# YOUNG PEOPLE'S TRAJECTORIES THROUGH RADICAL ISLAMIST MILIEUS

# Introduction



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**DARE: Dialogue about Radicalisation and Equality** 

# Young people's trajectories through Islamist milieus

### INTRODUCTION

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### **Executive Summary:**

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

### 1. Introduction

DARE

To study young people's trajectories through Islamist milieus, the DARE project adopted a case study approach. This approach is widely used, and accepted, within qualitative social research where no claim to 'representativeness' is made and, on the contrary, capturing the significance of the 'particular' is emphasised.

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

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

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

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





### 2. Research questions

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

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

These questions are rooted in a set of agreed definitions of 16 core concepts <sup>1</sup> setting out our understanding of e.g. 'radicalisation', 'non-radicalisation', 'self-radicalisation', '(perceived) inequality', 'milieu' and 'trajectories'.

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

### 3. Selection of cases

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The short versions of these concept descriptions are available on the DARE website at: <a href="http://www.dare-h2020.org/concepts.html">http://www.dare-h2020.org/concepts.html</a>. Longer, academically referenced concept notes for each of the concepts were shared internally within the Consortium.



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selection should also be a space of encounter with radical or extreme messages (via the presence in the milieu of recruiters, high receptivity to radical messages etc.). The extended concept notes on 'Islamism' and 'radical Islamism' guided researchers in selecting such milieus. Broadly speaking, 'Islamism' is understood as social or political activism centred on the position that Islamic principles should be the foundation of public life. 'Radical Islamism' was conceived of as a synonym for violent expressions of Islamism, most notably Jihadism. In practice, it was recognised that few actors understand themselves as holding explicitly 'Islamist' views. It is important to emphasise here the high degree of dissonance between how movements and ideologies are described exogenously and endogenously; indeed this was one of the questions for research in DARE. Thus, it was not a requirement that participants in milieus thought of the milieu as 'Islamist'; if this milieu or the movements or participants in it were considered as such in public discourse, then it was considered a potential milieu of study.

There was no requirement that the selected milieu be 'typical' of the country or that multiple milieus be included in order to cover the range of different forms that radicalisation takes. Rather the selected milieu should constitute a pertinent case in the country context and be sufficiently similar to other milieus in other country locations to allow the transnational synthesis of cases. This 'fit' with the descriptor of 'Islamist' or 'radical Islamist', while broad, nonetheless remained challenging given the geographic dispersion of the countries under investigation and the historical, demographical, economic, and political differences between the countries in which the field work was conducted. Since our target of study was milieus in which young people encountered Islamist messages, rather than individuals convicted of terrorism or hate-crime related offences, it also made the choice of possible milieus very wide. While no formal criterion for 'clustering' of cases was employed, a constant process of discussion of cases being considered for selection and communication between partners ensured that all cases met the criteria for selection but also had some point of connection with other cases.

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





### **Table 1 Selected milieu case studies**

Country	Case	Short description	
France	Trajectories of (non) radicalisation in a prison milieu	Islamist radicalisation is studied in the context of a French prison. Studying prisons is of particular interest because this space of confinement and deprivation of freedom engenders the desocialisation of individuals and the rupture of social and emotional ties. Prison is an environment in which extremist narratives are presented in both academic and public discourse as a potential way of responding to the needs and fears of individuals who are often fragile and trapped, for whom the failure of the social contract is self-evident.	
Germany	Urban Muslim and neo-Salafist culture in Germany	,	
Greece	Young Muslims in unofficial prayer places of Athens	The ethnographic research focuses on a central area of Athens where young Muslims attend, and communicate in, unofficial prayer places. The participants drawn from this milieu were young Muslims who were either born in Greece, who have lived in Greece for many years (10 or more) or who have converted to Islam in the last 2-3 years. In Greece, it is estimated that Muslims constitute from 5 to 10 per cent of the population with the vast majority concentrated in Athens. Although in the places studied here, there is a stable number of attendees, in many cases Muslims move around, praying in different locations.	
Turkey	Borderline Radicalisation in Turkey: Islamist Civil Society, Syrian War, Kurdish Question and the State	An eighteen months ethnographic field research was conducted between March 2015 and January 2018 in Istanbul, Bingöl, Mardin, Diyarbakır and a few other Kurdish cities across the Turkish-Syrian border and the periphery of the Kurdish region. The research design of the project began at the height of the ISIS's invasion of the Kurdish North Syrian town of Kobane in October 2014, and the report is concluded in October 2019, a few days after the execution of ISIS leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi following the Turkey's invasion of the	





		Kurdish territories in Northern Syria. The report is about youth's understanding, perception and reflection of radicalisation and provides enthnography-based analysis of what has been going on across the Turkish-Syrian borders and in Istanbul during this period.
Norway	Globalisation, identity and Islam – the case of radical Muslim youths in Norway	In Norway, the two Islamist groups that have been most active and present in the public arena are 'The Prophet's Ummah' and 'Islam Net'. Both groups have had some contact and connections with each other, and members have moved from one group to the other. The milieu chosen for this report consists of informants who mostly belong to the larger milieu that surrounds the cores of these groups, but who have had some connections to either The Prophet's Ummah, Islam Net or to both; people who have been insiders for a shorter or longer period; and people who have considered going to Syria, or have connections with other young people who have travelled to participate in Syrian conflict, either as combatants or through humanitarian work. The number of friends and acquaintances who had participated in the Syrian war varies from one up to ten. This very closeness – through knowledge, friendship, being part of a milieu – to people who had undertaken the drastic decision to engage in the Syrian war, enables analysis of the trajectories toward or away from an Islamist extremist positions and their reflections, drives and emotions around such processes.
Tunisia	Young people's trajectories through radical Islamist milieus: Tunis (Thadhamon), Bizerte, Menzel-Bourghiba	Research was conducted between 2018 and 2019 in three urban centres in northern Tunisia, in particular Thadhamon (a suburb of Tunis), Bizerte, and Menzel Bourguiba. The selected areas are most affected and threatened by terrorism. Moreover, each locality has a significant level of radicalisation among young people. The areas are also characterised by unemployment, lack of prospects, and poverty. The study focuses on the trajectories of young people aged 19 to 30 living in these areas.
Russian Federation	Urban second generation Muslims from the North Caucasus in St Petersburg and Moscow	The urban second generation refers to children and younger brothers of migrants from the villages of the North Caucasus republics (Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Karachay-Cherkessia, and Kabardino-Balkaria) who have settled in large cities. The main destination points for the migration are the large agglomerations of the North Caucasus and neighboring regions (Makhachkala, Rostov, Volgograd, Stavropol), Moscow and St. Petersburg, and the oil cities of the North (Tyumen, Surgut, Salekhard). In terms of religion, the milieu of investigation concerns the first generation of native Muslims





		born after the beginning of the (re)Islamisation of the North Caucasus, which was expressed in the rapid growth of religious Islamic institutions and the spontaneous desecularisation of everyday life. Compared to their parents and older relatives, who are predominantly adherents of traditional Sufi Islam, the urban second generation most often chooses 'new Islam' or Salafism. For this, studies, meetings of brothers and cousins, neighborhood community activities, and sports activities, are given special consideration.
The Netherlands	Islamist Radicalisation in the Netherlands	During the period of active research, individuals, groups, and organisations who were dealing with the issue of Islamist radicalisation in the Netherlands were approached. Whilst this does not suggest that all were sympathetic to the Islamist or Jihadist cause, all involved in the research have first-hand experience with the phenomenon. The initial intent was to focus foremost on the city of The Hague, and the area of the Schilderswijk in particular, as this area for the reasons outlined above has been described in the media as one of the most significant hotbeds of Islamist radicalisation in the Netherlands. Within the area, there is also a high concentration of potential vectors that could hypothetically contribute to the transmission of radical ideas. At the same time, the Netherlands is a small country with public transportation facilities that make other major cities, including Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, within an hour's reach of The Hague. Networks thus extend beyond city boundaries. Also, some have noted that heightened security vigilance has led the movement to settle elsewhere. As a result, the milieu identified is not specifically tied to the Schilderswijk nor The Hague. The research spans across the most urbanised, Western part of the Netherland to find an answer to our research questions.
UK	'Muslim street'	The street is one of at least six in the city of Birmingham (the UK's second largest city) that is conspicuous as a site of diaspora communities' settlement from former countries of the commonwealth in South Asia, as part of the post-war migration to the UK. The city is also home to the largest number of Muslims for any UK municipality. It is a young and emergent community, reflected in the burgeoning of commercial enterprises, formal and informal organisations that cater to the social needs of young Muslims. The street presented itself as a milieu, because it is an assemblage/constellation of actors and material infrastructure - mosques, cafes, shops, miscellaneous places of assembly - that gives rise to and also offers possibilities for social relations to emerge and crystallise. Muslim Street is not just the site of Muslim diaspora





		setting down, but of an emergent scene of Muslimness that also transforms public space and culture.
Belgium	Young descendants of Moroccan immigrants in Brussels	The research centres on a location in Brussels where a large proportion of young people descended from Moroccan immigrants live. They are familiar with the social problems marked by their relegation to the so-called "poor crescent" area, from which detainees who agreed to take part in the survey come. However, this is not a classic field of immersion in the long-term prison world. Rather, it is an immersion "under constraint" intended to deepen the analysis of individual trajectories in an environment that cannot be reduced to the prison, which goes from the inside to the outside and from the outside to the inside of the prison universe.

### 4. Research methods

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

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

### 4.1 Ethics and security

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

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

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





### 4.2 An ethnographic approach

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

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

### 4.3 Common skeleton interview schedule

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

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





### 4.4 Data pseudonymisation, storage and management

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

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

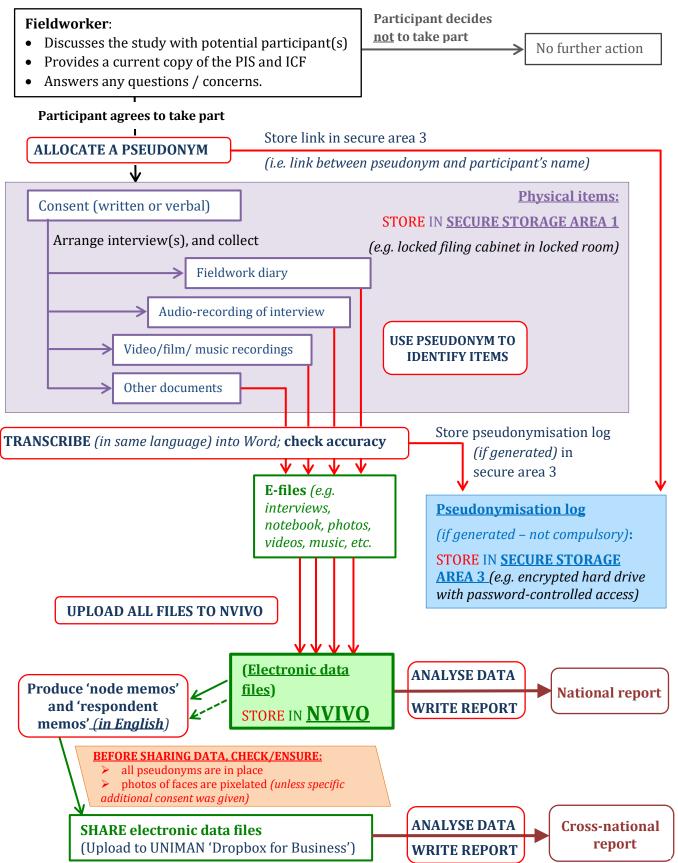
- Pseudonymisation of data (replacing original names of people, places and organisations with pseudonyms) was undertaken immediately after collection of data through the assignment of a pseudonym to any record of data collected from a participant and the storing of the record of relationship between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

Particular issues or problems encountered by teams – for example where naming of a town, city or organisation from which respondents were recruited – might lead to their identification, were discussed with the Ethics Sub-Committee. Advice given always prioritised the interests of the respondents.





Figure 1 Data management flowchart







### 4.5 Data analysis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This inductive coding was conducted in the languages of the interviews being coded. However, these Level 1 node names were subsequently translated into English to facilitate cross-national analysis.

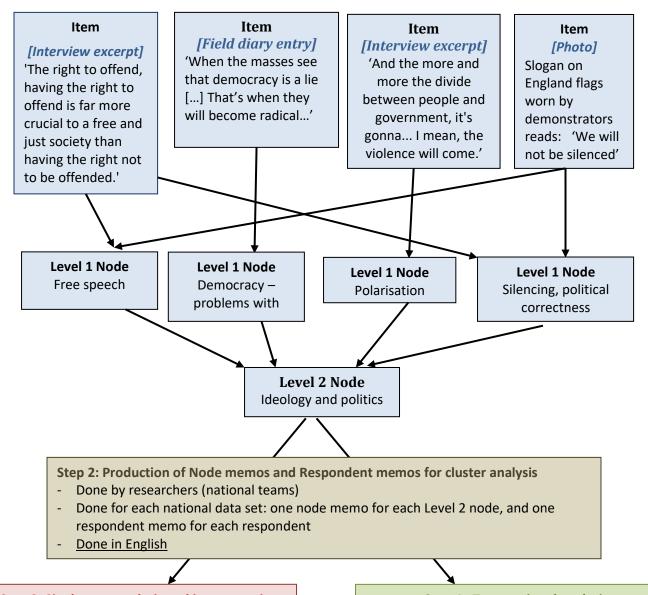




### Figure 2 Data analysis flow diagram

### Step 1: Coding

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



### Step 3: Single case analysis and interpretation

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

### Step 4: Transnational analysis

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





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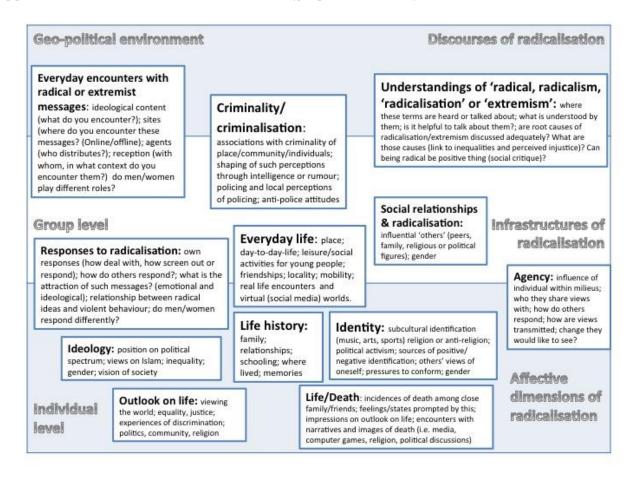
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# 6. Appendices

### Appendix 6. 1 Skeleton interview schedule (graphic overview)







## Appendix 6.2 Respondent memo template (with summary of socio-demographic data)

### **DARE Respondent Memo (template)**

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

Pseudonym	
Age	
Gender	
Education	
Employment	
Residential Status	
Family Status	
Number people in household	
Number of own children	
Number of sisters	
Number of brothers	
Ethnicity	
Country of birth	
Religion	
Religiosity	

Reflections on interview context and process (where these are potentially relevant to the interpretation of data)





### Anything else deemed relevant, but not recorded elsewhere

### For example:

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





# Appendix 6. 3 Skeleton coding tree

No.	Level 2 node name	Level 2 node description	Example of kind of level 1 nodes that might fit in this Level 2 node
1	Parents/family	Family/parents' status, experiences	Parents' employment
	background	and being in the world	Parents' education, achievements
			Parents' experiences of place where they live, housing
			Parents' experience with authorities
			Parents' experience of discrimination
			Parents' traumas, war, refuge, losses, critical events in the past
			Parents' dreams for the future,
			Siblings' employment, education, experiences (as per above)
2	Familial relationships	Experience of family life or life in care	Respondent's relationship with parents, siblings, grandparents, carers
	[draws on Life history and		Styles and ethos of upbringing/parenting,
	Social relationships from		
	interview scenario]		
3	Growing up	Biographical experiences of growing	Memories - good experiences and bad experiences, funny events
		up	Critical moments
			Childhood fears, fantasies,
			Reflections on self (self-esteem, 'type' of child etc.)
4	Education	Biographical experiences of and	Educational achievements
		trajectory through education	Kind of school/higher education attended
			Problems at school, supporting/good teachers, problematic/bad teachers,
			Stigma
			Dropping out
			Critical events
5	Employment and training	Biographical experiences of	Employment prospects – getting a job and dead end jobs
		employment and training	Experiences of employment
			Unemployment
			Training, level and experience
6	Intimate valetienships	Diagraphical experiences of laws	Important achievements, Own money
6	Intimate relationships	Biographical experiences of love,	Good experiences, bad experiences,
		sexuality, gender,	discovering sexuality, feeling different, provoked by or identifying with
			alternative sexualities, parental pressure,
			having a baby,
			marriage, fears, fancies, critical events





7	Peer and friendship relationships	Biographical experiences of friendship and peer relations	Making friends Losing friends, Friends of different backgrounds, Friends from same background
			Designation of in-group
8	Conflictual relationships	Biographical experiences of conflicts with 'out groups'  [n.b. Where these 'enemies' and outgroups are ideological, they are coded separately as 'Ideologised enemies' (see below)	Designation of non-ideological 'out groups' References to local level (non-ideological) 'enemies' and conflicts Conflictual relationships with state, authorities, welfare office, police, societal authorities, religious authorities
9	Networks of radicalisation	Trajectories of joining or forming a group, maintaining a group, trajectories of leaving or dissolving a group or network, influence of individual within milieus, how are views transmitted	Motivations, steps, events and developmental processes in the formations of a group or network of some sort of formal organisation. What attracts? What prevents?
10	Everyday life	Leisure interests and practices, youth cultural affiliation (music, film, tv programmes, dance, animals, sports, drugs, food, style), locality, mobility, social media and personal encounters in everyday life	Preferences and practices within music, dance, films, games, sports, animals, drugs, clothing, hairstyle, food which reflect social position, political position and/or demonstrate coolness, uncoolness or solidarity with group Mobility and travel Migration
11	Outlook on life	Views on the world, biographical experiences of injustice, feelings of anger, existential wonder, existential despair	View on the world past and present, own and significant others' experiences of injustice, expressions of existential wonder, existential despair, doubt, faith, anger, regrets, critical events
12	Dreams, ideals and utopias	Personal or group level expressions of dreams of ideal society, situations, happiness, goals aiming for, items to possess,	Expressions of dreams and utopias, and the development towards these ideals, from which agents (people, texts, situations, films, narratives) have they come/developed?, experiences of glimpses of these ideals, and the longing for them, inspirations for them, fantasies about them, what nurtures them?





13	Death	Views on death and the meaning of	Death or death-related experiences by ego or significant others,
		life and death	Death as existential fact,
			What is – if something is - worth dying for
14	Future	Expressions of hopes and fears for	Expressions of hopes and fears and fantasies and directions – what goals do
		the future, imaginations of the future	we work for – for the future? In what ways will, or do we want the future to
		_	be different from the present or the past?
15	Ideology and politics	Relationship to politics, and injustice	Emotional reactions to perceived injustice,
		caused by political systems or actors	Reflections on how to obtain change,
			Feelings of disrespect, being humiliated, being under attack (by whom), Good
			or bad politicians,
			Critical events and critical structures in global, national and local politics,
			Ideal political system, views on, democracy, authoritarianism, theocracy,
			Justified use of violence,
			Political role of religion,
			Views on the radicalisation of the state,
			Views on gender, feminism, immigration, race,
			Morality and immorality
16	Ideologised enemies, their	Perceptions of and experiences with	Expressions and images of enemies and their perceived attributes and aims,
	attributes	ideologised enemies and their	what provokes
		perceived attributes and aims	Fantasies,
			Conspiracy theories,
			Concrete experiences, encounters, critical events,
			Perceived differences
17	Identity.1.	Trajectories of personal and group	Experiences of having/developing an identity as an individual, a group,
	Ethnicity	experiences of	community, vulnerability, being under attack, strength, weakness, conflicts
		identity/identifications	with others, demand for respect, identity markers, identity changes, how
			does it feel to be you?
18	Identity 2.	As above	Identity related expressions and experiences of gender and sexuality: being a
	Gender and sexuality		woman, a man, gay, trans, stigmatisation, dis/respect, stereotypes, the 'male,
			Muslim monster', 'the white, liberal chick'
19	Identity 3.	As above	Experiences of poverty, unemployment, social mobility (or lack of), dreams of
	Class		affluence and special items, needs, stigmatisations, dis/respect
			'living in the slum, the ghetto, the dangerous zone, the no-go areas'. Fears of
			'the slum, the ghetto, dangerous, no-go areas'.





20	Religion	Biographical experiences and views related to religion	Religions' role in different life phases, feeling of (existential) importance, relevance, comfort, transcendence, moral guidelines, experiences of discrimination, suspicion, fear of other's religion, threats, alienation to, relationship to religious authorities or agents, critical events, turning points
21	Stigmatisation/representa tions of 'us' [Negative identity attribution]	Personal experience of feeling stigmatised, or as part of a group. Representations and counter representations in the media, and by political and societal authorities	Refused entrance to attractive arenas, jobs, bad glances, hate speech, bad glances, racism, poverty, stigma of the place, critical events. Feelings, reactions to and experiences of negative (or positive) representations, humiliation, dis/respect, victimisation, us versus them, unjust/wrong images, critical events
22	Criminality	Experiences of being involved in crime, as a victim, offender, or 'gainer'	Experiences of becoming involved in crime, as victim offender, or 'gainer', and the ideologies, legitimisations and reflections around them, motivations and consequences, what attracts? What prevents? Relations to politics, religion, thrills, style?
23	Kicks, thrills and sensory stimuli	Experiences of kicks, thrills and sensory stimuli	Experiences or longings for kicks, thrills and sensory stimuli in various actions (fighting, physicality, excitement, rhythm, demos, feeling of community, oneness, strength, being dangerous, creating fear, obtaining coolness, sexuality, intoxications with or without drugs, feeling power). Expressions of attractive or non-wanted sensory stimuli (smells, touch, visuals, tastes)
24	Understandings of 'radicalism', 'extremism' and 'terrorism' etc.	Where these terms heard or talked about, how understood, what causes are attributed, is being radical a positive thing?	Who is labelled as 'radical', 'terrorist', 'extremist' etc.? Labels and counter labels. What do these terms mean and cover? Who is labelling whom? Rhetorical use of these terms How are these terms understood?
25	Encounters with radical messages	Online and offline encounters, sites and agents, content, context of reception	Social media use Impact of shutting down of websites, social media pages etc. Sites and contexts of encounters Contexts of reception
26	Responses to radicalisation	Own responses, responses of others, violence and thresholds	Un/coolness of radicalisation and radicals, support of the case but not the means, feelings of heroism, of doing the necessary, fulfilling religious and ideological obligations, support or refusing of violence, support (or non-) of violence, legitimising injustice and humiliation,

Key: Nodes are colour coded to reflect the key themes from interview scenario: Everyday encounters with radical messages; Criminality;

Understandings of 'radical' etc.; Responses to radicalisation; Everyday life; Social relationships; Ideology; Life history; Identity.