

Class 11: Individuals in the far right

Radicalisation

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Course evaluations
- Radicalisation - core concepts
- Poll: tendencies of radicalisation
- Study snapshot: youth radicalisation
- Why radicalisation fails
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Opening notes



Presentation groups

July

May

June

Date	Presenters	Method
3 July:	Alexander V., Luis G., Oscar O., Mia C.	descriptive inference
10 July:	Lina S., Stephen W., Philomena B., Aarón Z.	ethnography
17 July:	Corinna Z., Eva M., and Rostislav N.	TBD
24 July:	Sebastian K., Thomas R., Emilia Z., Florian P.	TBD
24 July:	Lorenz F., Daniel B., Medina H.	quant. text analysis

Course evaluations

- course evaluations are available
- scoring is appreciated
- comments can be very helpful, for example:



1. how is the **course website**? any suggested improvements?
2. what did you like and dislike about the **class slides**?
3. what did you like and dislike about **class meetings**?
4. did you watch the **recorded lectures**? (*evaluations are anonymous, so you can be totally honest*) how were they?
5. are **course assignments** clear? (e.g., add another report example?)

Radicalisation - core concepts

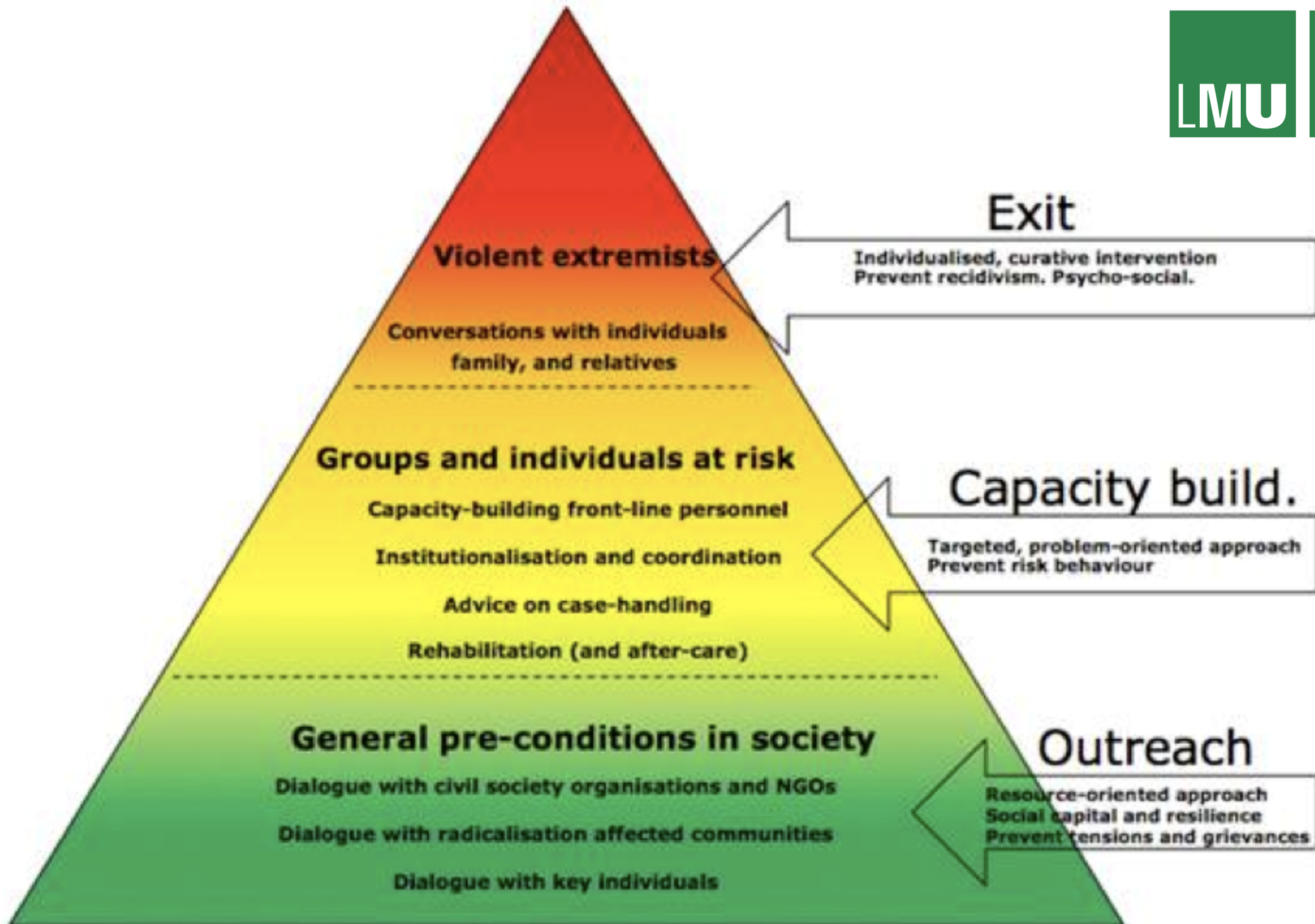
- (de)radicalisation
- (dis)engagement
- models of radicalisation (esp. in government work)
- pathways of radicalisation (Jensen, Seate, and James 2018)



- **radicalisation** (*change in belief*): process of connecting with and adopting radical or extremist ideology—does not necessarily result in violence or ‘engaging’ in extremist activity
- **engagement** (*change in behaviour*): (in this context) process or act of performing radical or extremist activity, especially violence
- **deradicalisation** (*change in belief*): “process by which an individual is diverted from an extremist ideology, eventually rejecting an extremist ideology and moderating their beliefs” (Gaudette, Scrivens, and Venkatesh 2022, 1)
- **disengagement** (*change in behaviour*): “process by which an individual decides to leave their associated extremist group or movement in order to reintegrate into society” (*Ibid.*)

Models of radicalisation (esp. in government work)





Commonalities in radicalisation models

- recognition of the **processual** nature of radicalisation
 - vulnerabilities and background factors
 - **cognitive opening**
 - recognition of some conditions as wrong
 - framing those conditions as unjust and justifying violent remedies
 - singling out specific responsibilities; demonisation of other
 - action
- implicitly: most in society *can become vulnerable* to radicalisation
- **prevent** and **counter** (P/CVE)

Commonalities in radicalisation models

- Bjørgo (2005) identifies...

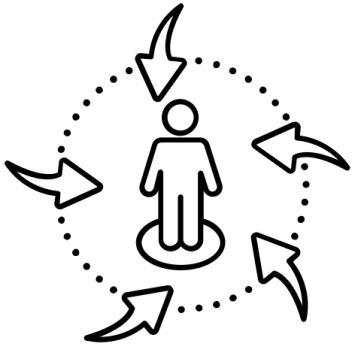
ideological activists, motivated by ideas; drifters and fellow travelers, seeking friendship; and frustrated youth with criminal records

key finding: **radicals tend to have normal personalities (pathologising is futile)**

Push/pull radicalisation factors

Push/pull radicalisation factors

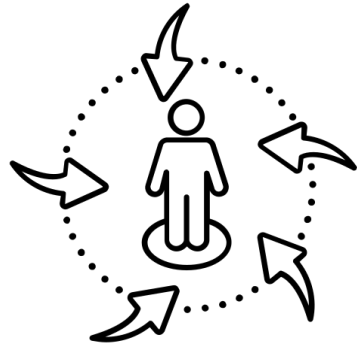
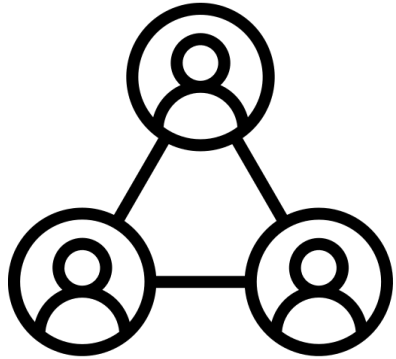
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Push/pull radicalisation factors

relational

external

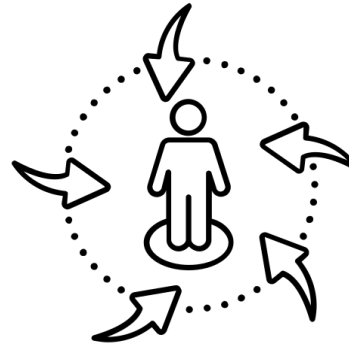
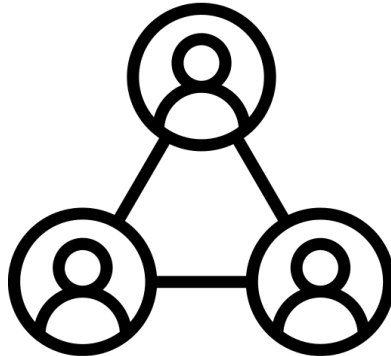


Push/pull radicalisation factors

identity

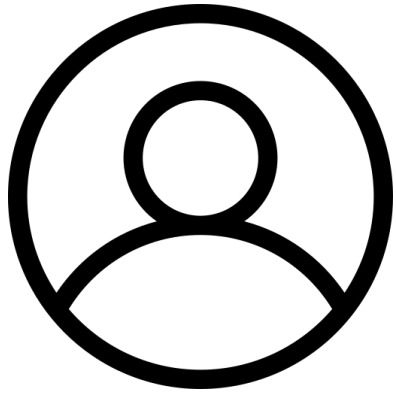
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Push/pull radicalisation factors

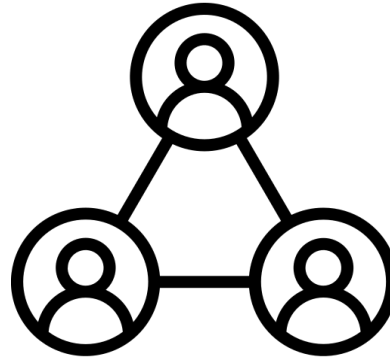
personal



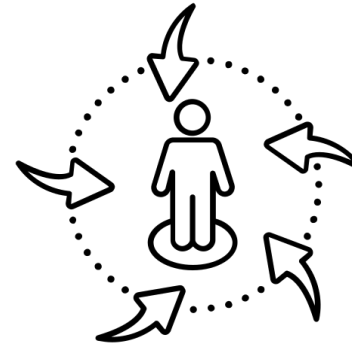
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relational

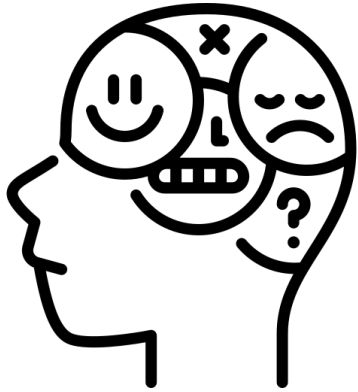


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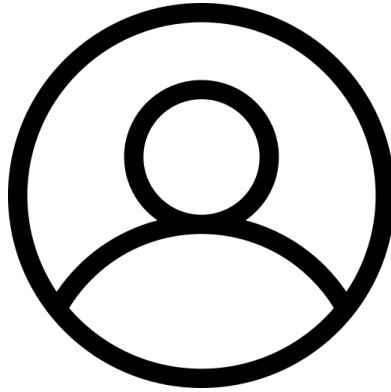


Push/pull radicalisation factors

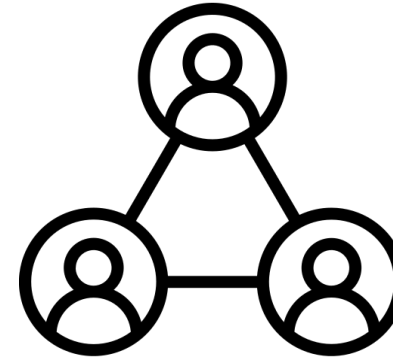
psychological personal



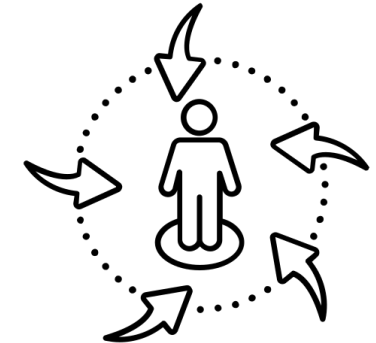
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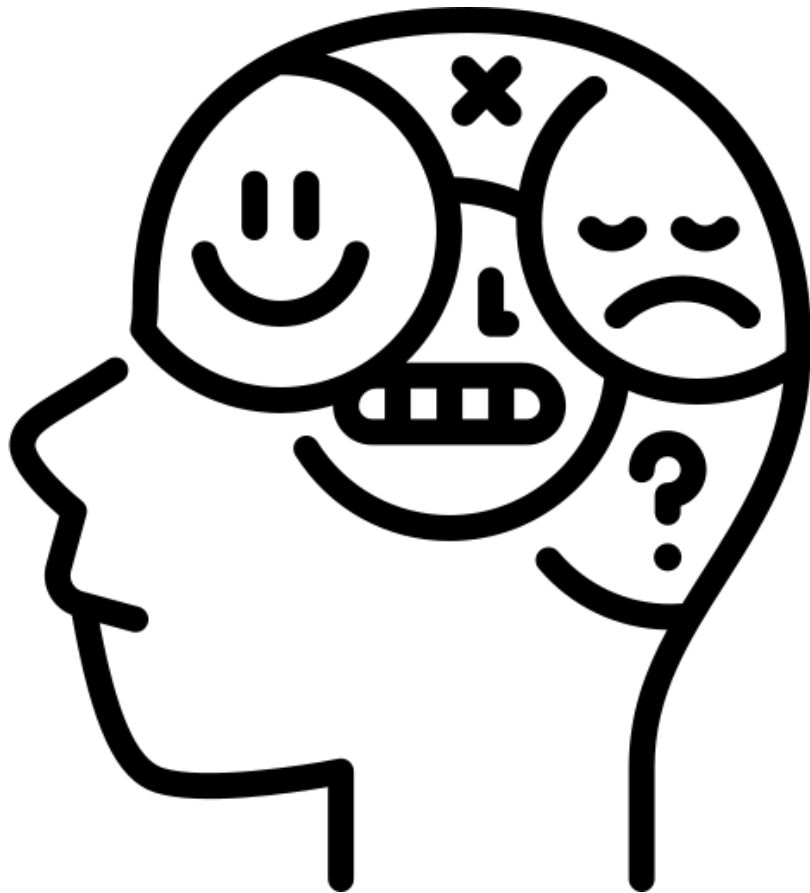


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Push/pull radicalisation factors - psychological

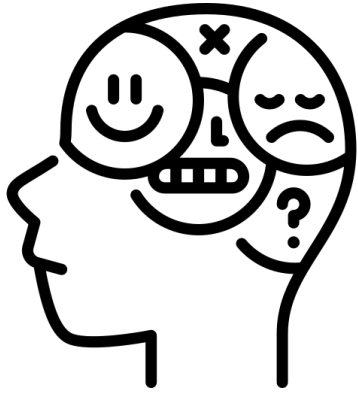
psychological



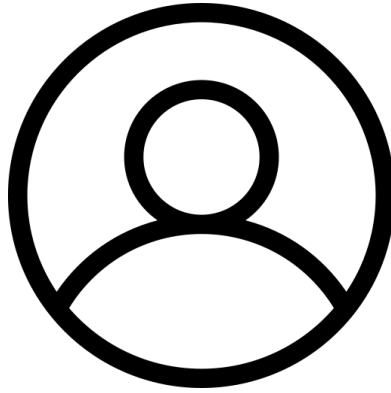
- cognitive, emotional frailties that threaten senses of self, identity, and belonging
 - cognitive, emotional **benefits** (perceived to be) received by adopting radical beliefs/actions
- crises/breakdowns – moments of acute vulnerability

Push/pull radicalisation factors

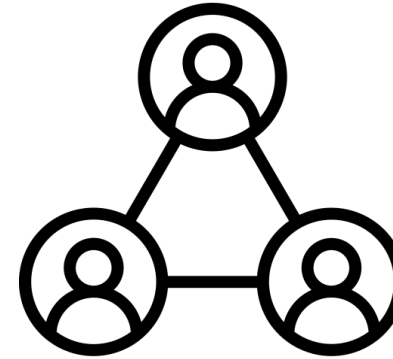
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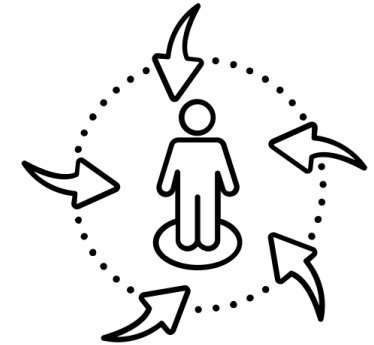
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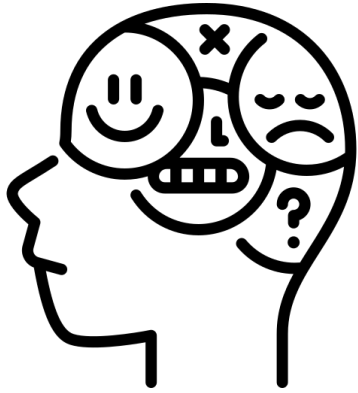
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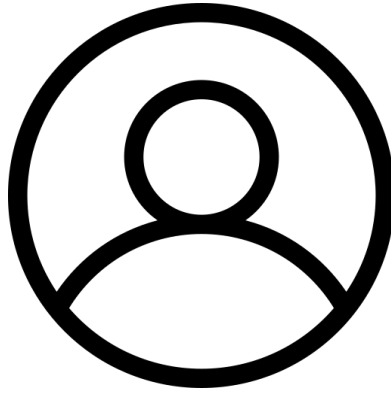
Push/pull radicalisation factors - personal

Push/pull radicalisation factors

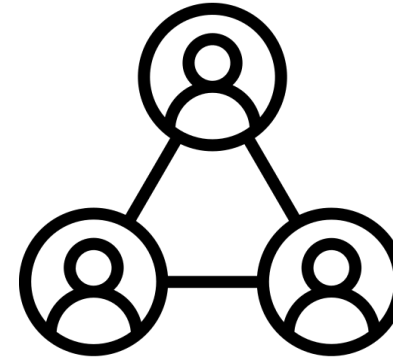
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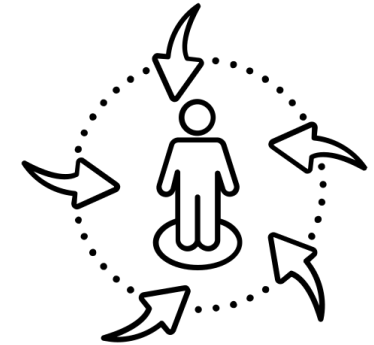
identity



relational



external



Push/pull radicalisation factors - identity

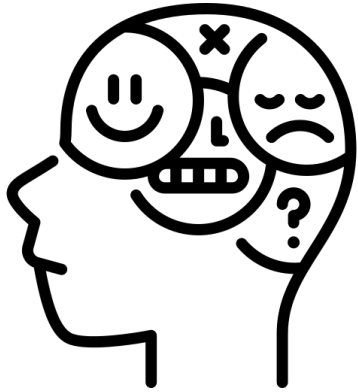
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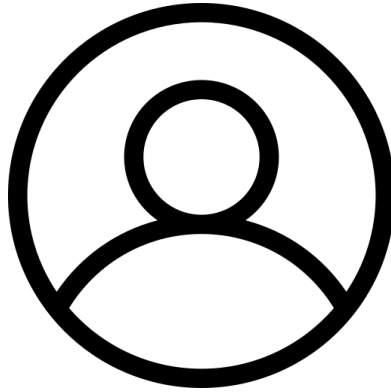
- social isolation (either self-imposed or imposed by external conditions)
 - possibility to join community
 - possibility of 'acquired identity'
- senses of exclusion, discrimination, **relative deprivation** due to characteristics or beliefs
 - gaining senses of belonging and solidarity

Push/pull radicalisation factors

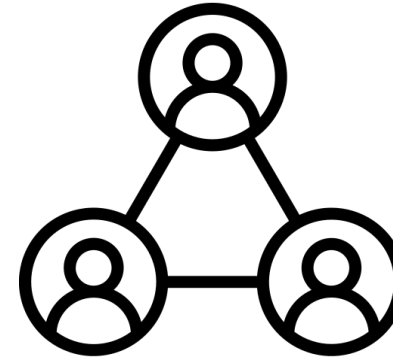
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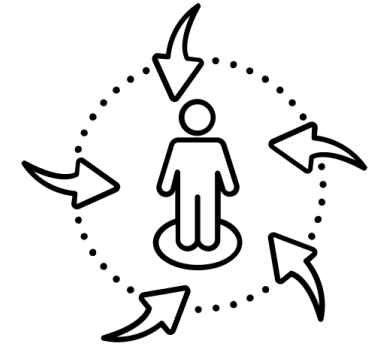
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relational

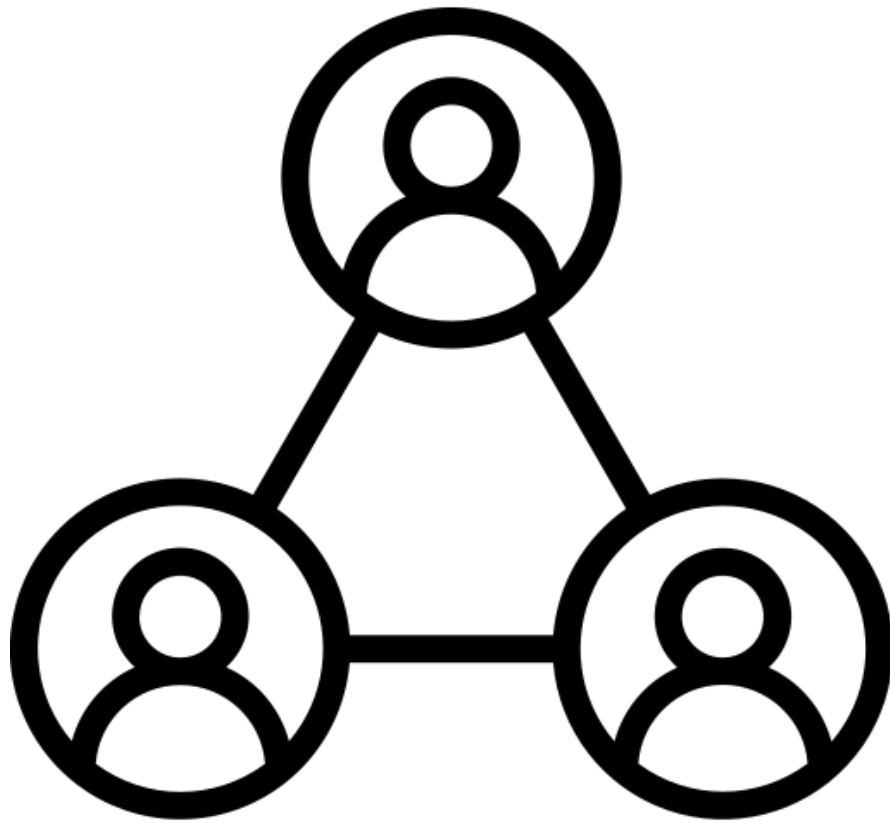


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Push/pull radicalisation factors - relational

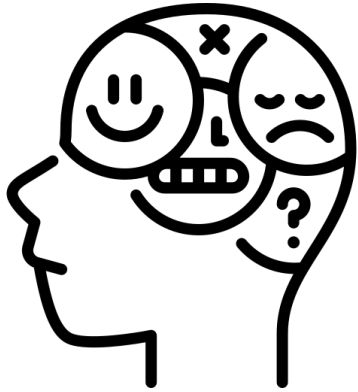
relational



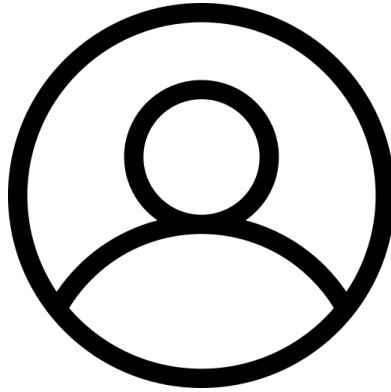
- alienation from family, friends (close interpersonal network)
 - contacts, possibility of building relations in radical milieu
- history of conflict, radical activism
 - **recruitment** by leaders/members of radical milieu
 - radicalising messages about **group norms** (beliefs, values, actions that are prototypical)
- community crisis: collective feelings of trouble, danger

Push/pull radicalisation factors

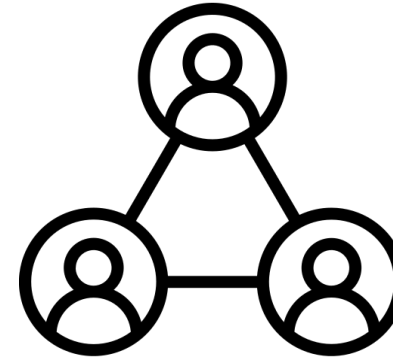
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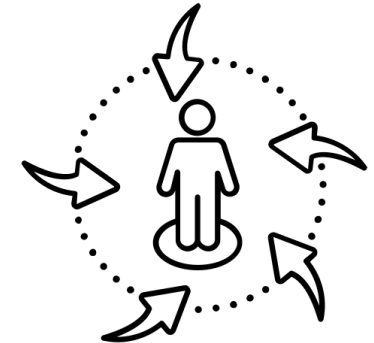
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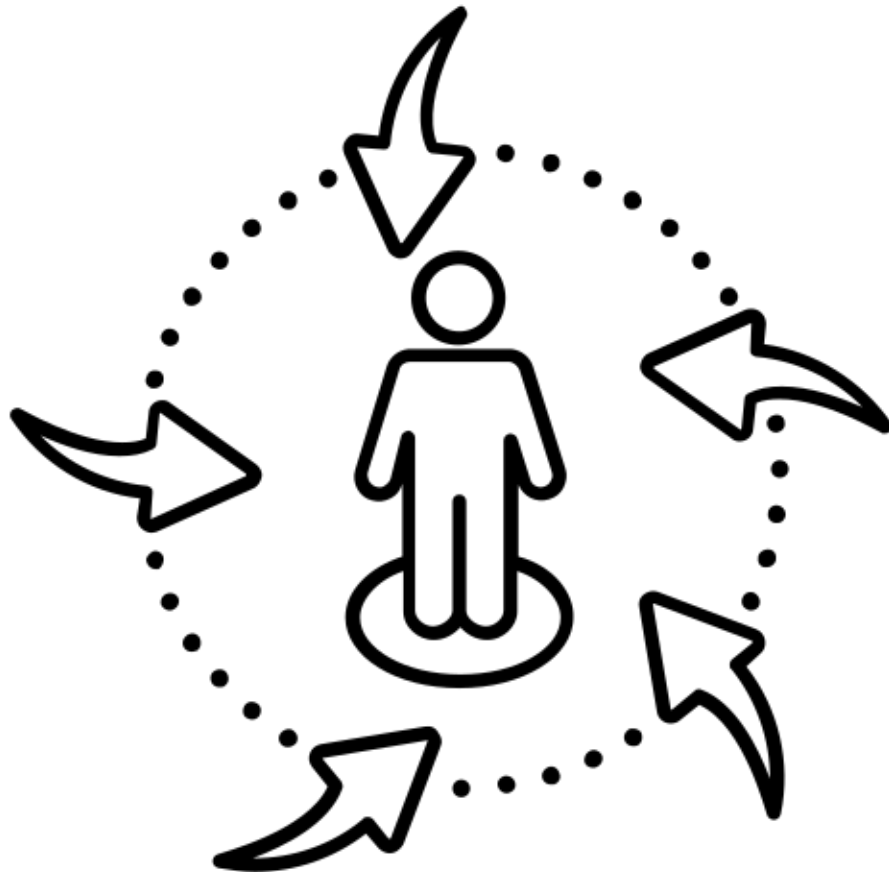


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Push/pull radicalisation factors - external

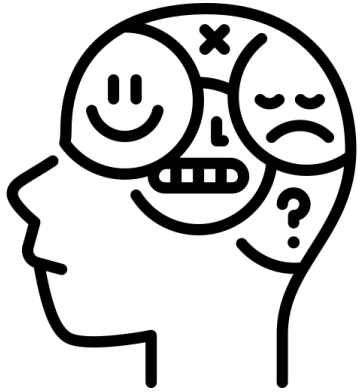
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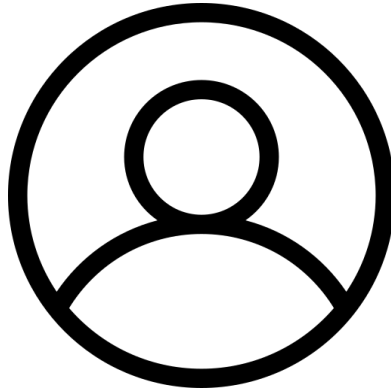
- **polarisation** in societies
- loss of trust in political institutions
- provocative action from state or social actors
- prevalent extremist discourse(s)
- accessibility of radical/extremist activism
- *many other possibilities*

Push/pull radicalisation factors

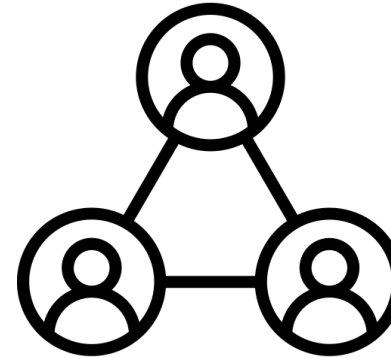
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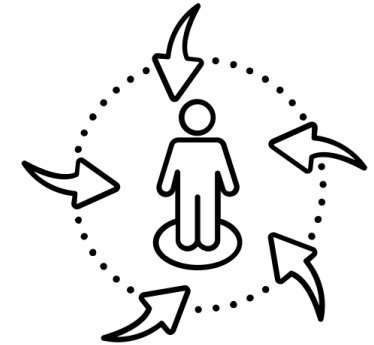
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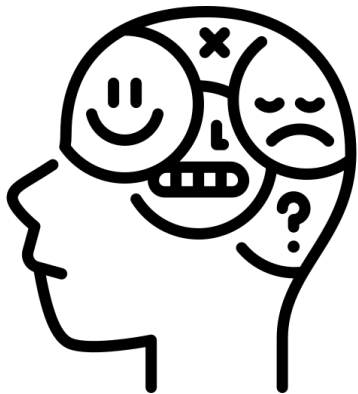
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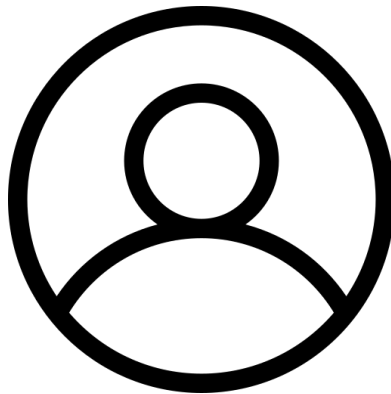
Push/pull radicalisation factors

See further in (e.g.) Campelo et al. (2018), della Porta (2018), Fahey and Simi (2019), Jensen, Seate, and James (2018), Vergani et al. (2018)

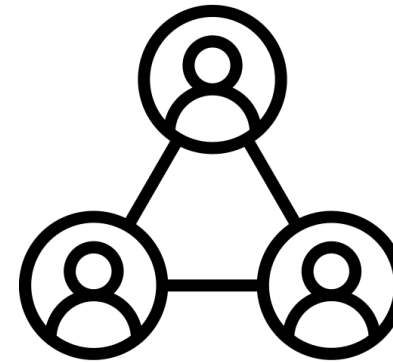
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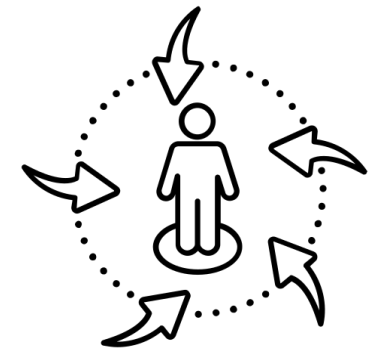
identity



relational



external



Radicalisation pathways (Fahey and Simi 2019)

- *RQ*: What are the **pathways** to ideologically motivated violence among a sample of North American-based right-wing extremists, largely white supremacists and neo-Nazis?
- *data*: 35 life history interviews (corroborated with open-source information)
- *method*: (crisp-set) qualitative comparative analysis (QCA)
 - **Outcome** (dependent variable): use of (planned/spontaneous) extremist violence

Radicalisation pathways - factors (Fahey and Simi 2016)

- prior property offences (*part of cognitive opening*)
- truancy (*weakening social stability*)
- delinquent peers (*relational influences*)
- family involvement in extremism (*relational influences*)
- lower/working class childhood (*possible manifestations in psychological, personal, identity factors*)
- academic failure (*personal crises*)

But...

Radicalisation pathways - factors (Fahey and Simi 2016)

- prior property offences (*part of cognitive opening*)
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- family involvement in extremism (*relational influences*)
- lower/working class childhood (*possible manifestations in psychological, personal, identity factors*)
- academic failure (*personal crises*)

But...

No support was garnered for the identification of distinct pathways of **homogeneous risk factors** among either sample of

Poll: tendencies of radicalisation



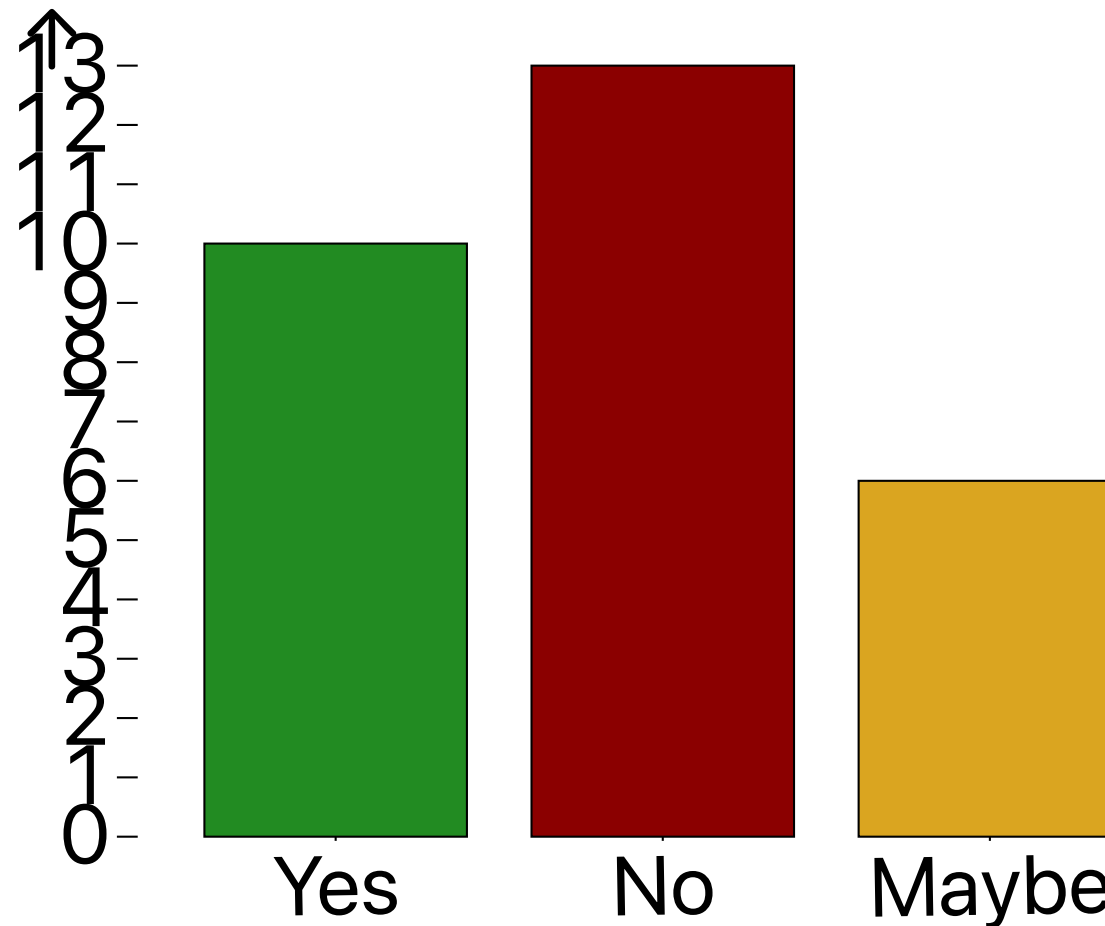
Take the survey at

<https://forms.gle/nqYxotpf7phB8fYP8>

- Is there a difference between how individuals radicalise depending on ideology?
- Are younger people more open/vulnerable to radicalisation?
- Has social media changed radicalisation processes?
- Can government programmes effectively deradicalise individuals?
- Should there be incentives for radical/extreme individuals to participate in deradicalisation programmes?

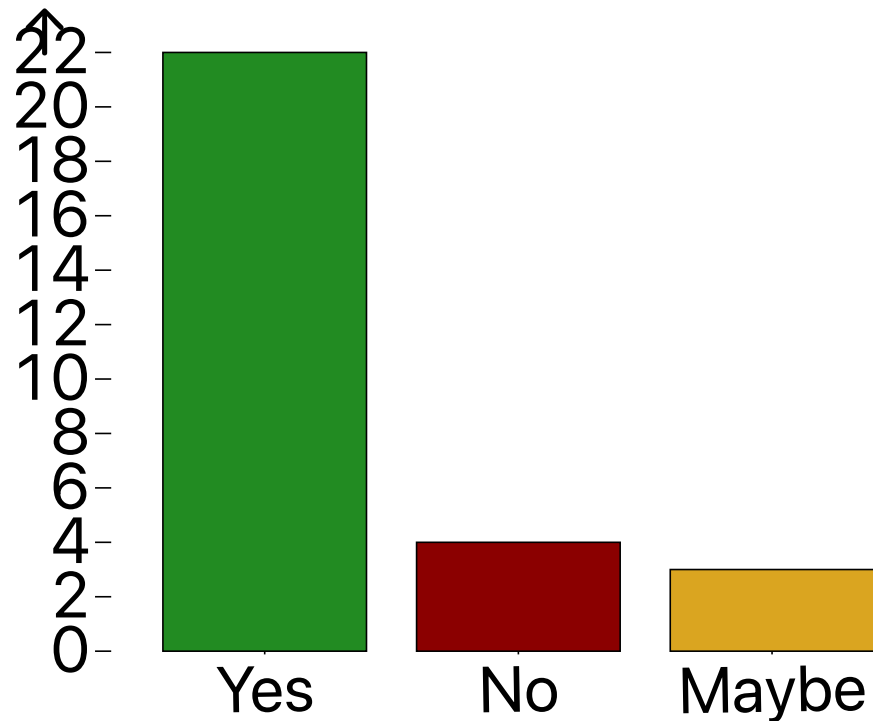
Poll results (Respondents: 29)

Is there a difference between how individuals radicalise depending on ideology?

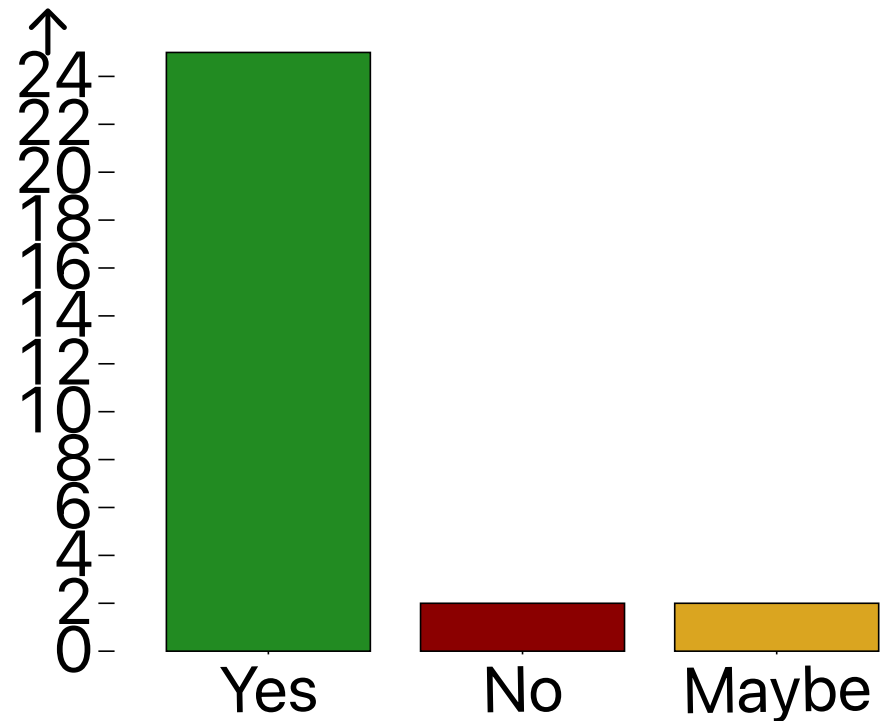


Poll: youth and social media

Younger more vulnerable to radicalisation?



Social media changing radicalisation?



Study snapshot: youth radicalisation

LMU

LUDWIG-
MAXIMILIANS-
UNIVERSITÄT
MÜNCHEN

Dr. Erin Saltman talk (until 8.00 mark)

Poll: intervention, incentives, emphasis

Why radicalisation fails

- Why Radicalization Fails: Barriers to Mass Casualty Terrorism (Simi and Windisch 2020)
- prevention
- resilience building
 - e.g., Demokratie Leben!



Barriers to terrorism (Simi and Windisch 2020)

RQs (p834):

What limits the larger pool of extremists who embrace an ideology but do not translate these beliefs into action? What types of conditions serve as barriers in the action pathway process? And, finally, how can the identification of these barriers help inform counterterrorism measures?

- concepts:

- **action pathways**: process of engaging in terrorism or extremist actions
- **barriers**: maybe but not necessarily segues to disengagement and/or deradicalisation
- **MCV**: mass casualty violence

Barriers to terrorism (Simi and Windisch 2020)

RQs (p834):

What limits the larger pool of extremists who embrace an ideology but do not translate these beliefs into action? What types of conditions serve as barriers in the action pathway process? And, finally, how can the identification of these barriers help inform counterterrorism measures?

- 34 former U.S. white supremacist extremists; life history interviews, conducted between 2012-2016
 - **exemplary data description** - take note for paper- and thesis-writing!

Methodological issue: 'negative cases'

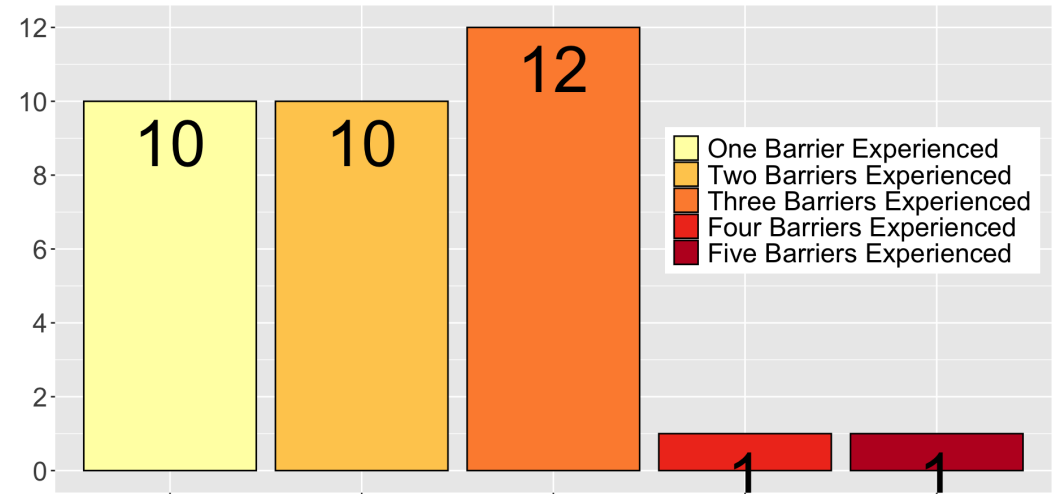
Simi and Windisch (2020, 833–34):

our sample represents an important step forward in terms of focusing on “negative cases.”

(for methods nerds, further on 'negative cases': Emigh 1997; Varshney 2001; Mahoney and Goertz 2004)

Barriers to terrorism - findings (Simi and Windisch 2014)

1. mass casualty violence as *counterproductive*;
2. preference toward *interpersonal violence*;
3. changes in *focus/availability*;
4. internal *organizational conflict*; and
5. *moral* apprehension



expanding on the findings (Simi and Windisch 2020)

p.839 (preference toward interpersonal violence):

They described **interpersonal violence as a masculine endeavor**, whereas, shooting or bombing people from a distance was considered dishonorable and unfair. As the following participants explained, compared to street fighting, using a gun expresses a lack of masculinity and physical prowess.

p.841 (changes in focus/availability):

The presence of personal obligations can be thought of as changes in “**biographical availability**” such as employment, marriage, and children. In all, thirteen participants (37 per cent) were identified as experiencing a change in focus and availability, which constrained the likelihood of MCV and shifted their attention toward personal obligations (e.g., children, work).

p.842 (internal organizational conflict):

A common reason for entering extremism is the **appeal of joining a higher moral cause** predicated on virtues such as loyalty, kinship, and purity.

Rune Ellefsen & Sveinung Sandberg (2022): Everyday Prevention of Radicalization: The Impacts of Family, Peer, and Police Intervention, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.

- (de)radicalisation actors in the example of Norway:
 - family
 - peers
 - police/security

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 - what about other actors?

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- (de)radicalisation actors in the example of Norway:
 - family
 - peers
 - police/security
 - what about other actors?
 - social workers
 - faith leaders
 - NGOs and community organisations

Radicalisation prevention - D.Rad programme

Resilience building, e.g., Demokratie Leben!

Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here:

<https://forms.gle/pisUmtmWdE13zMD58>

Alternatively, send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

References

- Campelo, Nicolas, Alice Oppetit, Françoise Neau, David Cohen, and Guillaume Bronsard. 2018. "Who Are the European Youths Willing to Engage in Radicalisation? A Multidisciplinary Review of Their Psychological and Social Profiles." *European Psychiatry* 52: 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eurpsy.2018.03.001>.
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- Emigh, Rebecca Jean. 1997. "The Power of Negative Thinking: The Use of Negative Case Methodology in the Development of Sociological Theory." *Theory and Society* 26 (5): 649–84.
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<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404041401>.

Schils, Nele, and Antoinette Verhage. 2017. "Understanding How and Why Young People Join Radical or Violent Extremist Groups." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 17. <https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/ijcv.473>.



Simi, Pete, and Steven Windisch. 2020. "Why Radicalization Fails: Barriers to Mass Casualty Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32 (4): 831–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2017.1409212>.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53 (3): 362–98.

Vergani, Matteo, Muhammad Iqbal, Ekin Ilbahar, and Greg Barton. 2018. "The Three Ps of Radicalization: Push, Pull and Personal. A Systematic Scoping Review of the Scientific Evidence about Radicalization Into Violent Extremism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 0 (0): 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1505686>.