming platforms and adjacent spaces for financial transactions, including money laundering through the sale of in-game items and the use of cryptocurrencies.

Artificial Intelligence and Extremism

➢ **AI-Generated Propaganda**: AI can be used to create highly persuasive propaganda materials, including text, images, and videos, tailored to specific audiences. Extremist groups can leverage AI algorithms to analyse vast amounts of data and generate content that appeals to individuals' vulnerabilities and beliefs, making their recruitment efforts more effective.

➢ **Deepfakes:** AI-powered deepfake technology enables the creation of highly convincing, yet entirely fabricated audio and video content. Extremists can use deepfakes to spread false information, discredit opponents, undermine trust in mainstream media and institutions, and incite violence by portraying individuals or groups in a negative light.

➢ **Automated Content Creation and Dissemination**: AI can automate the creation and dissemination of extremist content across various platforms, increasing the reach and impact of these materials. AI-driven bots can flood social media with extremist narratives, manipulate online discussions, and create the illusion of widespread support for extremist views.

➢ **Targeted Recruitment:** AI algorithms can analyse user data to identify individuals susceptible to extremist messaging. By customising content to appeal to these individuals, extremists can enhance their recruitment strategies and increase the likelihood of radicalising potential recruits.

Combined Dangers

The convergence of online gaming, extremism, and AI presents a complex challenge. Gaming platforms provide a vast and largely unregulated space for extremists to operate, while AI technologies amplify their capabilities to create and distribute persuasive propaganda. This combination can lead to a more effective radicalisation process, targeting individuals who are already engaged in immersive and interactive online environments. As extremists continue to innovate and adapt to new technologies, the need for comprehensive strategies to counter these trends becomes increasingly urgent.

Module 3: Mental Health and Radicalisation

Understanding the complex interplay between mental health and extremism is crucial in addressing the root causes of radicalisation. A variety of factors influence an individual's beliefs, including personal experiences, upbringing, education, cultural norms, and religious beliefs.[78] These elements shape one's worldview and, at times, can lead to extreme views and actions. This section explores how mental health intersects with extremism and highlights the importance of mental health support in preventing radicalisation.

The Impact of Trauma and Mental Health Disorders

Research indicates that exposure to trauma significantly increases the likelihood of developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which can manifest as heightened anger, hostility, and a desire for revenge. These behaviours contribute to a greater propensity for supporting violent extremism. A 2016 report published in the *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* found a direct correlation between higher trauma exposure and increased support for extremist activities.[79] Additionally, weaker social bonds exacerbate the risk of engaging in violent extremism. Other studies have revealed that common mental health disorders like depression, anxiety, and PTSD are associated with extremist sympathies.[80] Mental health plays a multifaceted role in extremism, contributing to vulnerability and influencing behaviours of those radicalised. A systematic review by Paul Gill and colleagues highlights that mental health problems are relatively common among violent extremists, with prevalence rates ranging from 0% to 57%. Disorders such as schizophrenia, PTSD, and depression are often present, but no single type dominates.[81] Additionally, mental health issues interact with other life stressors like discrimination, unemployment, and trauma, compounding the risk of radicalisation.

In the same way, trauma also plays a role in in violent extremism is a crucial but under-researched area, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS).[82] While radicalisation is a complex, multifaceted process, trauma and mental health issues significantly influence vulnerability to violent extremism. Adverse childhood experiences and moral injuries are key factors that can contribute to radicalisation.[83] Research highlights the need for large-scale, interdisciplinary studies to understand these dynamics better.

---

[78] Hurst, "What Is the Role of Mental Health in Extremism?"

[79] Simi, Bubolz, and Sporer, "Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism".

[80] Hurst, "What Is the Role of Mental Health in Extremism?"

[81] Gill et al., "Systematic Review of Mental Health Problems and Violent Extremism".

[82] Barker and Riley, "The Role of Trauma and Mental Health in Violent Extremism".

[83] Simi, Bubolz, and Sporer, "Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism".

Online Radicalisation and Mental Health

The role of the internet in radicalisation has become increasingly significant. A 2022 report by HM Probation Service in the UK analysed the radicalisation pathways of 437 convicted extremists and found that a significant portion had mental health issues, neurodivergence, or personality disorders.[84] The internet serves as a primary method of radicalisation, especially for individuals with mental health vulnerabilities. The field of preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) increasingly recognises the interplay between mental health and radicalisation. Mental health vulnerabilities, such as depression and autism spectrum disorder (ASD), are overrepresented among individuals involved in violent extremism.[85]

The internet provides easy access to a vast amount of extremist content, which can inform and shape the ideology of lone actors. This includes propaganda, manifestos, and instructional materials that can help individuals develop and solidify their extreme beliefs.[86] Moreover, they have been used as amplification tools of group polarisation, functioning as echo chambers where individuals with similar extreme views congregate.[87] The internet can legitimise extreme ideologies and violent actions through echoing, where radical beliefs are repeatedly affirmed by others in online communities. This legitimisation reduces the social stigma associated with these beliefs and actions, making them seem more acceptable.[88] This environment amplifies group polarisation, reinforcing and legitimising radical beliefs. The constant interaction with like-minded individuals makes their views more extreme over time.

While the internet plays a significant role, offline factors such as pre-existing vulnerabilities, personal crises, and social isolation also contribute to the radicalisation process.[89] These offline factors can make individuals more susceptible to online radicalisation by making them seek out extremist content and communities as a form of compensation or escape. Parallelly, the internet can also accelerate the radicalisation process by reducing the time it takes for individuals to become fully radicalised.[90] This is due to the constant and immediate availability of radical content and the rapid feedback from online communities.

For some lone actors, the internet also serves as a tool for planning and executing attacks. It provides resources for operational planning, such as acquiring materials for weapons or finding targets. Examples include:

---

[84] Ministry of Justice - United Kingdom, "Internet and Radicalisation Pathways".

[85] de Marinis and Boyd-MacMillan, "A Mental Health Approach to Understanding Violent Extremism".

[86] Mølmen and Ravndal, "Mechanisms of Online Radicalisation".

[87] Neumann, "Options and Strategies for Countering Online Radicalization in the United States".

[88] Whittaker, "Online Echo Chambers and Violent Extremism"; Wolfowicz, Weisburd, and Hasisi, "Examining the Interactive Effects of the Filter Bubble and the Echo Chamber on Radicalization".

[89] Mølmen and Ravndal, "Mechanisms of Online Radicalisation".

[90] Holt et al., "Political Radicalization on the Internet".

- ➢ **Anders Behring Breivik's** radicalisation was heavily influenced by online access to extreme-right ideologies, leading him to write a manifesto filled with anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant content found online.[91] His participation in radical forums amplified and legitimised his beliefs. Breivik's rapid radicalisation was further accelerated by his isolation and deep online immersion after personal failures. The internet also facilitated his operational planning, helping him acquire bomb materials and firearms.

- ➢ **Dylann Roof's** radicalisation began with online searches about the Trayvon Martin shooting, exposing him to racist ideologies.[92] His engagement in radical forums like Stormfront reinforced his beliefs. Roof's social isolation and mental health issues made him vulnerable to rapid radicalisation, which spanned about three years from initial exposure to carrying out his attack.

- ➢ **Peter Mangs** was initially introduced to extreme-right ideologies offline but later used the internet to develop his beliefs and write his manifesto.[93] He extensively researched his victims online and sought reinforcement of his beliefs in radical forums. Mangs' social isolation and struggles to reintegrate into Swedish society led him to seek support in online extremist communities, which also provided crucial information for planning and executing his attacks.

Mitigating Risks and Providing Support

Effective security management begins with a thorough risk assessment, and mental ill health is a significant risk factor that can be mitigated with appropriate support. Trauma-informed approaches are essential for those who are at risk of engaging in violent extremism but have not yet committed a crime. Providing comprehensive, wraparound services can offer an "exit ramp" for individuals on the path to radicalisation.

Cross-agency approaches must address both diagnosed and subclinical cases. Effective strategies need to consider the complex interrelationships between mental health issues, trauma, and social stressors. Enhancing protective factors, fostering resilience, and addressing psychosocial impairments are essential for mitigating these risks and preventing radicalisation. Continued collaborative efforts are crucial for developing comprehensive, culturally informed interventions.

Addressing mental health issues is integral to preventing extremism. By training and educating practitioners, breaking down stigma, and creating safe spaces for open discussions about mental health, we can mitigate the risks of radicalisation and provide essential support to vulnerable individuals. Integrating mental health strategies into counter-radicalisation efforts is not only beneficial for individuals but also enhances overall security and societal cohesion.

---

[91] Leonard et al., "The Case of Anders Behring Breivik - Language of a Lone Terrorist".
[92] Collins, "The Miseducation of Dylann Roof | Learning for Justice".
[93] Gardell, "Urban Terror".

Module 4: Addressing Social Exclusion and Reciprocal Radicalisation

This module examines the critical relationship between social exclusion and the phenomenon of reciprocal radicalisation, highlighting their manifestations and far-reaching implications. Through an exploration of experiences of social exclusion in public spaces, schools, and through state policies, we aim to understand how marginalisation fuels extremist ideologies. A key focus is on reciprocal radicalisation, particularly between far-right and Islamist groups, which feeds into a cycle of escalating hostility and violence. Drawing on personal accounts of discrimination and oppression, this module provides a humanised view of the impact of exclusion. Additionally, it presents strategies to prevent the escalation of reciprocal radicalisation, equipping practitioners with the tools needed to mitigate these dangerous dynamics.

Experiences of Social Exclusion in Public, Schools, and State Policies

Experiences in Public

The data reveals widespread feelings of social exclusion among young Muslims and nationalists in the UK. A significant portion of young Muslims (92%) reported feeling different or alienated in various public spaces, primarily due to visible markers such as clothing and skin colour. This sense of exclusion was often exacerbated by experiences of verbal and behavioural hostility. For example, 86% of the hostility focused on gender, clothing, and skin colour, manifesting in public settings like socialising spaces (51%) and while navigating different communities (24%).

Experiences in Schools

In educational settings, the exclusion experienced by young Muslims was stark. More than half (54%) reported feeling different due to discriminatory or targeting behaviours from both peers and teachers. This included overt hostility and subtle microaggressions, such as teachers setting a tone that allowed for discrimination, and peers engaging in racist and Islamophobic name-calling. Specific incidents included students making terrorist jokes with impunity while retaliatory jokes from Muslims were punished, and teachers using Muslim students as entertainment or criticising them unfairly based on stereotypes.

Experiences with State Policies

Young Muslims also highlighted the adverse effects of state policies, particularly the Prevent strategy. Many reported being wrongfully referred to Prevent, with one interviewee noting that such experiences could potentially lead to radicalisation. The impact of these policies extended to a broader sense of distrust towards the government, which was seen as superficially recognising Muslims while endorsing policies that suppress their voices. This was compounded by media portrayals that dehumanised Muslims, presenting them as terrorists and reinforcing negative stereotypes, thereby perpetuating social exclusion at multiple levels.

Understanding Reciprocal Radicalisation: Far-Right and Islamist Groups

Personal Accounts of Discrimination and Oppression

Both Muslim and nationalist young people reported significant experiences of social exclusion and discrimination, which influenced their views and actions. Young Muslims described daily experiences of hostility and fear, necessitating a range of coping

strategies, from increased caution in public spaces to educating others about Islam. These experiences often led to a sense of alienation and frustration, but not necessarily to violent radicalisation. Instead, they fostered resilience and a desire for acceptance and belonging within British society.

Nationalist youths reported feeling disenfranchised and alienated due to changing demographics, perceived government inaction, and negative experiences in educational and employment settings. These feelings were compounded by adverse reactions to their views at university and work, leading to self-censorship and a sense of living double lives. The nationalist narrative often framed Muslims and immigrants as a threat to their cultural identity and societal stability, predicting societal breakdown as a result of multiculturalism.

Strategies for Preventing Escalation of Reciprocal Radicalisation

Education and Awareness
One of the key strategies for preventing the escalation of reciprocal radicalisation involves education and raising awareness. This includes correcting misperceptions and stereotypes about both Muslims and nationalists. For young Muslims, this might involve educating peers and colleagues about Islamic practices and combating negative stereotypes. For nationalists, this could mean addressing misconceptions about immigration and multiculturalism and promoting inclusive narratives that emphasise commonalities rather than differences.

Community Engagement
Engaging with local communities to foster dialogue and mutual understanding is crucial. Creating safe spaces for discussion where young people can express their views without fear of retribution helps build bridges between different groups. Initiatives that promote interfaith and intercultural dialogue can help reduce the fear and mistrust that fuel reciprocal radicalisation.

Policy Interventions
Policymakers need to address the structural issues that contribute to social exclusion. This includes reforming policies like Prevent to ensure they do not disproportionately target specific groups and implementing measures that promote social and economic inclusion. Ensuring equitable access to education, employment, and public services can help mitigate the feelings of disenfranchisement and alienation that lead to radicalisation.

Mental Health Support
Providing mental health support to young people affected by social exclusion and discrimination is essential. This support should be culturally sensitive and accessible, helping individuals cope with the stress and anxiety resulting from their experiences. Mental health interventions can play a significant role in building resilience and preventing the turn towards radical ideologies.

Common Bad Experiences Reported by Muslims and Nationalists

Experiences of Discrimination and Prejudice
Young Muslims frequently reported experiencing discrimination and prejudice in various forms. This includes verbal abuse, physical threats, and systemic biases in educational

and employment opportunities. In public spaces, Muslims often face hostile behaviour and derogatory comments, particularly when they wear visible symbols of their faith, such as hijabs or beards. In educational settings, they report feeling singled out during discussions related to terrorism or radicalisation, contributing to a sense of alienation and victimisation. Such experiences not only undermine their sense of belonging but also fuel feelings of resentment and marginalisation, which can be precursors to radicalisation.

Nationalists, on the other hand, often feel marginalised by what they perceive as the erosion of their cultural and national identity. They report being labelled as extremists or racists when they express their views on immigration and multiculturalism. This stigmatisation leads to a sense of social exclusion and persecution, which can drive them towards more extreme ideologies as a form of resistance against the perceived loss of their heritage and values. **Both groups share a common experience of feeling misunderstood and unfairly treated by the broader society, albeit for different reasons.**

Systemic Inequities

Both Muslims and nationalists perceive systemic inequities in how state policies are implemented. For Muslims, counter-terrorism measures such as the Prevent strategy are seen as discriminatory and targeting their communities disproportionately. This creates an environment of suspicion and surveillance, where young Muslims feel they are constantly under scrutiny simply because of their religious identity. Nationalists, meanwhile, feel that state policies are overly accommodating to immigrants and minorities at the expense of native citizens. This perceived favouritism exacerbates their sense of exclusion and fuels their belief that their cultural identity is being undermined by state actions.

Building Positive Social Connections and Inclusive Environments

Community Engagement and Support Networks

One effective strategy for building resilience is fostering strong community engagement and support networks. **For young Muslims**, involvement in community centres and religious institutions can provide a sense of belonging and support. These spaces offer a refuge from discrimination and a platform for positive engagement with broader society. Initiatives such as interfaith dialogues and community service projects can help bridge gaps between different cultural groups and promote mutual understanding and respect.

For nationalists, creating spaces where they can express their concerns without fear of stigmatisation is essential. This involves facilitating open dialogues that allow them to discuss their views on national identity and cultural preservation constructively. Providing platforms for nationalists to engage with policymakers and community leaders can help address their grievances in a non-violent manner and reduce the allure of radical ideologies.

Inclusive Educational Practices

Educational institutions play a critical role in shaping young people's perceptions and experiences. Implementing inclusive educational practices that celebrate diversity and promote critical thinking can help mitigate feelings of exclusion. For Muslim students, this includes integrating their cultural and religious perspectives into the curriculum and

addressing any form of bias or discrimination promptly. For nationalist students, it involves recognising their cultural concerns and incorporating discussions on national identity and heritage in a balanced manner. Educators should be trained to handle sensitive topics with empathy and create a classroom environment where all students feel valued and respected.

Promoting Positive Interactions
Encouraging positive interactions between different social groups is vital in breaking down stereotypes and building mutual respect. Organising joint activities and projects that require collaboration between Muslims and nationalists can foster understanding and reduce prejudices. These interactions help humanise the 'other' and dispel myths that often underpin radical ideologies. Community events, sports activities, and cultural exchanges are effective ways to promote these positive interactions.

Addressing Islamophobia and Racism

Addressing bad experiences and building resilience among young Muslims and nationalists requires a holistic approach that includes community engagement, inclusive educational practices, and targeted policy reforms. By fostering positive social connections and creating inclusive environments, it is possible to mitigate the factors that contribute to radicalisation and promote a more cohesive and understanding

WHAT TO DO

➢ **Awareness and Education Campaigns:** Raising awareness about the harmful effects of Islamophobia and racism is crucial in addressing these issues. Public education campaigns that highlight the contributions of Muslim communities to society and the historical context of immigration can help counter negative stereotypes. These campaigns should also emphasise the shared values and common humanity that transcend cultural and religious differences.

➢ **Support for Victims:** Providing robust support systems for victims of Islamophobia and racism is crucial. This includes counselling services, legal aid, and advocacy groups that can offer assistance and representation. Ensuring that victims feel heard and supported can mitigate the psychological impact of discrimination and reduce the likelihood of radicalisation as a form of retaliation.

➢ **Media Representation:** Ensuring accurate and fair representation of Muslims and other minority groups in the media is essential. Promoting positive stories and voices from within these communities can help counter negative stereotypes.

society. Addressing Islamophobia and racism through awareness, education, and support for victims is essential in this process, ensuring that all individuals feel valued and respected within their communities.

Module 5: Youth Observations & Politicisation of Identity & Grievances

The politicisation of identity and grievances is a critical factor in the spread of extremist ideologies. Political actors often manipulate identity issues to create divisions, foster resentment, and rally support for their agendas. This manipulation is evident in various contexts, where identity becomes a tool for political gain rather than a matter of individual or collective self-determination.

Fieldwork data reveals that young Muslims frequently experience exclusion and discrimination based on their religious identity. This sense of exclusion is exacerbated by negative media portrayals and discriminatory policies. For instance, the UK Prevent strategy, designed to prevent radicalisation, has been perceived by some as unfairly targeting Muslim communities. This perception leads to feelings of alienation and mistrust towards the government, reinforcing the narrative that Muslims are not fully accepted in British society.

Moreover, interviews with young Muslims highlight their experiences of being singled out in educational settings, public spaces, and interactions with law enforcement. These experiences contribute to a pervasive sense of being under constant scrutiny and suspicion, further isolating them from mainstream society. This environment of distrust and marginalisation can make extremist narratives that promise empowerment and community more appealing.

On the other hand, young nationalists report feeling alienated for different reasons. They perceive a loss of national identity and cultural erosion due to immigration and multicultural policies. These feelings are often manipulated by far-right political groups, which frame these issues as existential threats to the national identity. This narrative fosters a sense of urgency and justifies exclusionary and sometimes violent actions against perceived outsiders.

Fieldwork data indicates that far-right groups actively recruit by exploiting economic grievances and cultural anxieties. Many young nationalists feel that their economic opportunities are being eroded by immigrants who are perceived as taking jobs and resources. This economic insecurity, coupled with a narrative of cultural invasion, creates a potent mix of resentment and fear that far-right groups capitalise on.

Countering Extremist Narratives

Countering extremist narratives effectively requires addressing the root causes of grievances that these narratives exploit. This involves both debunking false information and providing alternative narratives that promote inclusion and understanding.

For young Muslims, creating platforms that highlight positive contributions of Muslim communities and providing spaces for genuine dialogue are essential. Educational initiatives that foster critical thinking and media literacy can help young people recognise and reject extremist propaganda. Policies that ensure fair treatment and representation in various social spheres can reduce feelings of marginalisation.

Fieldwork interviews suggest that Muslim youth feel a strong need for representation and visibility in mainstream media and public discourse. Positive role models and success

stories from within the Muslim community can counteract negative stereotypes and provide a sense of pride and belonging.

For nationalists, addressing the socioeconomic factors contributing to their grievances is key. Many young nationalists reported economic hardships and perceived government neglect. Policies aimed at economic revitalisation, particularly in post-industrial and rural areas, can help mitigate these grievances. Promoting narratives that emphasise commonalities rather than differences can foster social cohesion.

Additionally, community programs that promote intercultural understanding and cooperation can help bridge divides. Initiatives such as joint community service projects, cultural exchange programs, and inclusive policy-making processes can create opportunities for positive interactions and mutual understanding.

Strategies to Address and Mitigate Politicisation

> **Promoting Inclusive Policies**: Governments should focus on creating policies that promote inclusion and address socioeconomic disparities. Ensuring equal access to education, employment, and healthcare for all communities is vital. By addressing the material conditions that often underpin identity-based grievances, the appeal of extremist ideologies can be reduced.

Field data highlights the importance of equitable policy implementation. For example, education policies that include multicultural curricula and anti-discrimination training for teachers can create more inclusive school environments. Employment policies that promote diversity and address discrimination in the workplace can improve economic opportunities for marginalised groups.

> **Fostering Dialogue and Understanding**: Initiatives that encourage dialogue between different communities can help break down stereotypes and build mutual understanding. Community forums, interfaith dialogues, and multicultural events provide opportunities for positive interaction and reduce mistrust.

Fieldwork data indicates that dialogue initiatives have been particularly effective in areas with diverse populations. These programs can dispel myths and prejudices by facilitating direct, personal interactions between individuals from different backgrounds. Participants often report increased empathy and a greater willingness to collaborate on common issues.

> **Strengthening Media Literacy**: Educating young people about media literacy can help them critically assess the information they consume. This is particularly important in the digital age, where misinformation can spread rapidly and influence vulnerable individuals. Schools and community organisations should incorporate media literacy into their curricula and programs.

Field data shows that young people often encounter extremist content online. Media literacy programs that teach critical thinking skills and provide tools for identifying biased or false information can empower youth to resist extremist messaging. These programs can also raise awareness about the tactics used by extremist groups to manipulate narratives and recruit members.

➢ **Addressing Discrimination and Islamophobia**: Actively combating Islamophobia and other forms of discrimination is essential. This can be achieved through public awareness campaigns, stronger anti-discrimination laws, and holding media accountable for biased reporting. Ensuring that Muslims and other marginalised groups feel valued and protected can reduce the sense of exclusion that extremists exploit.

Field interviews reveal that experiences of Islamophobia and discrimination are pervasive and deeply impactful. Public campaigns that highlight the contributions of Muslim communities and challenge discriminatory practices can foster a more inclusive society. Legal measures that provide recourse for victims of discrimination can also build trust in institutions.

➢ **Supporting Positive Identity Formation**: Helping young people develop a positive sense of identity that is inclusive and multifaceted can act as a buffer against radicalisation. Programs that celebrate cultural diversity and promote positive role models from various communities can help young people feel proud of their heritage while also feeling connected to the broader society.

Field data suggests that programs focusing on cultural pride and positive identity formation are effective in building resilience against extremist narratives. These programs can include cultural education, mentorship opportunities, and community-building activities that emphasise shared values and common goals.

The politicisation of identity and grievances can significantly contribute to the spread of extremist ideologies. Understanding how these processes work and implementing strategies to counter them is crucial for creating a more inclusive and resilient society. Addressing the root causes of grievances, promoting dialogue and understanding, and ensuring fair and inclusive policies are essential steps in this direction. By fostering an environment where all individuals feel valued and included, the impact of extremist narratives can be mitigated, and stronger, more cohesive communities can be built.

Module 6: Engagement Strategies and Practical Skills for Practitioners

In the dynamic and ever-evolving landscape of counter-radicalisation, it is imperative for practitioners to be equipped with practical skills to effectively identify and intervene in cases of radicalisation. This module focuses on the critical components necessary for practitioners to address radicalisation and social exclusion. Key areas include recognising the signs of radicalisation and social exclusion, developing and implementing robust intervention strategies, and understanding best practices for providing support to at-risk individuals. Additionally, the module emphasises the importance of community engagement and a whole-society approach to prevention. Through case studies and breakout group activities, practitioners will gain hands-on experience and actionable insights, enabling them to apply theoretical knowledge in real-world scenarios.

The fictional case studies and summary fiches relevant for this module of the training manual are the following (which are provided as separate accompanying annexed documents):

1. **Appendix No.1 – Fictional Case Studies**
2. **Appendix No. 2 – Summary Fiches**

References

Adams, Ben, Garth Stahl, and Glenys Oberg, "'The Ideology Becomes a Way to Make Sense of That Disconnection': Beliefs, Behaviour and Belonging – Does Ideology Matter in Countering Violent Extremism?", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol. 16, No. 4, October 2, 2023, pp. 648–671.

admin, "What Is Polarisation and How to Respond at the Local Level?", *European Forum for Urban Security*, June 18, 2019. https://efus.eu/topics/radicalisation-polarisation-en/what-is-polarisation-and-how-to-respond-at-the-local-level/.

Barker, Edward D., and Heidi Riley, "The Role of Trauma and Mental Health in Violent Extremism", *Briefing Note: XCEPT-Cross-Border Conlict, Evidence, Policy, Trends. Https://Www. Xcept-Research. Org/Wp-Content/Uploads/2022/07/2022-07-19_FINAL_Briefing-Note-Trauma-Jul19. Pdf*, 2022. https://www.xcept-research.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/2022-07-19_FINAL_Briefing-note-Trauma-Jul19.pdf.

Bélanger, Jocelyn J., Manuel Moyano, Hayat Muhammad, Lindsy Richardson, Marc-André K. Lafrenière, Patrick McCaffery, Karyne Framand, and Noëmie Nociti, "Radicalization Leading to Violence: A Test of the 3N Model", *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, Vol. 10, 2019, p. 42.

Berger, J., "Researching Violent Extremism", *Resolve Network. Link*, 2019. https://www.rcc.int/swp/download/docs/RSVE_RVESeries_ResearchingViolentExtremism-TheStateofPlay_JMBerger_June2019.pdf/2a2378fb048c5aeb57229352f3b71dbb.pdf.

Bodo, Lorand, and Kristina Trauthig, *Emergent Technologies and Extremists: The DWeb as a New Internet Reality?*, The Global Network on Extremism and Technology (GNET), July 2022.

Bouhana, Noemie, "The Moral Ecology of Extremism: A Systemic Perspective", July 31, 2019.

Brown, Alexander, "What Is so Special about Online (as Compared to Offline) Hate Speech?", *Ethnicities*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2018, pp. 297–326.

Buckley, Katherine E., Rachel E. Winkel, and Mark R. Leary, "Reactions to Acceptance and Rejection: Effects of Level and Sequence of Relational Evaluation", *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 40, No. 1, January 1, 2004, pp. 14–28.

Campion, Kristy, "Women in the Extreme and Radical Right: Forms of Participation and Their Implications", *Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, No. 9, 2020, p. 149.

Charkawi, Wesam, Kevin Dunn, and Ana-Maria Bliuc, "The Influences of Social Identity and Perceptions of Injustice on Support to Violent Extremism", *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, Vol. 13, No. 3, July 3, 2021, pp. 177–196.

Clemmow, Caitlin, Noémie Bouhana, Zoe Marchment, and Paul Gill, "Vulnerability to Radicalisation in a General Population: A Psychometric Network Approach", *Psychology, Crime & Law*, Vol. 29, No. 4, April 21, 2023, pp. 408–436.

Cole, Dr Jon, Emily Alison, Dr Ben Cole, and Professor Laurence Alison, "Guidance for Identifying People Vulnerable to Recruitment into Violent Extremism", n.d., p. 16.

Collins, Corey, "The Miseducation of Dylann Roof | Learning for Justice", May 9, 2017. https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/fall-2017/the-miseducation-of-dylann-roof.

Cook, Joana, and Gina Amy Vale, "From Daesh to'Diaspora': Tracing the Women and Minors of Islamic State", 2018. https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/from-daesh-to-diaspora-tracing-the-women-and-minors-of-islamic-st.

De Waele, Maarten SO, and Lieven Pauwels, "Youth Involvement in Politically Motivated Violence: Why Do Social Integration, Perceived Legitimacy, and Perceived Discrimination Matter?", *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2014, pp. 134–153.

Doosje, Bertjan, Fathali M. Moghaddam, Arie W. Kruglanski, Arjan De Wolf, Liesbeth Mann, and Allard R. Feddes, "Terrorism, Radicalization and de-Radicalization", *Current Opinion in Psychology*, Vol. 11, 2016, pp. 79–84.

EEAS, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy, 6.2016.

———, Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe- A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy, 6.2016.

EEAS - European Union External Action, "Strengthening Resilience to Violent Extremism II - STRIVE II", Text, *EEAS - European Commission*, June 26, 2018. https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/47387/strengthening-resilience-violent-extremism-ii-strive-ii_ar.

Farrington, Fletcher, "Towards a Useful Definition: Advantages and Criticisms of'social Exclusion'", *GEOView: Online Undergraduate Review of Geography and Environmental Studies*, 2011. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Fletcher-Farrington/publication/242513425_TOWARDS_A_USEFUL_DEFINITION_ADVANTAGES_AND_CRITICISMS_OF_SOCIAL_EXCLUSION/links/5b7b363c92851c1e1223ba4d/TOWARDS-A-USEFUL-DEFINITION-ADVANTAGES-AND-CRITICISMS-OF-SOCIAL-EXCLUSION.pdf.

Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community, "Deradicalisation", *Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community*, 2024. https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/security/extremism/deradicalisation/deradicalisation.html;jsessionid=8BD8AD563DA7DBF981BA4679733AD42F.live882?nn=16206440.

Gardell, Mattias, "Urban Terror: The Case of Lone Wolf Peter Mangs", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 30, April 9, 2018, pp. 1–19.

Gill, Paul, Caitlin Clemmow, Florian Hetzel, Bettina Rottweiler, Nadine Salman, Isabelle Van Der Vegt, Zoe Marchment, Sandy Schumann, Sanaz Zolghadriha, and Norah Schulten, "Systematic Review of Mental Health Problems and Violent Extremism", *Violent Extremism*, 2021, pp. 24–51.

Goodman, Lawrence, "ISIS and the Rise of Gangster Jihadism", *BrandeisNOW*, April 2019. https://www.brandeis.edu/now/2019/april/gangs-jihadism-klausen.html.

Guhl, J., and Jacob Davey, *A Safe Space to Hate: White Supremacist Mobilisation on Telegram*, June 26, 2020. https://www.isdglobal.org/isd-publications/a-safe-space-to-hate-white-supremacist-mobilisation-on-telegram/.

Harrison, Kevin, and Tony Boyd, "The Role of Ideology in Politics and Society", *Understanding Political Ideas and Movements*, Manchester University Press,

2018, pp. 135–153. https://www.manchesterhive.com/display/9781526137951/9781526137951.00 011.xml.

Haynie, Jeannette Gaudry, "Women, Gender and Terrorism: Gendered Aspects of Radicalization and Recruitment", 2016.

Helmus, Todd, *Artificial Intelligence, Deepfakes, and Disinformation: A Primer*, RAND Corporation, 2022. https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA1043-1.html.

Herath, Chamin, and Joe Whittaker, "Online Radicalisation: Moving Beyond a Simple Dichotomy", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 35, No. 5, July 4, 2023, pp. 1027–1048.

Holt, Tom, Joshua D. Freilich, Steven Chermak, and Clark McCauley, "Political Radicalization on the Internet: Extremist Content, Government Control, and the Power of Victim and Jihad Videos", *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, Vol. 8, No. 2, May 4, 2015, pp. 107–120.

Horgan, J., and K. Braddock, "Rehabilitating the Terrorists: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of Deradicalization Programs'", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2010, pp. 267–291.

Hoyningen-Huene, Stefan von, "Religiosität Bei Rechtsextrem Orientierten Jugendlichen.", *Religion Und Biographie. 7*, Lit Verl., Münster, 2003.

Hurst, Michael, "What Is the Role of Mental Health in Extremism?", January 2024. http://www.asisonline.org/security-management-magazine/articles/2024/01/extremism/mental-health-extremism/.

Ibrahim, Yasmin, "The Sharing Economy and Livestreaming of Terror: Co-Production of Terrorism on Social Media", in Kamaldeep Bhui, Dinesh Bhugra, Kamaldeep Bhui, and Dinesh Bhugra (eds.), *Terrorism, Violent Radicalisation, and Mental Health*, Oxford University Press, 2021, p. 0. https://doi.org/10.1093/med/9780198845706.003.0006.

Ibsen, David, Hans-Jakob Schindler, Kapcker Rekawek, and Alexander Ritzmann, *Violent Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism – Transnational Connectivity, Definitions, Incidents, Structures and Countermeasures*, Counterextremism Project, 2020.

Khalil, James, John Horgan, and Martine Zeuthen, "The Attitudes-Behaviors Corrective (ABC) Model of Violent Extremism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, December 18, 2019, pp. 1–26.

Kimmel, Michael, "Almost All Violent Extremists Share One Thing: Their Gender", *The Guardian*, April 8, 2018, sec. World news. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/08/violent-extremists-share-one-thing-gender-michael-kimmel.

———, "EX POST PAPER - The Role of Gender in Extremism and P/CVE", RAN Centre of Excellence, November 2018.

Kivimäki, Timo, "When Ideologies Became Dangerous: An Analysis of the Transformation of the Relationship Between Security and Oppositional Ideologies in US Presidential Discourse", *Global Society*, Vol. 37, No. 2, April 3, 2023, pp. 225–244.

Knapton, Holly, "From Exclusion to Extremism: The Role of Significance Loss and Identity in the Radicalization Process", Doctoral Thesis (compilation), Lund University, 2023.

Knott, Kim, Simon Copeland, and Ben Lee, *Reciprocal Radicalisation*, The Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats, August 2018. https://crestresearch.ac.uk/resources/reciprocal-radicalisation/.

Kruglanski, Arie W., Jocelyn J. Bélanger, and Rohan Gunaratna, *The Three Pillars of Radicalization: Needs, Narratives, and Networks*, Oxford University Press, USA, 2019. https://books.google.be/books?hl=pt-PT&lr=&id=7t6RDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Kruglanski+et+al.,+2019&ots=tu_7D78Gha&sig=QkzC-lLHEWn27ARlC_Bx3u97FAM.

Lakhani, Suraj, "Videogaming and Violent Extremism: An Exploration of the Current Landscape, Trends, and Threats", RAN Policy Support - European Commission, 2021.

Lebovich, Andrew, "How 'religious' Are ISIS Fighters? The Relationship between Religious Literacy and Religious Motivation", *Brookings*, April 2016. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/how-religious-are-isis-fighters-the-relationship-between-religious-literacy-and-religious-motivation/.

Lehane, Orla, David Mair, Saffron Lee, and Jodie Parker, "Brides, Black Widows and Baby-Makers; or Not: An Analysis of the Portrayal of Women in English-Language Jihadi Magazine Image Content", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol. 11, No. 3, September 2, 2018, pp. 505–520.

Leidig, Eviane, *The Women of the Far Right: Social Media Influencers and Online Radicalization*, Columbia University Press, 2023. https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.7312/leid21016/html.

Lenos, S., Wessel Haanstra, Marjolein Keltjens, and Marteen van de Donk, "EX-POST PAPER - RAN Polarisation Management Manual", RAN Centre of Excellence, July 2017.

Leonard, Cecilia H., George D. Annas, James L. Knoll, and Terje Tørrissen, "The Case of Anders Behring Breivik - Language of a Lone Terrorist", *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2014, pp. 408–422.

Levitas, Ruth, "What Is Social Exclusion?", *Breadline Europe*, Policy Press, 2000, pp. 357–384. https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/edcollchap/book/9781447366584/ch015.xml.

Maher, Shiraz, *Salafi-Jihadism: The History of an Idea*, C Hurst & Co, London, 2016.

de Marinis, Valerie, and Eolene Boyd-MacMillan, "A Mental Health Approach to Understanding Violent Extremism", RAN Centre of Excellence, June 3, 2019.

Martino, Maria Grazia, and Konstantinos Papastathis, "The Radical Right and Religious Discourse", in Holger Zapf, Oliver Hidalgo, and Philipp W. Hildmann (eds.), *Das Narrativ von der Wiederkehr der Religion*, Springer Fachmedien, Wiesbaden, 2018, pp. 261–287. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-18451-3_11.

Mehran, Weeda, Dominika Imiolek, Lucy Smeddle, and Jack Springett-Gilling, "The Depiction of Women in Jihadi Magazines: A Comparative Analysis of Islamic State, Al Qaeda, Taliban and Tahrik-e Taliban Pakistan", *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 33, No. 3, April 3, 2022, pp. 382–408.

Ministry of Justice - United Kingdom, "Internet and Radicalisation Pathways: Technological Advances, Relevance of Mental Health and Role of Attackers", *GOV.UK*, December 8, 2022.

https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/internet-and-radicalisation-pathways-technological-advances-relevance-of-mental-health-and-role-of-attackers.

"Misogyny and Masculinity: Toward a Typology of Gendered Narratives amongst the Far-Right", n.d. https://crestresearch.ac.uk/comment/misogyny-and-masculinity-toward-a-typology-of-gendered-narratives-amongst-the-far-right/.

Mølmen, Guri Nordtorp, and Jacob Aasland Ravndal, "Mechanisms of Online Radicalisation: How the Internet Affects the Radicalisation of Extreme-Right Lone Actor Terrorists", *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October 2, 2023, pp. 463–487.

Neumann, Peter R., "Options and Strategies for Countering Online Radicalization in the United States", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 36, No. 6, June 2013, pp. 431–459.

Neumann, P.R., "The Trouble with Radicalization'", *International Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 4, 2013, pp. 873–893.

Orofino, Elisa, and William Allchorn, *Routledge Handbook of Non-Violent Extremism: Groups, Perspectives and New Debates*, Taylor & Francis, 2023. https://www.google.com/books?hl=pt-PT&lr=&id=h2-nEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT23&dq=routledge+handbook+of+violent+and+non-violent&ots=rv_wxK9xLj&sig=zBiY677JfW_FhKMI9iCNa0Gw5YQ.

OSCE, *Understanding the Role of Gender in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism - Good Practices for Law Enforcement | OSCE*, 2019. https://www.osce.org/secretariat/420563.

Patel, Sofia, and Jacqueline Westermann, "Women and Islamic-State Terrorism: An Assessment of How Gender Perspectives Are Integrated in Countering Violent Extremism Policy and Practices", *Security Challenges*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2018, pp. 53–83.

Peace, Rise to, "Reciprocal Radicalisation - What Is It And How Do We Fight It?", *Rise to Peace*, April 28, 2021. https://www.risetopeace.org/2021/04/28/reciprocal-radicalisation-what-is-it-and-how-do-we-fight-it/risetopece/.

Pearson, E., and E. Winterbotham, "Women, Gender and Daesh Radicalisation'", *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 162, No. 3, 2017, pp. 60–72.

Pearson, Elizabeth, "Gendered Reflections? Extremism in the UK's Radical Right and al-Muhajiroun Networks", *Terrorism, Gender and Women*, Routledge, 2020, pp. 137–160. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003108801-9/gendered-reflections-extremism-uk-radical-right-al-muhajiroun-networks-elizabeth-pearson.

Peels, Rik, "Towards a Fruitful Concept of Radicalisation: A Synthesis", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, March 1, 2023, pp. 1–15.

Pfundmair, Michaela, Natasha R. Wood, Andrew Hales, and Eric D. Wesselmann, "How Social Exclusion Makes Radicalism Flourish: A Review of Empirical Evidence", *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 80, No. 1, March 2024, pp. 341–359.

Pretus, Clara, Nafees Hamid, Hammad Sheikh, Jeremy Ginges, Adolf Tobeña, Richard Davis, Oscar Vilarroya, and Scott Atran, "Neural and Behavioral Correlates of

Sacred Values and Vulnerability to Violent Extremism", *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 9, 2018, p. 413840.

Ramakrishna, Kumar, "The Role of Ideology in Radicalisation", *The Routledge Handbook on Radicalisation and Countering Radicalisation*, Routledge, 2023.

RAN, "SPOTLIGHT - Polarisation", RAN Centre of Excellence, April 2022. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-04/ran_spotlight_polarisation_en.pdf.

Ranstorp, M., "Islamist Extremism: A Practical Introduction', Radicalisation Awareness Network", n.d. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-papers/docs/ran_factbook_islamist_extremism_december_2019_en.pdf.

Rarm, Lewis, "Terror: Live", *Continuum*, Vol. 37, No. 3, May 4, 2023, pp. 422–432.

Reinares, Fernando, "Exit From Terrorism: A Qualitative Empirical Study on Disengagement and Deradicalization Among Members of ETA", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 23, No. 5, November 1, 2011, pp. 780–803.

Renström, Emma A., Hanna Bäck, and Holly M. Knapton, "Exploring a Pathway to Radicalization: The Effects of Social Exclusion and Rejection Sensitivity", *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, Vol. 23, No. 8, December 2020, pp. 1204–1229.

Rottweiler, Bettina, Caitlin Clemmow, and Paul Gill, "A Common Psychology of Male Violence? Assessing the Effects of Misogyny on Intentions to Engage in Violent Extremism, Interpersonal Violence and Support for Violence against Women", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 0, No. 0, 2024, pp. 1–26.

Sageman, Marc, "A Strategy for Fighting International Islamist Terrorists", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 618, 2008, pp. 223–231.

Schmid, Alex P., "Radicalisation, de-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review", *ICCT Research Paper*, Vol. 97, No. 1, 2013, p. 22.

———, *Violent and Non-Violent Extremism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?.*, JSTOR, 2022. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep29434?acceptTC=true&coverpage=false&addFooter=false.

Sedgwick, M., "The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion'", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 2010, pp. 79–94.

Simi, Pete, Bryan Bubolz, and Karyn Sporer, "Narratives of Childhood Adversity and Adolescent Misconduct as Precursors to Violent Extremism: A Life-Course Criminological Approach", *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 53, February 2, 2016, pp. 1–28.

Skjelsbæk, Inger, Eviane Leidig, Iris Beau Segers, and Cathrine Thorleifsson, "What Role Does Gender Play in the Far Right? - C-REX - Center for Research on Extremism", n.d. https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/groups/compendium/what-role-does-gender-play-in-the-far-right.html.

Southwick, Steven M., George A. Bonanno, Ann S. Masten, Catherine Panter-Brick, and Rachel Yehuda, "Resilience Definitions, Theory, and Challenges: Interdisciplinary Perspectives", *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, Vol. 5, October 1, 2014, p. 10.3402/ejpt.v5.25338.

Stephens, William, and Stijn Sieckelinck, "Resiliences to Radicalization: Four Key Perspectives", *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, Vol. 66, September 1, 2021, p. 100486.

Tajfel, Henri, and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict", *Intergroup Relations: Essential Readings*, *Key Readings in Social Psychology*, Psychology Press, New York, NY, US, 2001, pp. 94–109.

Termeer, Agnes, and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "The Inclusion of Women in Jihad: Gendered Practices of Legitimation in Islamic State Recruitment Propaganda", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April 3, 2022, pp. 463–483.

UNDP, "Preventing Violent Extremism through Inclusive Development and the Promotion of Tolerance and Respect for Diversity | United Nations Development Programme", *UNDP*, June 1, 2016. https://www.undp.org/publications/preventing-violent-extremism-through-inclusive-development-and-promotion-tolerance-and.

Van Alstein, Maarten, "Polarisation and Conflict", 2022. https://vlaamsvredesinstituut.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/PolarisationConfictNonViolent.pdf.

Vergani, Matteo, Muhammad Iqbal, Kerry O'Brien, Peter Lentini, and Greg Barton, "Examining the Relationship Between Alienation and Radicalization into Violent Extremism", in Stefano Bonino and Roberta Ricucci (eds.), *Islam and Security in the West*, Springer International Publishing, Cham, 2021, pp. 115–138. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-67925-5_6.

Warburton, Wayne A., Kipling D. Williams, and David R. Cairns, "When Ostracism Leads to Aggression: The Moderating Effects of Control Deprivation", *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 42, No. 2, March 1, 2006, pp. 213–220.

White, Jessica, "Building Resilience to Extremism in Gaming: Identifying and Addressing Toxicity in Gaming Culture", RAN Policy Support - European Commission, September 2022.

Whittaker, Joe, "Online Echo Chambers and Violent Extremism", *The Digital Age, Cyber Space, and Social Media: The Challenges of Security & Radicalization*, 2020, pp. 129–150.

Wimelius, Malin E., Malin Eriksson, John Kinsman, Veronica Strandh, and Mehdi Ghazinour, "What Is Local Resilience Against Radicalization and How Can It Be Promoted? A Multidisciplinary Literature Review", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 46, No. 7, July 3, 2023, pp. 1108–1125.

Wolfowicz, Michael, David Weisburd, and Badi Hasisi, "Examining the Interactive Effects of the Filter Bubble and the Echo Chamber on Radicalization", *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, Vol. 19, No. 1, March 2023, pp. 119–141.

YG, Krishna, "Online Communities and Identity", *Medium*, July 2, 2023. https://new123.medium.com/online-communities-and-identity-6a27411655b8.