

HCSS Security

## Measuring the Impact of the Lifestory Approach on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism

---

*Dr. Arlinda Rrustemi<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Embassy of the United States in Northern Macedonia for supporting the project on “Countering Radicalisation through Lifestories.” I would also like to thank Prof. dr. Rob de Wijk for his insightful comments.

## Table of Contents

Introduction	3
I: Impact Measurement through Interviews	3
II: Impact Measurement through Ethnographic Observations and Leaflets	7
III: Impact Measurement through Questionnaires	8
Stakeholder identification	13
Evaluation framework	13
General requirements	14
Section implementation	15
Connection with the rest of survey	17
Background	18
Baseline measurement	18
Evaluation framework	18
Stigmatization dimension	18
Support for violent extremism dimension	18
Section requirements	20
Stigmatization dimension	20
Support for violent extremism dimension	20
Section implementation	21
Stigmatization dimension	21
Support for violent extremism dimension	22
Measurement	24
Evaluation framework	24
Stigmatization dimension	24
Support for violent extremism dimension	25
Section requirements	26
Stigmatization dimension	26
Support for violent extremism dimension	26
Section implementation	26
Stigmatization dimension	26
Support for violent extremism dimension	29
IV: Impact Measurement through Project Activities Reception	31
Conclusion	31
Bibliography	33
Annex I: Beck's Hopelessness Scale (BHS)	36
Annex II: Questionnaire Measuring the Impact of Lifestories	38
Stigmatization dimension	39
Violent extremism dimension	39
Stigmatization dimension	40
Violent extremism dimension	41

## Introduction

This report outlines the general methodology for assessing countering and preventing violent extremism efforts through the lifestories approach, which includes the targets as well as the measurement tools used to assess the impact of the lifestory approach.

The lifestories approach uses short videos of citizens telling their stories. Because audio and video are persuasive formats for information dissemination, they are crucial to countering and preventing violence. Even more crucial, in the coming age of post-truth, deep fakes, and disinformation warfare, having lifestory videos on the open internet based on authentic emotional stories becomes essential. Persuasion from an audio and video recording of an event, when agreements on facts is difficult, is considered to bring clarity. Even though, in the past, the likelihood of individuals listening to counter and alternative narratives was low, they still remained relevant as there are high risks in allowing a monopoly on the news by one side, perpetrators, among the targeted communities. Therefore, even though lifestories have not generally been used in the context of P/CVE in the short format, they arguably represent a socially innovative approach to countering violence. The main aim of the lifestories approach is to use lifestory videos (1-2 min.) of directly affected individuals, such as former violent extremists, family members, friends, and community observers, to prevent and counter violent extremism (religious and far right), strengthen reintegration, and support destigmatization. Thus, lifestories aim to create a societal impact and inform policy-making by engaging both the citizens and policymakers on these themes. Therefore, they have the potential to bridge the gap between citizens and policymakers.

During WWII, a satirical program on the radio discussing common sense and everyday life contradictions was used even though the likelihood was low for someone to risk their lives and listen. Nevertheless, these types of programs were used to remove the monopoly on Nazi news even though back then radio was new and the British broadcasters were unequipped to do counter propaganda. Questions regarding effectiveness were raised even back then: “Could these programmes really have any effect? Could satire be used as a weapon that would convert Germans to the British viewpoint and make them long for an end to war? Was it even appropriate?” The same questions are asked today on countering propaganda (i.e., ISIS). Back then, radio was believed to at least ease the tension. The listeners reported the program had saved people from suicide, had prevented people from becoming complicit, and had reminded people what is to be human. Thus, even if it did not reach many people, it provided comfort to those it *did* reach, and is therefore regarded as one of the successes of that period. A similar logic applies to lifestory narratives within P/CVE. Nowadays, a video has a higher chance of reaching more people and lifestories of transferring more emotions than radio. Even neither the relationship between viewing extremist content and actually engaging in violent extremism is not clear, nor the relationship between viewing counter/alternative

narratives and resilience, disengagement and deradicalization is not clear, it is important to offer alternatives to targeted communities.

Therefore, measuring the effectiveness of initiatives geared towards countering and preventing (non-) violent extremism as a category remains a key question for academics and practitioners alike. Many studies suggest that there is no common understanding on what works and what does not work on P/CVE. Some critical academics and journalists highlight the weak evidence of the effectiveness of P/CVE interventions due to (i) *unclear design* of the program (outcomes/measurables), (ii) the *measurement process*, (iii) difficulties quantifying the impact of the outcomes, (iv) *cost efficiency* of P/CVE programs, and lastly, (v) deception from participants in P/CVE programs.

Initiatives like IMPACT Europe were established to improve the evaluation of preventing and countering radicalization efforts and to share the experience from countering violent extremism (CVE) interventions. However, upon examination of the IMPACT database, it becomes clear that most of the “prevention” interventions on a community level (e.g., of the religious community) have exhibited *weak “evidence of effectiveness.”* At the beginning stage of each P/CVE program, outcomes/measurables are often unclear. This creates difficulties in measuring the impact but also in quantifying the impact. Sometimes the dissemination strategy may not have been well prepared in advance. For example, the Dutch Terrorism National Security Coordinator issued a movie with counter narratives while journalists exposed the donor, which had a counter impact on the community. In North Macedonia, process-oriented criticism was uncovered. The *tools used to measure impact* (written questionnaire or oral/ethnography) are important in oral and sometimes illiterate communities. In this case, questionnaires were distributed to directly affected individuals (i.e., family members of deceased or violent extremists) to measure the effectiveness of an international program. This method neglected the local context, such as illiteracy, partial education, the oral community, fears surrounding the topic, and so on. This illustrates that the impact of the P/CVE program cannot always be quantifiable per the donor-driven program’s request as it can harm the P/CVE programs and the willingness of the local community to participate in such programs in the long run. Moreover, criticism has been raised over the *high expenditures* on violent extremism-related programs in the Netherlands and the conflict of interest and breach of duty on the part of employees in Amsterdam. Due to the lack of effectiveness of these types of programs, calls for a review of the current policies on P/CVE programs are being made.

Some recommendations are also formulated by the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN). According to RAN, it is important to understand what the *outcomes/measurables* are. The content should be market-tested with different segments of the target audience through an *iterative process*. This reflects the state of P/CVE programs that need emerging methodologies, *trial and error*. Hence, learning is crucial for P/CVE programs in order to have an impact in a sustainable way. It is also recommended to have *monitoring and*

*evaluation* components from the start which can be adjusted if necessary. Measuring success of counter messaging depends on the *scale* and *quality* proportional to the challenge. The success should be measured also at a *tactical level* and should be used to inform the *delivery* and impact of individual campaigns.

The following sections describe the tools that can be used to measure the impact of the lifestory approach/videos on P/CVE. The measurement is based on a mixed methods approach - qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative methods are employed to uncover the local, contextual impact and the effect of the lifestories from the citizens' and policymakers' perspectives, whereas the quantitative methods assessing attitude changes before and after watching lifestory videos are employed to complement the aforementioned method and online indicators. Qualitatively, the approach employs the lifestory interviews (which are conducted for research purposes as well), ethnographic observations during workshops, interviews, and the distribution of leaflets, whilst quantitatively it employs questionnaires (which are distributed to participants before and after watching the lifestory videos) and online indicators found in various internet platforms. The reception of project activities is also reported. All these tools may indicate an overall effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the lifestories approach.



INTERVIEWS



LEAFLETS



ETHNOGRAPHIES



QUESTIONNAIRES



PROJECT ACTIVITIES  
RECEPTION



ONLINE INDICATORS

### Impact Measurement Tools: Mixed Methods Approach

The following section outlines how interviews are used for impact measurement of the lifestories approach.

#### I: Impact Measurement through Interviews

This section will explain how we use interviews to measure lifestories' impact on P/CVE. The qualitative interview technique, lifestories, has important benefits for the

interviewees<sup>2</sup> as it can positively impact the interviewees participating in the study. Lifestories have transformative powers as they urge participants to understand themselves subjectively, but also objectively, and understand the environments they are situated in. Sometimes, new responsibilities emerge from the realizations that occur during the lifestory interview.<sup>3</sup> Lifestories are used as interventions in psychology to strengthen the patient's identity. More specifically, the patients reported an increased sense of identity after telling their lifestories, resulting in raised self-esteem, self-integration, improved life quality, and changed behavior.<sup>4</sup> In addition, lifestories are reported to increase citizens' collaboration and contribute to their empowerment, where personal and social change occurs.<sup>5</sup> Thus, lifestories have a transformative power for the storyteller/interviewee.

Since some of the factors leading to violent extremism on a personal level are exclusion, social isolation, discrimination, a challenging home or school situation, and a search for identity and injustice in the world,<sup>6</sup> then the lifestory interview can contribute to an increased sense of belonging and identity due to the realizations that can occur during the interview. On disengagement or deradicalization, it is assumed that the violent extremist's identity, identity strength, and identity change at the personal and social levels are crucial in facilitating these processes.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, one of the objectives of counter-radicalization is the empowerment of community leaders and moderate individuals to speak up against violent extremists.<sup>8</sup> Thus, lifestories might contribute to interviewees speaking up. For example, identity and belonging have been key factors leading to violent extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>9</sup> Thus, since lifestories have the potential to increase the identity of the targeted communities, they may be successfully used to alleviate the security challenges in P/CVE.

The impact of the lifestory interview on the interviewee (and P/CVE) will be measured at the end of the interview. The interviewee will be asked an open-ended question regarding how they experienced the interview, whether it benefited them, and if so - how? The negative and positive reactions will be catalogued and subsequently quantified in order to visualize the impact in a word cloud to facilitate a deeper understanding of the lifestory interviews' impact on the interviewees.

Moreover, the following criteria will be used as well for measurement of the impact of the lifestory interviews through reporting the numbers of interviews: one to one, then the number of video creations, then the amount of video dissemination, either one to one, or via the following platforms, YouTube, Google, website, social media (Twitter,

<sup>2</sup> Atkinson, Paul, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland, and Lyn Lofland. *Handbook of Ethnography*. Sage, 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Atkinson, Robert. *The Life Story Interview*. Sage, 1998.

<sup>4</sup> I. Moos and A. Bjorn, "Use of the Life Story in the Institutional Care of People with Dementia: A Review of Intervention Studies," *Ageing and Society* 26, no. 431–454 (n.d.).

<sup>5</sup> Anatol Rapoport, *The Origins of Violence : Approaches to the Study of Conflict* (New York: Paragon House, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Sieckelinc Stijn et al., "Transitional Journeys Into and Out of Extremism. A Biographical Approach," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 42, no. 7 (March 7, 2019): 662–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1407075>.

<sup>7</sup> Neil Ferguson, "Disengaging from Terrorism: A Northern Irish Experience," *Journal for Deradicalization* 6 (March 1, 2016): 1–23.

<sup>8</sup> Alex P. Schmid, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review," *ICCT Research Papers*, n.d., <https://doi.org/10.19165/2013.1.02>.

<sup>9</sup> Edina Becirevic, "Countering and Preventing Extremism in BiH: Learning from International Efforts," *Western Balkans Extremism Research Forum*, September 2018, 9.

Facebook, Instagram, Viber, WhatsApp), TV, radio, schools, youth or other community centers, workshops, conferences, and advertisements. The number of times the lifestory videos are retold in the community based on the community reports will be used as well.

The lifestory videos will also use quantitative data to measure the impact of the lifestories approach. The quantitative side of the impact will mostly be measured through online indicators. These indicators vary, such as the number of clicks, likes, views, shares, length of view, and generation of comments (which will be analyzed quantitatively), the number of redirected users (Google, YouTube, Microsoft), and the number of users in the lifestories database/website via Google Analytics. These online indicators are useful in analyzing the impact of the lifestory videos since they can give an insight into the amount of people reached and, through comment analysis, also into their reactions. Additionally, it can be seen which (part of) stories appeal to the viewers based on their view time, and this can be compared to the data Google provides on these users (upon collaboration with Google). This makes this dimension of impact measurement particularly useful. Given the potentially far reach of the lifestory videos, online indicators are best suited for measuring impact in areas with high internet coverage.

Now, we turn to the next section outlining the second and the third tool for measuring impact, ethnographic observations and leaflets, while discussing the rationale behind their usage in the processes of countering and preventing violent extremism.

## **II: Impact Measurement through Ethnographic Observations and Leaflets**

Qualitative analysis derived from ethnographic notes taken during the interviews, meetings, workshops, and conferences where the lifestories and videos are shown and discussed will be captured and used to evaluate the impact of the lifestories. The benefit of employing ethnographic research in this context is that it can be more comprehensive, as it catalogues people's explicit reactions and their implicit reactions. It is an unobtrusive technique and can take the specific context into account. An additional benefit is that it can capture dimensions of a situation that surveys cannot, as some people will be hesitant to share certain kinds of information, especially on sensitive topics such as countering and preventing violent extremism.

Ethnographic research takes a cultural lens to study people's lives within their native communities.<sup>10</sup> Stemming from the branch of anthropology, ethnography focuses on studying different social and cultural aspects through immersion in a community. Such research is often lengthy and takes multiple years, and sometimes decades, to complete. Its aim is to observe and analyze how individuals interact between themselves, within and with their environment, for the purposes of understanding their culture.<sup>11</sup> A key feature of ethnographic research is the deep understanding of one's community and culture from an insider perspective. Such research provides for the collection of firsthand experience, having close ties to the particular community, field, or culture being researched, and

<sup>10</sup> Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 3. ed (London: Routledge, 2007).

D.M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step-by-Step Guide*, 3rd Edition (Los Angeles: 3rd Edition, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> Palvi Eriksson and Anne Kovalainen, *Qualitative Methods in Business Research* (SAGE, 2008), <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857028044>.

provides for an understanding of ingrained practices that might be unrecognizable to an outsider.

Stemming from other studies on deviance<sup>12</sup>, ethnographic research in C/PVE assists to establish a rapport and provides a deepened understanding of certain processes ranging from pre-violent extremism to violent extremism and disengagement. This technique allows for the identification of a multitude of patterns and processes. It can be utilized to signalize for early warning and therefore provide mitigation strategies. In addition, the added benefit of ethnographic research is that it is often multi-disciplinary. Individuals from different fields, ranging from sociology to law, from psychology to defense, from international relations to religious studies, are engaged in these processes and will be observed.

The largest drawback of the employment of ethnographic research in the processes of P/CVE is the lack of primary and reliable resources.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, once access is available, it is of utmost importance for it to be pursued. Ethnographic research faces many other challenges as well, many of which are nearly unsolvable.<sup>14</sup> Such problems range from the safety and security of researchers, to gaining access to individuals, to data protection mechanisms, to cooperating with institutions such as those in the field (law enforcement and correctional facilities). However, despite the difficulties, ethnographic observations provide crucial complementary data to understand the processes of countering and preventing violent extremism and measuring the impact of P/CVE.

Spaces for ethnographic observations will be workshops held on municipal, country and regional levels, conferences, guest lectures, meetings, interviews, and other relevant occasions. In addition, leaflets will be distributed with lifestories. This provides another avenue for ethnographic observations as well. The notes will be catalogued and subsequently quantified in order to facilitate impact visualization in a word cloud. Most importantly, deception is a highly complex phenomena in particular to identify, but usually in ethnographic notes, these elements can be recorded and reported. Since the lifestory approach provides interviewees a lengthy period to speak, then the interviewer may take notes regarding the body behavior and other clues that may also indicate deception, among other things. Now, we turn to discussing the next tool for impact measurement, questionnaires.

### III: Impact Measurement through Questionnaires

This section outlines the general methodology utilized for the questionnaire to assess the impact of the lifestories approach on countering and preventing violent extremism in participants. One of the components for measuring lifestories' impact in the society can be done through assessing attitude change. Theoretically, persuasion, attitude change, and behavior change are important to understand before describing the challenges attached to measuring P/CVE through lifestories, specifically whether an elicitation of attitude change toward less violence has occurred at the societal level. Persuasion is “a conscious attempt by one individual to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of

<sup>12</sup> Gary S. Becker, “A Theory of Marriage: Part I,” *Journal of Political Economy* 81, no. 4 (July 1973): 813–46, <https://doi.org/10.1086/260084>.

<sup>13</sup> Bart Schuurman and Quirine Eijkman, “Moving Terrorism Research Forward: The Crucial Role of Primary Sources,” *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.19165/2013.2.02>.

<sup>14</sup> Marks S. Hamm, “Using Prison Ethnography in Terrorism Research: Discovery through Fieldwork,” *Doing Ethnography in Criminology*, January 2018, 195–202.

another individual or group of individuals through the transmission of some message.”<sup>15</sup> Miller proposed that the purpose of persuasive communication is to exert three kinds of effects, that of shaping, reinforcing, and changing attitudes.<sup>16</sup> Lifestories work along all three goals - they attempt to shape the attitudes of the coming generations by showing them knowledge of the past and present, to reinforce negative attitudes toward radicalization and violence among those who are vulnerable (in other words, contribute to resilience), and finally to change the perceptions of those who have already taken that path (in other words, contribute to disengagement) and contribute to de-stigmatization/humanization of others. Therefore, lifestories could be used as a form of persuasive communication.

There are a few challenges when assessing attitude change using quantitative methods. Manstead and Hewstone<sup>17</sup> outline the classical quantitative methods of measuring attitudes, such as the EAI (equal appearing intervals), a method summarizing ratings and social distance (usually used for measuring attitudes of ethnic group members towards other members). However, they argue that these methods are time-consuming, and their results are difficult to assess, and therefore single-item surveys are the preferred method of measuring attitudes.<sup>18</sup> The design of the survey can impact the results in a number of ways, and therefore a number of recommendations need to be followed.<sup>19</sup> Firstly, while in closed-answer surveys the most similar answer might be chosen (even though it might not be identical to the interviewee’s position), it appears that respondents are more likely to answer closed-answer questions if they do not have an opinion on the issue. At the same time, they argue that open-ended questions might result in emotional responses, which are not revealing of deeply held beliefs but of the feelings and concerns of the interviewee at the time of the questioning. Secondly, Manstead and Hewstone argue in favor of ranking answers (as opposed to rating) because ranked answers seem to produce more valid data since they require a cognitive weighing of the question in relation to the other questions. Thirdly, questions with 5- to 7-point scales seem to be the most reliable. Fourthly, the provision of a midpoint appears to increase the overall validity of the results (despite the obvious downsides of a midpoint, such as the tendency of selecting it, and reluctance to go through the cognitive process of choosing a positive or negative answer). Other recommendations include not using a ‘no-opinion’ option, using verbal rather than numeric labels, and reducing acquiescence (self-deception, image management, social desirability bias) by first pre-testing social desirability questions and then including in the final survey only those questions which trigger this bias less in the respondents.

For illustration, on measuring crime incidence, crime surveys in the USA have been conducted.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, a number of challenges are raised which are relevant for conducting research on social attitudes. For example, Walsh cautions against observing reported crimes only as events for understanding the trends behind them requires careful analysis of the historical, socio-economic-political circumstances in which they occur. He also identifies a number of advantages of self-reporting, for example, the possibility to

<sup>15</sup> Richard Perloff, *The Dynamics of Persuasion : Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century*, Sixth Edition (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, n.d.).

<sup>16</sup> Perloff.

<sup>17</sup> A.S.R. Manstead, Miles Hewstone, and Susan T. Fiske, *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, 1995.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Anthony Walsh, “Criminology: The Essentials,” 2011, [http://cebcp.org/wp-content/CRIM210/Walsh\\_Ch2\\_MeasuringCrimeAndCriminalBehaviour.pdf](http://cebcp.org/wp-content/CRIM210/Walsh_Ch2_MeasuringCrimeAndCriminalBehaviour.pdf).

correlate with age, demographics, and emotive aspects (adrenaline rush, empathy, and impulsiveness), but also limitations such as social desirability bias, “convenience” sampling, and the tendency to uncover fairly harmless anti-social behavior. Lastly, quantitative analysis of attitudes must be valid (relevant for the research question), consistent, simple to manage, explainable, and replicable.<sup>21</sup> In addition, a research survey must have four types of validity: construct validity (it must measure what it is designed to measure), content validity (representativeness of the research), concurrent validity (potential of agreement with another test on the same topic run at the same time), and predictive validity (it must be able to predict future behavioral tendencies).<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, there are challenges in using self-reporting questionnaires where participants know their views should have changed, such as on monitoring legislation in targeted communities to assess the impact on local authorities, not necessarily on radicals/former foreign fighters. In addition, due to the sensitivity and secrecy of the subject, these challenges arise especially if interviewed by members of government/police, as participants are very unlikely to admit feelings of violent extremism. However, this problem can be mitigated by follow-up sessions being held with religious leaders<sup>23</sup> or civil society where self-questionnaires are employed. For reasons of sensitivity and secrecy, the questions will be as indirect as possible.

The attitude change is measured, but the way that it is likely to present differs by the stakeholder group to which a lifestory video is shown. There are three different types of stakeholder ‘categories’, namely, practitioners (policymakers, IGOs, NGOs, academics, etc.), violent extremists engaged in violent extremism, and directly affected individuals who are exposed to violent extremism. The split between these categories derives from differences in how we measure impact. For practitioners, the goal is that the lifestory videos cause an attitude change that results in them stigmatizing less violent extremists (if they are stigmatizing to begin with). Polarization and stigmatization lead to radicalization (i.e., extensive CT measures in France)<sup>24</sup> and are therefore a useful measurement of impact within the scope and/or context of this project. For violent extremists, the goal is that the lifestories elicit a change in attitude which results in them viewing violent extremism in less sympathetic terms. Given that radicalization is a complex and gradual process, changing attitudes towards ideology and behavior is seen as crucial for deradicalization.<sup>25</sup> For vulnerable populations/directly affected individuals (individuals approached by terrorists and/or exposed to terrorism (i.e. youth, family members, community members, ethnic and religious leaders)), the goal is that the

<sup>21</sup> Michael Simonson and Nancy Maushak, “Instructional Technology and Attitude Change,” 1996, <http://www.aect.org/edtech/ed1/34/34-05.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> “Tackling Extremism: De-Radicalization and Disengagement,” Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2012, <https://www.counterextremism.org/resources/details/id/191/conference-report-on-tackling-extremism-de-radicalisation-and-disengagement-copenhagen-8-9th-may-2012;>

Ellie B. Hearne and Nur Laiq, “A New Approach? Deradicalization Programs and Counterterrorism,” International Peace Institute, June 2010, [https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/a\\_new\\_approach\\_epub.pdf;](https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/a_new_approach_epub.pdf)

Lindsay Clutterbuck, “Deradicalization Programs and Counterterrorism: A Perspective on the Challenges and Benefits,” Middle East Institute, June 10, 2015, [https://www.mei.edu/publications/deradicalization-programs-and-counterterrorism-perspective-challenges-and-benefits.](https://www.mei.edu/publications/deradicalization-programs-and-counterterrorism-perspective-challenges-and-benefits)

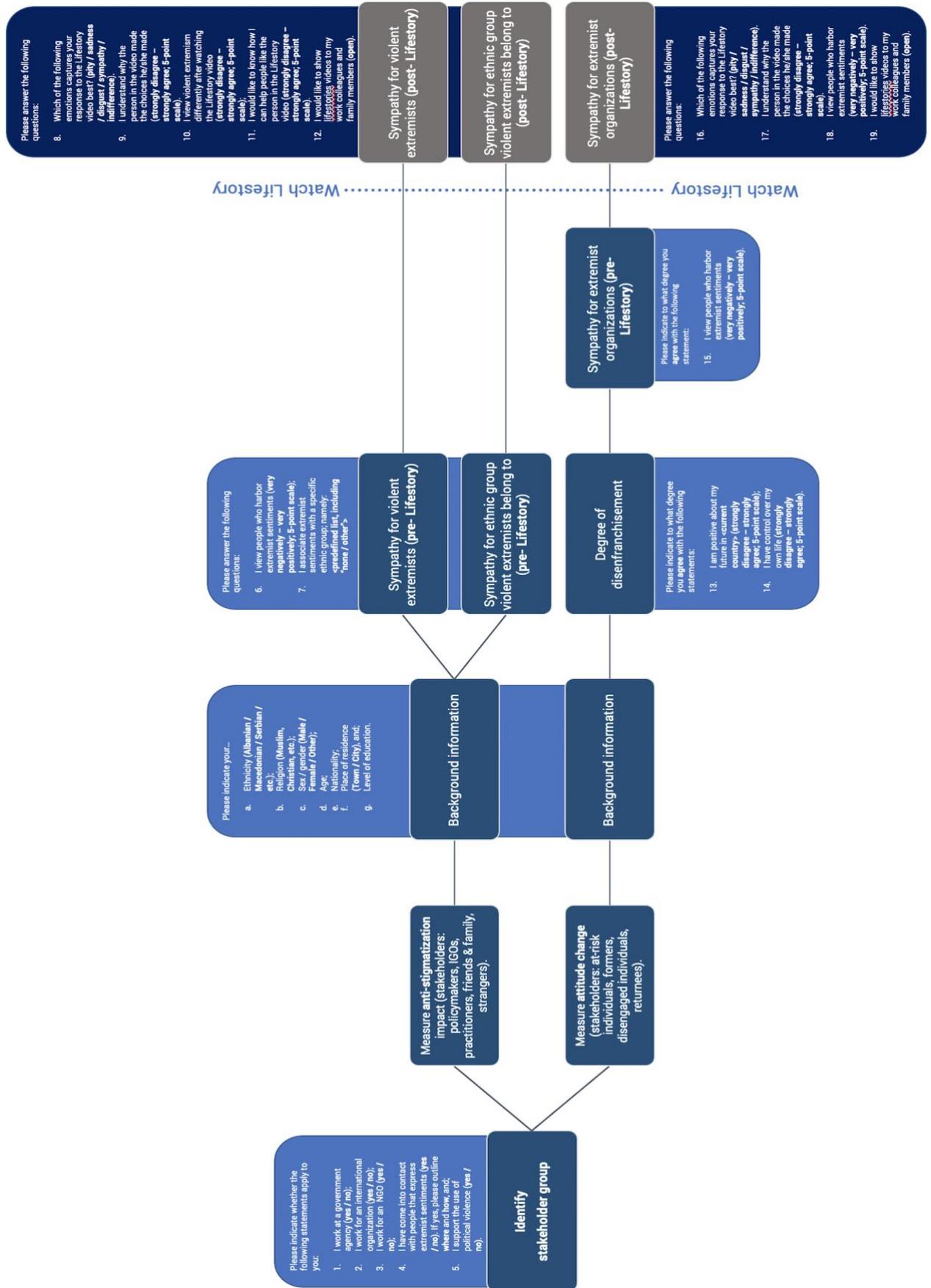
<sup>24</sup> Witold Mucha, “Polarization, Stigmatization, Radicalisation. Counterterrorism and Homeland Security in France and Germany,” *Journal for Deradicalization*, September 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Gordon Clubb and Marina Tapley, “Conceptualising deradicalisation and former combatant re-integration in Nigeria,” *Third World Quarterly*, 2018, [https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1458303.](https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1458303)

lifestories elicit a change in attitude which results in them viewing violent extremism in a less sympathetic way.

Based on these requirements, it can be logically inferred that the survey needs to take into account the following elements. First, it needs to allow for differentiation between the stakeholder groups. Second, it needs to establish a baseline measurement which can be used to measure the lifestory videos' impact. Third, it needs to collect basic background information on respondents so that policy recommendations can be formulated. Finally, (and crucially) the channels through which this survey will be administered require a short length. This is why the current survey is only 11 questions. Therefore, with few questions, a lot needs to be inferred.

Figure 2. Questionnaire Design



## Stakeholder identification

### Evaluation framework

The types of attitude change which are operationalized through this survey are stigmatization of the other and support for violent extremism. The differentiating variable between these groups derives from the type of attitude change (read: impact) which they respectively operationalize within the survey. The stakeholder groups which are tested for attitude changes within these two dimensions are as follows:

<i>Stigmatization</i>	<i>Support for violent extremism</i>
Practitioners (governmental officials, municipal officials, IO representatives, NGO representatives, journalists, academics, religious and ethnic officials), and directly affected individuals (approached individuals, youth, disengaged individuals, returnees, family members, friends, community observers).	Practitioners (governmental officials, municipal officials, IO representatives, NGO representatives, journalists, academics, religious and ethnic officials), directly affected/vulnerable individuals (youth, disengaged individuals, returnees, family members, friends, community observers) and violent extremists.

**Figure 3. Stakeholder Groups**

The dimensions of attitude change which are operationalized through this survey were selected because a.) in both cases, a tangible causal mechanism exists which explains and/or predicts the effect that a lifestory is likely to (or could) have, and b.) in both cases, a ‘positive’ attitude change - if registered - would contribute to a reduction of support for violent extremism or stigmatization in the individual. Differentiating between these two impact dimensions allows for the formulation of concrete (stakeholder group-specific) policy recommendations and thus ties into the overarching goal of preventing and countering violent extremism, the former with vulnerable individuals and the latter with violent extremists. Within both impact dimensions, a ‘positive’ attitude change corresponds to a reduction in the measured attitude. This means that a positive impact is registered when a stakeholder that falls within the stigmatization dimension records a reduced propensity to stigmatize violent extremists and/or the ethnic group he or she associates them with after being exposed to a lifestory. Within the ‘support for violent extremism’ dimension, it means that a positive impact is registered when a respondent registers a lower level of support for violent extremism after being exposed to a lifestory than he or she did prior to their interaction with the aforementioned content.

The causal mechanisms linking the operationalized impact dimensions to the overarching goal (namely, the reduction of violent extremism and/or countering violent extremism) are robust. While the causal mechanism connecting support for violent extremism and the reduction thereof is self-explanatory, the mechanism linking stigmatization to violent extremism warrants further explanation. Stigmatization - both of the individual and of one’s group - has been linked to feelings of depression and hopelessness, both of which have been identified as strong predictors of support for violent extremism.<sup>26</sup> This is

<sup>26</sup> Dinesh Bhugra, Antonio Ventriglio, and Kamaldeep Bhui, “Acculturation, Violent Radicalisation, and Religious Fundamentalism,” *The Lancet. Psychiatry* 4, no. 3 (March 2017): 180, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366\(16\)30357-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(16)30357-1).

because stigmatization drives feelings of alienation, uninspiredness, powerlessness, and oppression within the individual,<sup>27</sup> all of which contribute to the individual experiencing - in one way or another - an inability to connect with other members of society, a sense of entrapment, and (ultimately) an urge to 'escape' by resorting to violence.<sup>28</sup>

Regarding the counterproductive impact of the lifestories intervention, it is important to note that group-based stigmatization - a dynamic that is of particular relevance to this survey given that the research focuses usually on a particular area or region - has also been shown to contribute to feelings of humiliation and has thus been indirectly linked to several forms of revenge-inspired violence.<sup>29</sup> In fact, individuals who are more stigmatized may be less capable of empathy, as the stigmatization they have been exposed to undermines their ability to attribute credibility to sources.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it is crucial to mitigate the adverse impact of lifestories which aim to instigate, broadly speaking, more empathy. While recognizing the adverse effects that lifestory videos may have if used in one region/country/area, it is crucial to incorporate a representative range of groups, both ethnic and religious, in order to mitigate adverse effects on the society being intervened in.

### General requirements

The collection of useful (read: actionable) survey data is contingent on the survey meeting the following requirements:

1. Adhere to length requirements. The survey should adhere to a strict length requirement. Given the fact that this survey will be administered through face-to-face events (workshops, conferences) but also through online media (YouTube, website), it is of paramount importance that its length does not hinder potential respondents from participating altogether. As the maximum length of the whole survey should (within this context) ideally not exceed  $\pm 10$  questions, this means that the stakeholder identification section should adhere to a relatively compact format.
2. Differentiate between stakeholder groups. To facilitate the formulation of actionable policy recommendations, the stakeholder identification section of the survey should be able to differentiate between the practitioners, directly affected individuals, and violent extremists stakeholder groups identified in this study - preferably in individuals mentioned in the subgroup categories - which will result then in a high enough degree of precision to derive useful observations within both impact dimensions. To meet this requirement, the survey design needs to correct for various dynamics, including the fact that respondents may not 'identify' as violent extremists and the fact that,

<sup>27</sup> Anthony Scioli and Henry Biller, *Hope in the Age of Anxiety*, 1st edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 254.

<sup>28</sup> Alex P. Schmid, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review" (The Hague: ICCT, 2013), 13. See also Jennifer S. Goldman and Peter T. Coleman, "How Humiliation Fuels Intractable Conflict: The Effects of Emotional Roles on Recall and Reactions to Conflictual Encounters," Teachers College, Columbia University, 2005; Evelin Lindner, *Making Enemies: Humiliation and International Conflict* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006).

<sup>29</sup> Mina Cikara, Emile G. Bruneau, and Rebecca R. Saxe, "Us and Them: Intergroup Failures of Empathy," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 20, no. 3 (2011): 149–153.

<sup>30</sup> Belief in a source's credibility constitutes a key component of counternarratives' ability to impact individuals. The entire narrative's credibility may hinge on this credibility, and a lack of credibility may (in the subject's mind) result in a perception of malevolence. See Kurt Braddock and John Morrison, "Cultivating Trust and Perceptions of Source Credibility in Online Counternarratives Intended to Reduce Support for Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, March 14, 2018, 1–50, <https://doi.org/10/gf6znk>.

considering (as outlined in requirement one) that the survey should adhere to a compact format, it cannot incorporate an individual question for each stakeholder group.

3. Avoid alienating respondents. The survey should avoid alienating respondents. Many respondents (particularly those engaging with the survey through an online medium) are - given the nature of the subject matter - likely to exhibit a high degree of caution when it comes to sharing any sort of personal and/or identifying information, especially if it is of potentially incriminating nature. This challenge is particularly pronounced in stakeholder groups which are evaluated within the 'support for violent extremism' impact dimension but may also occur within individuals whose responses contribute to the 'stigmatization' dimension. In the case of stakeholders falling within the 'support for violent extremism' dimension, the potentially incriminating nature of responses necessitates the survey's non-reliance on direct and/or unambiguous 'yes/no' questions such as 'I support the Islamic State,' as these are unlikely to yield actionable results.<sup>31</sup> In the case of individuals whose responses contribute to the 'stigmatization' dimension, caution may derive (depending on the stakeholder group in question) from a wish to protect family members and/or from the resentment that may result from the individual recognizing that he/she is being tested for stigmatization.

### Section implementation

The stakeholder identification section of the survey incorporates the following three questions towards meeting these requirements:

Question number		Question	Answer
1		I work at a government agency	Yes / no
2		I work for an international organization	Yes / no
3		I work for an NGO	Yes / no
4	a	I have come into contact with individuals that have expressed violent extremist sentiments	Yes / no
	b	If yes, please elaborate where (about) and how	Open question
5		I support the use of political violence	Yes / no

Figure 4. Stakeholder Identification

The goal of questions 1 and 2 is to respectively identify whether respondents fall within the subject matter professionals and/or exposed individuals category. Respondents are

<sup>31</sup> Such an approach is further inadvisable because it may skew results within the 'stigmatization' dimension.

asked to answer either in the affirmative ('yes') or in the negative ('no'). As respondents which fall within the stakeholder categories tested for in questions 1 and 2 are unlikely to display a social desirability bias as far as their careers are concerned, this answer format serves to adequately identify them.<sup>32</sup> The rationale underpinning the order in which these questions are posed to respondents derives from a conscious attempt to avoid social desirability bias. More concretely, posing 'self-embellishing' questions (i.e., 'I work at a government agency') prior to posing potentially incriminating questions (i.e., 'I support the use of political violence') helps to avoid a scenario in which potential violent extremists recognize that they are being 'sorted' and opt to 'game' the survey by providing false information.

The stakeholder groups identified in questions 1, 2 and 3 are the only three to be specifically tested for through individual questions. This is because, despite the fact that these stakeholder categories could (potentially) be identified through question 4b, it is impossible to guarantee that respondents which fall within these categories would have come into contact with violent extremists. This distinguishes them from all other stakeholder categories included in this research.<sup>33</sup> It also means that questions 1, 2 and 3 facilitate the process of discerning between 'strangers' who have not come into contact with violent extremists and government, NGO, & IGO officials, meaning that this facilitates the analysis of stigmatizing sentiments as they relate to these individual stakeholder groups. As governments and/or NGO, IGO officials have the potential of playing a central role in the fostering of several types of hopelessness (notably alienation, powerlessness, and oppression),<sup>34</sup> differentiating between these stakeholder categories is of added value when viewed from the perspective of formulating utile policy recommendations within this project. The 'open question' answer format employed in question 4b allows for the identification of a wide range of stakeholder groups, with the caveat being that responses to this question require manual post-survey processing in order to yield actionable results. The approach also facilitates the collection of 'nonstandard' insights vis-a-vis respondent background and may therefore provide a positive contribution to future research design and/or activities.

Question 5 is included specifically because, in order to avoid alienating respondents, the survey should ideally incorporate an automated and/or replicable mechanism for 'directing' respondents towards questions falling within either the 'stigmatization' dimension or within the 'support for violent extremism' dimension. While the respondent groups which are likely to respond affirmatively to question 5 can likely also be identified through their responses to question 4a and 4b, 'sorting' respondents into questionnaire sections based on these questions is impossible because a.) an affirmative answer to question 4a does not guarantee the respondent's support for violent extremism, and b.) the 'open answer' question format of 4b, while necessary for identifying stakeholder groups, does not facilitate automatic sorting. Given the fact that including a lengthy set of instructions based on responses to questions 1-4 runs the risk not only of disincentivizing respondents from completing the survey, but also of alienating participants and of registering false positives (instructions regarding the answers to

<sup>32</sup> Peter V. Marsden, *Handbook of Survey Research, Second Edition*, ed. James D. Wright, 2nd edition (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Group Limited, 2010).

<sup>33</sup> The only exception to this rule is the 'strangers' stakeholder category, which can be identified simply through a negative to question 3a, or - in the event of an affirmative response - through the explanation they offer under 3b.

<sup>34</sup> Sciolli and Biller, *Hope in the Age of Anxiety*, 254.

question 4b are open to interpretation), the inclusion of question 5 was considered necessary within the context of this survey.

From a theoretical standpoint, the reasoning underpinning question 5’s inclusion derives from the notion that individuals which support the use of political violence likely possess violent extremist sentiments which mean that the impact of a lifestory video should be evaluated on the basis of ‘support for violent extremism’ dimension.

### Connection with the rest of survey

The stakeholder identification section of the survey serves to sort responders into either the stigmatization or support for violent extremism dimensions of the survey. Given the fact that these dimensions conceptualize (and, consequently, operationalize) ‘impact’ differently, this means that respondents will be confronted with different questions depending on which dimension they are sorted into. Dimensional sortation of respondents takes place according to the answers they input during questions 1-5. In the case of surveys completed through online media, respondent sortation is automated, meaning that individuals will not be confronted with instructions relating to what section they should proceed to. In the case of surveys completed during on-site workshops and/or in person, a short explanation of how to proceed is provided after the completion of the stakeholder identification section of the survey.

In concrete terms, the sortation parameters for the stakeholder identification are as follows:

Question	Answer	Sortation impact
1	Yes	Direct to stigmatization section
	No	None
2	Yes	Direct to stigmatization section
	No	None
3	Yes	Direct to stigmatization section
	No	None
4	N/A	None
5	Yes	Direct to violent extremism section

	No	Direct to stigmatization section
--	----	----------------------------------

Figure 5. Stakeholder Sortation

### Background

The background section of the survey is administered to all survey respondents and is designed towards collecting information which can be transposed into actionable policy recommendations when combined with other survey results. This is because the collection of these variables facilitates the process of differentiating between differently impacted stakeholder groups and because it allows for the inference of difficult-to-gauge observations (such as ‘potential reasons for radicalization and/or violence’).

Variables collected within the background section are ethnicity, religion, gender, age, nationality, place of residence, and level of education. Owing largely to the fact that it solicits respondents to provide potentially identifying (and, by extension, incriminating) information, the background section does not constitute a mandatory part of the survey. In order to comply with the GDPR, a privacy disclaimer is present in the questionnaire.

## Baseline measurement

### Evaluation framework

#### *Stigmatization dimension*

In order to measure the impact of an individual’s exposure to a lifestory video vis-a-vis stigmatization, the survey needs to establish to what degree the respondent stigmatizes violent extremists prior to consuming the aforementioned content. The survey differentiates between respondents’ opinions of individuals which participate in and/or harbor sentiments relating to violent extremism and respondents’ opinions of the ethnic group which he or she associates with violent extremism (if any). As outlined in the previous section, the causal mechanism linking stigmatization to support for violent extremism (and, by extension, to this research’s overarching objective) centers around the aforementioned phenomenon’s tendency to foster feelings of depression and hopelessness in individuals (both of which have been identified as strong predictors of support for violent extremism) who experience it.<sup>35</sup> Group-based stigmatization is specifically included as a variable because it has been indirectly linked to several forms of revenge-inspired violence (including political)<sup>36</sup> and contributes to feelings of alienation, uninspiredness, powerlessness, and/or oppression-based hopelessness within the individual.<sup>37</sup>

#### *Support for violent extremism dimension*

In order to measure the impact of an individual’s exposure to a lifestory video vis-a-vis support for violent extremism, the survey needs to establish to what degree the respondent supports violent extremism prior to interacting with the aforementioned content. Given the policymaking relevance of measuring the impact lifestory videos might have on individuals experiencing different degrees (and types) of disenfranchisement, the

<sup>35</sup> Bhugra, Ventriglio, and Bhui, “Acculturation, Violent Radicalisation, and Religious Fundamentalism,” 180.

<sup>36</sup> Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe, “Us and Them.”

<sup>37</sup> Sciolli and Biller, *Hope in the Age of Anxiety*, 254.

baseline measurement section of the support for violent extremism dimension of this survey also incorporates questions which are geared towards measuring respondent hopelessness.

The link between hopelessness and support (and engagement with) violent extremism is well established, with a recent study in the UK finding that individuals experiencing hopelessness-related forms of depression exhibit significantly higher support for extremist sentiments and/or actions than those who do not.<sup>38</sup> Within the context of this study, hopelessness is of particular relevance because several variations of the phenomenon have been identified, the most relevant of which (within the context of this study) are alienation, forsakenness, uninspiredness, powerlessness, and oppression.<sup>39</sup> These are outlined below:

1. Alienation. Alienation-based hopelessness presents in cases where the individual feels that he or she is somehow different from those around them. Most notably, such individuals may experience the sensation of being ‘cut loose’ from society, and may conclude that they are no longer worthy of love, care, or support. This type of hopelessness can derive from socio-political and socio-temporal factors, among others.
2. Forsakenness. Forsakenness-based hopelessness presents in individuals feeling total (personal) abandonment. This form of hopelessness differs from alienation hopelessness in that, whereas alienation hopelessness derives from the individual feeling disconnected from society as a whole, forsakenness-based hopelessness typically derives from the physical and/or emotional removal of a human support structure. Individuals experiencing forsakenness-based hopelessness may conclude that there is nobody left in their life who can help them cope with hardship.
3. Uninspiredness. Uninspiredness-based hopelessness presents in individuals who are faced with a lack of opportunities for growth (whether economic or personal), lack positive role models, or experience societal dismissiveness towards their group. Uninspiredness differs from oppression-based hopelessness, although they share societal and/or structural drivers (for example, systemic oppression of minorities could lead to, among other things, reduced economic potential and/or the elimination of positive role models). Uninspiredness may also present in well-off communities and may therefore help to partially explain why, particularly in well-developed countries, violent extremism is not (as a phenomenon) limited to members of underprivileged minorities.
4. Powerlessness. Powerlessness-based hopelessness derives from individuals’ perceptions that they cannot ‘author their own life’. Similar to uninspiredness-based hopelessness, this type of hopelessness presents specifically when an individual experiencing uninspiredness makes an unsuccessful attempt at changing his or her situation.
5. Oppression. Oppression-based hopelessness presents in individuals who consciously experience systematic (and calculated) subjugation of themselves and/or of the social, cultural, religious, or ethnic group they belong to. Oppression-based hopelessness bears many similarities with uninspiredness-based hopelessness, with the concrete differentiating factor being that individuals experiencing uninspiredness do not necessarily credit their (lack of) opportunities to an ‘other’.

<sup>38</sup> Bhugra, Ventriglio, and Bhui, “Acculturation, Violent Radicalisation, and Religious Fundamentalism,” 180.

<sup>39</sup> Scioli and Biller, *Hope in the Age of Anxiety*, 254.

Though the survey, due in part to its compact length, cannot realistically identify which type of hopelessness an individual may (or may not) be experiencing, it can infer contributing variables and/or likely drivers of violent extremist sentiment through the analysis of data collected within the background section (level of education, average income in the city of residence, etc.). This type of data contributes to the formulation of actionable policy recommendations, particularly when combined with variables collected within the stakeholder identification section.

### Section requirements

#### ***Stigmatization dimension***

The collection of useful (read: actionable) survey data is contingent on the baseline measurement section of the survey's stigmatization dimension meeting the following requirements:

1. Adhere to length requirements. The survey should adhere to a strict length requirement. Given the fact that this survey will be administered (in no small part) through an online medium, it is of paramount importance that its length not disincentivize potential respondents from participating altogether. As the maximum length of the whole survey should (within this context) ideally not exceed  $\pm 10$  questions, this means that the baseline measurement section of this survey's stigmatization dimension should adhere to a relatively compact format.
2. Avoid alienating respondents. The survey should avoid alienating respondents. Many respondents (particularly those engaging with the survey through an online medium) are, given the nature of the subject matter, likely to exhibit a high degree of caution when it comes to sharing any sort of personal and/or identifying information. In the case of individuals whose responses contribute to the 'stigmatization' dimension, caution may derive (depending on the stakeholder group in question) from a wish to protect family members and/or from the resentment that may result from the individual recognizing that he/she is being tested for stigmatization.
3. Outside of adhering to the survey length requirements and avoiding the alienation of respondents, the baseline measurement section of the survey should provide researchers with a clear indication of a.) whether or not the respondent harbors stigmatizing feelings against individuals who exhibit violent extremist tendencies, and b.) whether they extend that stigmatization to a larger social, ethnic, religious, and/or cultural group. Perhaps most importantly, the section should facilitate, within both of these subject areas, the collection of scale data, meaning that researchers should be able to infer from survey results whether respondent A feels more strongly about an issue than respondent B (and, if possible, by how much).

#### ***Support for violent extremism dimension***

The collection of useful (read: actionable) survey data is contingent on the baseline measurement section of the survey's support for violent extremism dimension meeting the following requirements:

1. Adhere to length requirements. The survey should adhere to a strict length requirement. Given the fact that this survey will be administered (in no small part) through an online medium, it is of paramount importance that its length not disincentivize potential respondents from participating altogether. As the maximum length of the whole survey should (within this context) ideally not exceed  $\pm 10$

questions, this means that the baseline measurement section of the support for violent extremism dimension should adhere to a relatively compact format.

2. Avoid alienating respondents. The survey should avoid alienating respondents. Many respondents (particularly those engaging with the survey through an online medium) are, given the nature of the subject matter, likely to exhibit a high degree of caution when it comes to sharing any sort of personal and/or identifying information. In the case of stakeholders falling within the support for violent extremism dimension, the potentially incriminating nature of responses necessitates the survey's non-reliance on direct and/or unambiguous 'yes/no' questions such as 'I support the Islamic State,' as these are unlikely to yield truthful responses and thereby actionable results.<sup>40</sup>
3. Avoid confusing respondents. The survey should avoid confusing respondents. While this is (to a certain degree) true of all parts of the survey, the requirement is particularly pronounced within the baseline measurement section of the support for violent extremism dimension because it deals with the phenomenon of hopelessness. The majority of respondents are unlikely to be familiar with hopelessness as a concept, and because the meaning of the term - without lengthy explanation - is open to interpretation, the survey cannot realistically incorporate questions such as 'please rank, on a scale of one to ten, to what degree you experience hopelessness in your daily life'. Because interpretations of the meaning of hopelessness may greatly impact how respondents answer the question (one individual's 5 could be another's 10), such an approach runs the risk of rendering results non-comparable and complicates the task of formulating policy recommendations on the basis of degree of disenfranchisement (hopelessness). The inclusion of 'open to interpretation' questions is further inadvisable because it may alienate respondents who a.) do not view themselves as hopeless, or b.) resent being asked whether they experience hopelessness,<sup>41</sup> meaning that it risks alienating respondents (see requirement 2).

Outside of adhering to the survey length requirements and avoiding the alienation of respondents, the baseline measurement section of the survey should provide researchers with a clear indication of a.) whether or not the respondent experiences hopelessness, and b.) whether the respondent sympathizes with extremist organizations. Perhaps most importantly, the section should facilitate within both of these subject areas the collection of scale data, meaning that researchers should be able to infer from survey results whether respondent A feels more strongly about an issue than respondent B (and, if possible, by how much).

## Section implementation

### *Stigmatization dimension*

The baseline measurement section of the survey's stigmatization dimension incorporates the following questions towards meeting the requirements outlined above:

<sup>40</sup> Such an approach is further inadvisable because it may skew results within the 'stigmatization' dimension.

<sup>41</sup> Respondents are less likely to engage with surveys which they do not relate with. See John D. Foubert and Bradford C. Perry, "Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes: The Qualitative Impact of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program," *Violence Against Women* 13, no. 1 (January 2007): 70–86, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801206295125>.

Question number	Question	Answer
6	I view people who harbor violent extremist sentiment...	5-point scale, ranging from 'very negatively' to 'very positively'.
7	I associate violent extremist sentiment with a specific group, namely...	Open question. Respondent is invited to provide a one-word answer of his/her own choosing.

**Figure 6. Stigmatization Dimension**

The baseline measurement section of the survey's stigmatization dimension survey employs a minimalistic structure. The degree to which the respondent stigmatizes violent extremist sentiment (and, by extension, those who harbor it) is established through question 6, while whether the respondent stigmatizes a particular social, cultural, religious, or ethnic group (and, if so, which) is established through question 7. As question 6 prompts respondents to provide an overarching insight into the degree to which they stigmatize individuals who harbor extremist views, responses to question 6 are assumed to apply to question 7.

In the case of question 6, the survey utilizes a predefined range of answers to facilitate the collection of comparable (compatible) data. A 5-point (rather than 7, 10, or other) has been employed specifically to ensure that respondents are confronted with an ordinal continuum in which the difference between 'negatively' and 'very negatively' is clearly differentiated (with a clearly distinguishable mid-point being provided) and therefore does not run the risk of a significant degree of skewing of final results on the basis of respondent interpretation.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of question 7, an open question format is utilized. This format is specifically introduced to allow for the identification of a wide range of extremist sentiment types and to nullify (to whatever degree possible) the impact of survey-designed biases.

**Support for violent extremism dimension**

The baseline measurement section of the survey's support for violent extremism dimension incorporates the following questions towards meeting the requirements outlined above:

Question number	Question	Answer format
13	I am positive about my future in the country I'm currently living in...	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.

<sup>42</sup> Marsden, *Handbook of Survey Research, Second Edition*, 267.

14	I have control over my own life...	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.
15	I view people who harbor violent extremist sentiments...	5-point scale, ranging from 'very negatively' to 'very positively'.

**Figure 7. Support for Violent Extremism Dimension**

The first two questions (13, 14) to be featured within the baseline measurement section of the survey’s support for violent extremism dimension are geared towards measuring the degree to which the respondent experiences hopelessness and/or harbors feelings of disenfranchisement on a personal and societal level. Question 15 serves as a tool for measuring the degree to which the respondent sympathizes with and/or approves of violent extremist ideologies (and those who harbor them) and therefore serves as a proxy for assessing the individual’s group affiliation and/or radical (if applicable) leanings.

An approach which is focused on measuring respondent’s optimism about the future is well-suited to measuring hopelessness because all types of hopelessness - whether powerlessness, alienation, forsakenness, oppression, or uninspiredness-based - result in the individual experiencing a sense of entrapment which fosters skepticism and/or pessimism about the future. The approach to measuring hopelessness utilized in this survey aligns with the principles outlined by Aaron T. Beck, Arlene Weisman, David Lester, and Larry Trexler in *The Measurement of Pessimism: The Hopelessness Scale*. Beck et al.’s methodology has been adopted as a ‘guideline’ for measuring hopelessness in individuals by a range of stakeholder groups, including academics and practitioners, and is characterized by an approach which asks respondents to answer a series of 20 yes/no questions relating to their interpretation of the future.<sup>43</sup> Of these questions, 10 overtly capture a sense of dread (for example, ‘I might as well give up because I can’t make things better for myself’), while the other 10 capture overtly ‘positive’ sentiment vis-a-vis future prospects (for example, ‘I look to the future with hope and enthusiasm’). The logic underlying this positive/negative approach is that prompting respondents to react positively or negatively to a series of questions which loosely overlap in their subject matter allows for a certain degree of respondent-based interpretation of questions and thus facilitates the process of differentiating between degrees of hopelessness among test subjects. The incorporation of both positive and negative questions further advances the goal of measuring hopelessness because it corrects for either one ‘side’ of the survey skewing respondents’ sentiments at the time of completing the survey, thus circumventing the problem of respondents feeling down (and inputting overly existentialist responses) as a result of the survey’s depressing tone and/or subject matter.<sup>44</sup>

The first two questions (questions 13 and 14) of the baseline measurement section of the survey’s support for violent extremism dimension mirror the approach employed by Beck et al. in that they measure respondent’s optimism about the future and/or about

<sup>43</sup> A. T. Beck et al., “The Measurement of Pessimism: The Hopelessness Scale,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 42, no. 6 (December 1974): 861–65.

<sup>44</sup> See Beck et al.

perceived personal mastery.<sup>45</sup> Because the survey cannot realistically incorporate 20 positive/negative questions due to the need to adhere to a compact structure, a 5-point scale (with options ranging from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’) is utilized in order to facilitate the collection of scale data. While this approach is unlikely to yield as nuanced a view of an individual’s degree of experienced hopelessness as would a survey incorporating 20 positive/negative questions, the approach is viewed as adequate within the context of the constraints associated with the administering of this survey. The problem of the survey’s subject matter amplifying respondents’ sense of hopelessness is not actively corrected for, largely because the incorporation of 1-2 ‘downer’ questions is not expected to impact survey results as drastically as in Beck et al.’s study (which incorporates 10). It should be noted that the future-oriented yes/no approach proposed in this survey cannot reasonably infer what type of hopelessness an individual is experiencing and that the gauging of such variables falls outside its scope. This means that such observations need either to be inferred from information volunteered within the background section of the survey or to be foregone entirely.

Much like questions 13 and 14 of the baseline measurement section of the survey’s support for violent extremism dimension, question 15 makes use of a 5-point scale model (ranging from ‘very negatively’ to ‘very positively’) to gauge the degree to which respondents sympathize with and/or support extremist views.

## Measurement

### Evaluation framework

#### ***Stigmatization dimension***

When viewed through the lens of reducing the degree to which stigmatization fuels violent extremist sentiments, several lines of inquiry are of potential relevance when it comes to measuring a lifestory’s ability to inspire attitude change. The impact measurement section of this survey’s stigmatization dimension measures it through a) a change in the degree to which the respondent stigmatizes individuals harboring violent extremist sentiment, b) the type of emotional response the respondent experiences as a result of being exposed to a lifestory video, and c) whether or not exposure translates into behavioral change. While these three lines of inquiry overlap with one another to a certain degree - e.g., an emotional response might correlate with a change in attitude (read: reduction in respondent stigmatization) and may result in behavioral change - testing for all three links in this causal chain remains of relevance to this study. This is because respondents may not report changes in attitude and/or behavior directly after watching a lifestory video, but may exhibit (and be aware of) an emotional reaction.<sup>46</sup> As a result, even though attitude and/or behavioral change is difficult to measure directly with such a compact survey, the measurement of empathy - an emotion which is widely associated

<sup>45</sup> The concept of personal mastery recurs within both Beck et al. and Sciole & Biller’s works. See Beck et al.; see also Sciole and Biller, *Hope in the Age of Anxiety*.

<sup>46</sup> Emotional responses may have a delayed effect on attitude adjustment, just as the attitude adjustment they inspire may revert as a result of individuals defaulting to old habits and/or views outside of the test environment. See Icek Ajzen, “The Theory of Planned Behavior,” *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 50, no. 2 (1991): 179–211, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0149-7757\(91\)90020-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0149-7757(91)90020-3); Gerard Hastings, Martine Stead, and John Webb, “Fear Appeals in Social Marketing: Strategic and Ethical Reasons for Concern,” *Psychology & Marketing* 21, no. 11 (2004): 961–986, <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.10035>; Rachel A. Howell, “Investigating the Long-Term Impacts of Climate Change Communications on Individuals’ Attitudes and Behavior,” *Environment and Behavior* 46, no. 1 (2014): 70–101, <https://doi.org/10.1002/env.194>.

with ‘understanding’ (and which has, as previously established, been identified as a prerequisite for behavioral change) - serves as an effective proxy and/or predictor of future behavioral change.

Thus, this survey corrects for this shortcoming in the to be collected data by measuring whether respondents empathize with the subjects portrayed in lifestory videos. Empathy requires a realistic understanding of how others view and/or experience their lives and the circumstances that shape them<sup>47</sup> and thus ‘humanizes’ the subject in the eye of the beholder. The humanizing effects of empathizing with the ‘other’ have been shown to counter stigmatization-based feelings, such as disdain and resentment towards the subject, and - because doing so counteracts the effects of ‘othering’ - have the potential of providing a nonreversible reduction in group-based stigmatization.<sup>48</sup> This allows empathy to be used as a proxy for long-term attitude change in individuals who report harboring feelings of stigmatization prior to interacting with a lifestory and means that empathy-related data can be combined with ‘in the moment’ reactions to questions relating to perceived attitude and/or behavioral change to measure the likely validity of these inputs (and, ultimately, as a proxy for impact within the stigmatization dimension).

#### ***Support for violent extremism dimension***

Much as is the case with the stigmatization dimension of the impact measurement section, the support for violent extremism dimension evaluates lifestory impact by serving as a proxy for not only perceived change in attitude and/or behavior, but also emotional (read: empathetic) engagement. Similarly to the rationale underpinning this line of inquiry within the stigmatization dimension, the rationale for the use of this methodology within the support for violent extremism dimension derives from the notion that individuals may be overcome with ‘short-term’ emotional sentiments directly after being exposed to a lifestory video, meaning that the answers they provide may not constitute a reliable result.

The causal chain linking empathy to the desired impact (read: reduction in support for violent extremism) within the support for violent extremism dimension differs from the causal chain presented within the stigmatization dimension. This is because, when presented to individuals who fall within stakeholder groups included within the support for violent extremism dimension, lifestories should (ideally) serve as preventative stories. Preventative stories’ ability to inspire long-term changes in attitude and/or behavior has previously been correlated to the degree to which these stories succeed in appealing to the way which their audiences perceive themselves.<sup>49</sup> Because individuals’ ability to empathize with others has been linked directly to the degree to which they share similarities with those they are observing,<sup>50</sup> high degrees of empathy should (by

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan W. Keller and Yi Edward Yang, “Empathy and Strategic Interaction in Crises: A Polyheuristic Perspective,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5, no. 2 (April 1, 2009): 169–89, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2009.00088.x>.

<sup>48</sup> Jodi Halpern and Harvey M. Weinstein, “Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 26 (2004): 561.

<sup>49</sup> Recent studies into cautionary tales’ ability to influence the views and/or behavior of fraternity members showed that videos in which instances of men (rather than women) being raped were far more likely to inspire long-term behavioral changes. See Foubert and Perry, “Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes,” 72.

<sup>50</sup> Claus Lamm, Andrew N. Meltzoff, and Jean Decety, “How Do We Empathize with Someone Who Is Not Like Us? A Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging Study,” *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 22, no. 2 (2010): 362–376.

extension) correlate with high degrees of similarity between the subject and the respondents' views of themselves. This means that the empathy variable serves, within the context of the established study goals, as an effective proxy of lifestory impact and represents a data point that (much as is also the case within the stigmatization dimension) can be used to measure the validity of respondents' post-survey responses vis-a-vis perceived attitude and/or behavioral change. The high correlation between empathy and perception of the self means that respondents who report feeling a high degree of empathy for the subject(s) of preventative stories are also likely to be more susceptible to taking these stories' lessons on-board and are more likely to exhibit long-term changes in attitude and/or behavior.

### Section requirements

#### ***Stigmatization dimension***

The collection of useful (read: actionable) survey data is contingent on the impact measurement section of the survey's stigmatization dimension meeting the same general requirements as for the baseline measurement, such as adhering to length requirements and avoiding alienating respondents. Outside of these two elements, the impact measurement section of the survey should provide researchers with a clear indication of a) the degree to which the respondent empathizes with the individual(s) lifestories they have observed, and b) whether or not the respondent perceives themselves as having experienced a change of attitude and/or behavior shortly after watching the lifestory video. Perhaps most importantly, the section should facilitate within both of these subject areas the collection of scale data, meaning that researchers should be able to infer from survey results whether respondent A feels more strongly about an issue than respondent B (and, if possible, by how much).

#### ***Support for violent extremism dimension***

The collection of useful (read: actionable) survey data is contingent on the impact measurement section of the survey's support for violent extremism dimension meeting the following requirements: adhere to length requirements and avoid alienating respondents, as discussed as well in the baseline measurement section.

Outside of adhering to these two elements, the impact measurement section of the survey should provide researchers with a clear indication of a) the degree to which the respondent empathizes (read: self-identifies) with the individual(s') lifestories they have observed, and b.) whether or not the respondent perceives themselves as having experienced a change of attitude and/or behavior shortly after watching the lifestory video. Perhaps most importantly, the section should facilitate, within both of these subject areas, the collection of scale data, meaning that researchers should be able to infer from survey results whether respondent A feels more strongly about an issue than respondent B (and, if possible, by how much).

### Section implementation

#### ***Stigmatization dimension***

The impact measurement section of the survey's stigmatization dimension incorporates the following questions towards meeting the requirements outlined above:

Question number	Question	Answer
8	Which of the following emotions captures your response to the lifestory video best?	Circle one of them: pity, sadness, disgust, sympathy, indifference.
9	I understand why the person in the video made the choice he/she made.	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.
10	I view violent extremism differently after watching the lifestory video.	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.
11	I would like to know how I can help people like the person in the lifestory video.	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.
12	I would like to show lifestories videos to my work colleagues and family members.	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Interviewees are invited to write down additional thoughts.

**Figure 8. Stigmatization Dimension**

The first two questions (8, 9) to be featured within the impact measurement section of the survey's stigmatization dimension are geared towards measuring to what degree the respondent empathizes with the individual he or she has observed in a lifestory video. Questions 10 and 11 respectively gauge to what degree the respondent perceives themselves as feeling compelled to initiate a change in attitude and/or behavior. As outlined in this section's evaluation framework, the combination of these variables constitutes a conscious choice, with empathy measurements (questions 8, 9) facilitating the validation of results derived from questions 10 and 11 (perceived intention to institute changes in attitude and/or behavior).

This survey employs two questions for gauging empathetic response. Question 8 prompts respondents to choose between a preset range of emotional responses to the lifestory video (namely, pity, sadness, disgust, sympathy, indifference), while question 9 prompts them to indicate - using a 5-point (ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree') scale - whether they understand why the subject in the lifestory video made the choices that he/she did. The emotions featured in question 8 are specifically included because they allow for differentiation between various emotions related to empathy (namely, pity, sadness, sympathy)<sup>51</sup>, with pity indicating a negative empathetic response, sympathy corresponding to the most 'positive' possible manifestation of empathy, and sadness

<sup>51</sup> Empathy results from an individual 'understanding' another but is generally devoid of emotion.

indicating a neutral empathetic response. Indifference and disgust are respectively included to gauge a nonresponse (indifference) and a negative non-empathetic response (disgust).<sup>52</sup> The survey omits other emotions (i.e., anger, confusion) because a) these are not considered as constituting data points which contribute to the research objectives, and b) the (preferred) compact form of the survey delivery format disincentivizes reliance on such a methodology.

The approach utilized in question 9 is loosely based on the methodology used to operationalize empathetic response in the interpersonal reactivity index (IRI). The IRI features 28 questions, all of which are geared towards asserting whether respondents ‘feel for’ and/or can place themselves ‘in the shoes of’ others. Responses within the IRI are registered through a 5-point Likert scale, with options ranging from ‘does not describe me well’ to ‘describes me very well’.<sup>53</sup> The IRI incorporates several subscales (namely, perspective taking, fantasy, empathic concern, and personal distress) to differentiate between different types and/or approaches towards empathy in respondents and features questions such as ‘when I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them’ and ‘when I’m upset with someone, I usually try to “put myself in his shoes” for a while’. The questionnaire administered within the impact measurement section of the survey’s stigmatization dimension mirrors this approach (‘can you place yourself in these peoples’ shoes?’) by prompting respondents to indicate whether they can ‘understand’ the choices made by the subject of the lifestory video.

The reasoning for the survey’s incorporation of the ‘choices’ as a variable is twofold. First, the inclusion of this variable derives from the fact that the preventative stories format utilized in lifestories content is defined by the presentation of (and reflection on) complex dilemmas. Because subjects’ navigation (and eventual resolution) of these dilemmas is almost universally informed by a combination of contextual and personal factors - and because the repercussions of these choices are frequently impactful and/or jarring in nature - respondents are unlikely to indicate their ‘understanding’ of these choices unless they can empathize with subjects portrayed in the video.<sup>54</sup> Second, the incorporation of respondent understanding of ‘choices’ facilitates the process of gauging the reliability of responses collected under questions 10 and 11 of the impact measurement section of the survey’s stigmatization dimension. This is because the preventive stories format of lifestory content is characterized by its use of narratives that are defined by individual decisions (and the personal consequences associated therewith). Because empathizing (read: narrative engagement) with a narrative at the individual level has been tied to the extent to which media can alter beliefs and/or attitudes<sup>55</sup>, responses to question 9 provide an effective tool for gauging the degree of likely attitude change in respondents.

<sup>52</sup> Stephen Darwall, “Empathy, Sympathy, Care,” *Philosophical Studies* 89, no. 2–3 (1998): 261–282.

<sup>53</sup> Mark H. Davis, “A Multidimensional Approach to Individual Differences in Empathy,” 1980.

<sup>54</sup> See Foubert and Perry, “Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes.”

<sup>55</sup> See Mary Beth Oliver et al., “The Effect of Narrative News Format on Empathy for Stigmatized Groups,” *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (2012): 206. See also Michael D. Slater and Donna Rouner, “Entertainment—Education and Elaboration Likelihood: Understanding the Processing of Narrative Persuasion,” *Communication Theory* 12, no. 2 (2002): 173–191; Michael D. Slater, Donna Rouner, and Marilee Long, “Television Dramas and Support for Controversial Public Policies: Effects and Mechanisms,” *Journal of Communication* 56, no. 2 (2006): 235–252; Melanie C. Green and Timothy C. Brock, “The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79, no. 5 (2000): 701.

Questions 10 and 11 are respectively included to gauge respondents’ perceived intention to initiate behavioral changes and/or to modify their attitudes following exposure to lifestories content. Responses to these questions are ‘validated’ through cross-referencing with responses provided to questions 8 and 9. Question 10 prompts respondents to indicate whether they view violent extremism differently after being exposed to a lifestory video, while question 11 prompts them to indicate whether they would like to receive information on how to help individuals affected by violent extremism in the future. The logic underpinning question 10’s appropriateness within the context of this survey derives from the fact that respondents are asked almost directly whether they have experienced a change in attitude, discrepancies in respondent interpretation (and scale-based differentiation between respondents) being partially corrected for by means of a 5-point Likert scale which ranges from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’. The logic underpinning question 11’s appropriateness as a tool for gauging perceived respondent intent to enact behavioral changes derives from the fact that stigmatization of a group has been associated with failure to register (or acknowledge) distress when it is experienced by a member of an outgroup, a tendency to interpret such distress in a distorted fashion (i.e., attributing bad intent to it) and even schadenfreude.<sup>56</sup> Because the urge to help an individual in distress is commonly (and intuitively) associated with an empathetic response, the identification of these behaviors means that a willingness to help violent extremists is unlikely to be observed in individuals who harbor a high degree of stigmatization towards them. Question 11 thus allows for the gauging of perceived intention to initiate behavioral changes on the part of the respondent when posed to respondents who exhibit high degrees of stigmatization.<sup>57</sup>

Question 12 aims to establish whether respondents are likely to disseminate lifestories content on their own accord. Outside of helping to assert respondents’ engagement with the material by asserting whether they are likely (or not) to proactively engage with the plight of individuals portrayed in the lifestories content,<sup>58</sup> responses to this question will directly inform (among others) the length, editing, and general presentation of lifestories content. As responses to this question will help to discern whether lifestory content is likely to be proactively disseminated by respondents, it also speaks to the lifestories’ ability to institute institutional and/or social change. This function is furthered through the question’s “open answer” format, which allows interviewees to catalogue any further information and/or feedback they feel obliged to share.

**Support for violent extremism dimension**

The impact measurement section of the survey’s support for violent extremism dimension incorporates the following questions towards meeting the requirements outlined above:

Question number	Question	Answer format
-----------------	----------	---------------

<sup>56</sup> Schadenfreude refers to a phenomenon in which an individual takes joy in another’s suffering. See Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe, “Us and Them.”

<sup>57</sup> Stigmatizing individuals are unlikely to indicate strong agreement with the question statement unless they have experienced a change in attitude.

<sup>58</sup> This also helps to ‘reinforce’ observations vis-a-vis likely behavioral change, as proactive activism on the part of respondents - depending on their background - would represent a significant change in mentality.

16	Which of the following emotions captures your response to the lifestory video best?	Circle one of them: pity, sadness, disgust, sympathy, indifference.
17	I understand why the person in the video made the choice he/she made.	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.
18	I view people who harbor extremist sentiments...	5-point scale, ranging from 'very negatively' to 'very positively'.
19	I would like to show lifestories videos to my work colleagues and family members.	5-point scale, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Interviewees are invited to write down additional thoughts.

**Figure 9. Support for Violent Extremism Dimension**

The structure of the impact measurement section of the survey’s support for violent extremism dimension mirrors that of the stigmatization dimension, with questions 16 and 17 mirroring questions 8 and 9 in terms of both content and inclusion rationale. Question 18 is a repeat of question 15 (which constituted part of the ‘baseline’ measurement for individuals within the ‘violent extremism’ category) and can be understood as a ‘blunt’ attempt at measuring a change in attitude through the comparison of pre- and post-content-exposure responses. Question 18 mirrors question 12 and aims to establish whether respondents are likely to disseminate lifestories content on their own accord. Outside of helping to assert respondents’ engagement with the material by asserting whether they are likely (or not) to proactively engage with the plight of individuals portrayed in the lifestories content<sup>59</sup>, responses to this question will directly inform (among others) the length, editing, and general presentation of lifestories content. As responses to this question will help to discern whether lifestory content is likely to be proactively disseminated by respondents, it also speaks to the lifestories’ ability to institute institutional and/or social change.

The support from violent extremism dimension diverges from the stigmatization dimension in that no question is featured which is specifically tailored towards establishing a proxy for changes in respondent behavior. This is largely because (as previously outlined), changes in behavior are unlikely to manifest directly after exposure and are (in practice) impossible to differentiate from short-term emotional responses and/or intentions to change behavior<sup>60</sup>. Individuals may return to old habits, environments, and social circles shortly after being exposed to lifestory videos and may

<sup>59</sup> This also helps to ‘reinforce’ observations vis-a-vis likely behavioral change, as proactive activism on the part of respondents - depending on their background - would represent a significant change in mentality.

<sup>60</sup> Emotional responses may have a delayed effect on attitude adjustment, just as the attitude adjustment they inspire may revert as a result of individuals defaulting to old habits and/or views outside of the test environment. See Ajzen, “The Theory of Planned Behavior”; Hastings, Stead, and Webb, “Fear Appeals in Social Marketing”; Howell, “Investigating the Long-Term Impacts of Climate Change Communications on Individuals’ Attitudes and Behavior.”

(as a result) ‘default’ to negative behaviors in the short term, meaning that behavioral changes are unlikely to present prior to the medium term (if at all). Asserting long-term behavioral change requires a more extensive (and considerably more involved) approach, which falls beyond the scope of this survey. Nevertheless, the attitude change towards support for violent extremism is measured through questions 16, 17, and 18.

**IV: Impact Measurement through Project Activities Reception**

Lastly, to measure the impact of the lifestories approach, the project activities reception will be employed as a complementary tool to the outlined tools. It will report on the number of reports published, alongside policy papers, blogs, commentaries, dashboards, websites, workshops, conferences, guest lectures, creation of networks, and reported follow-up initiatives. For the aforementioned activities, the impact will mostly be measured through quantity (number of products, number of participants) but also their reception via online indicators. These indicators are: the number of clicks, number of likes, views, shares, length of view, and generation of comments (which will be catalogued quantitatively) and number of citations via Google Analytics. The platforms are the lifestories website, YouTube, LinkedIn, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. Moreover, the number of TV or newspaper appearances is incorporated as well. These indicators are useful in analyzing the impact since they can give an insight into the amount of people reached, and are useful for comment analysis of their reactions.

**Conclusion**

Decreasing the radicalized individuals’ extremist views based on ethnicity or religion.
Preventing vulnerable individuals becoming radicalized based on ethnic or religious identity.
Decreasing stigmatization of formerly convicted individuals and supporting reintegration
Inspiring the potentially radicalized and vulnerable individuals, inside and outside prisons, and policy makers from around the world to use lifestories to strengthen the prevention and reintegration strategies.
Changing public perceptions about vulnerable individuals and radicalized individuals (in and outside prison).
Increasing the level of knowledge and awareness on disengagement, de-radicalization and reintegration among local ordinary citizens and governmental authorities.

**Figure 10. Strategic impact aims of the lifestories approach**

Broadly speaking, the following target groups are used to measure the impact. In terms of interviews, there are different types of lifestories that are conducted with three different categories: (i) violent extremist individuals, (ii) vulnerable individuals/directly affected individuals, and (iii) practitioners. The three latter categories are also the target audiences of lifestory campaign messaging. Violent extremist individuals are homegrown terrorists and foreign fighters (both legally charged and uncharged). Vulnerable

individuals are usually youth at risk<sup>61</sup> but can also be those directly affected by violent extremism/radicalization, as they may have been approached by violent extremist organizations as well. Directly affected individuals include (i) family members, (ii) friends, (iii) community observers, (iv) religious and ethnic officials, and (v) approached individuals. The practitioners incorporate MPs, governmental officials, IOs, NGOs, journalists, and academics. To counter-message both violent extremist individuals and vulnerable individuals/directly affected individuals, the lifestories of former violent extremists and directly affected individuals alike are used. The directly affected individuals are used as well since they possess a degree of credibility after former violent extremists and other types of experiences that provide a holistic representation of the impact of violent extremism.

The lifestories approach is less direct than other potential de-radicalization efforts, more focused on improvement and rehabilitation than punishment.<sup>62</sup> The promotion of the formation of a strong self-identity and instigation of empathy is designed to make changes for the individual, which consequently has a lasting effect on society. The impact of the lifestories is measured in terms of how much individuals report feeling they have benefited from it, but also through questionnaires on the basis of attitude change. In fact, mixed methods, quantitative and qualitative, are used to measure impact on an individual level, such as interviews, ethnographic observations, questionnaires, and project activities reception. Quantitatively, the lifestory interview process will be quantifiable via a pre- and post- survey. One-to-one quantitative measurements of various audiences is conducted through (i) a pre- and post- questionnaire face-to-face in workshops, conferences, and during interviews, and also by measuring the effectiveness of the lifestory videos online through a pre- and post- survey of various viewers. A statistical analysis will show whether their perceptions/attitude changed towards lesser support for violent extremism and lesser stigmatization. We can track the impact online via a short pre- and post- questionnaire only on YouTube as a tool to incorporate questions before and after watching the videos is available, as various viewers will be asked to fill the questionnaire in before as well as after viewing the lifestory. In addition, online indicators are used to measure outreach, such as the number of clicks, views, length of view, and generation of comments (which will be analyzed quantitatively), the number of redirected users (Google, YouTube, Microsoft), and the number of users in the lifestories database/website via Google Analytics. In addition, the reported number of usage of lifestories from various individuals will be reported. Lastly, qualitatively, ethnographic notes taken during the meetings, workshops, and conferences where lifestory videos are shown and discussed will be captured and used to evaluate impact qualitatively as well. The latter is crucial, especially in places where the local culture is mainly based on oral communication. In addition, during the lifestory interview, the participants will be asked to report on the impact of the interview in an open-ended question. As recommended by RAN, based on the measured impact, the content/types of the lifestory videos will then be adjusted iteratively. These types of mixed methods, combining quantitative and qualitative measurements, will serve to monitor the effectiveness of the lifestories program, evaluating and adjusting it accordingly.

<sup>61</sup> "The Role of Youth in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in the Western Balkans." Atlantic Council of Montenegro, 2018.

<sup>62</sup> Hearne and Laiq, "A New Approach? Deradicalization Programs and Counterterrorism."

## Bibliography

- Ajzen, Icek. "The Theory of Planned Behavior." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 50, no. 2 (1991): 179–211. <https://doi.org/10/cc3>.
- Becirevic, Edina. "Countering and Preventing Extremism in BiH: Learning from International Efforts." *Western Balkans Extremism Research Forum*, September 2018, 9.
- Beck, A. T., A. Weissman, D. Lester, and L. Trexler. "The Measurement of Pessimism: The Hopelessness Scale." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 42, no. 6 (December 1974): 861–65.
- Becker, Gary S. "A Theory of Marriage: Part I." *Journal of Political Economy* 81, no. 4 (July 1973): 813–46. <https://doi.org/10.1086/260084>.
- Berger, J.M. "Making CVE Work: A Focused Approach Based on Process Disruption." *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies*, May 26, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.19165/2016.1.05>.
- Bhugra, Dinesh, Antonio Ventriglio, and Kamaldeep Bhui. "Acculturation, Violent Radicalisation, and Religious Fundamentalism." *The Lancet. Psychiatry* 4, no. 3 (March 2017): 179–81. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366\(16\)30357-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(16)30357-1).
- Braddock, Kurt, and John Morrison. "Cultivating Trust and Perceptions of Source Credibility in Online Counternarratives Intended to Reduce Support for Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, March 14, 2018, 01–50. <https://doi.org/10/gf6zkn>.
- Cikara, Mina, Emile G. Bruneau, and Rebecca R. Saxe. "Us and Them: Intergroup Failures of Empathy." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 20, no. 3 (2011): 149–153.
- Darwall, Stephen. "Empathy, Sympathy, Care." *Philosophical Studies* 89, no. 2–3 (1998): 261–282.
- Davis, Mark H. "A Multidimensional Approach to Individual Differences in Empathy," 1980.
- Eriksson, Palvi, and Anne Kovalainen. *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. SAGE, 2008. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857028044>.
- Ferguson, Neil. "Disengaging from Terrorism: A Northern Irish Experience." *Journal for Deradicalization* 6 (March 1, 2016): 1–23.
- Fetterman, D.M. *Ethnography: Step-by Step Guide*. 3rd Edition. Los Angeles: 3rd Edition, 2010.
- Foubert, John D., and Bradford C. Perry. "Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes: The Qualitative Impact of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program." *Violence Against*

- Women 13, no. 1 (January 2007): 70–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801206295125>.
- Goldman, Jennifer S., and Peter T. Coleman. “How Humiliation Fuels Intractable Conflict: The Effects of Emotional Roles on Recall and Reactions to Conflictual Encounters.” Teachers College, Columbia University, 2005.
- Green, Melanie C., and Timothy C. Brock. “The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79, no. 5 (2000): 701.
- Halpern, Jodi, and Harvey M. Weinstein. “Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 26 (2004): 561.
- Hamm, Marks S. “Using Prison Ethnography in Terrorism Research: Discovery through Fieldwork.” *Doing Ethnography in Criminology*, January 2018, 195–202.
- Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. 3. ed. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Hastings, Gerard, Martine Stead, and John Webb. “Fear Appeals in Social Marketing: Strategic and Ethical Reasons for Concern.” *Psychology & Marketing* 21, no. 11 (2004): 961–986. <https://doi.org/10/bgr35q>.
- Hearne, Ellie B., and Nur Laiq. “A New Approach? Deradicalization Programs and Counterterrorism.” International Peace Institute, June 2010. [https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/a\\_new\\_approach\\_epub.pdf](https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/a_new_approach_epub.pdf).
- Howell, Rachel A. “Investigating the Long-Term Impacts of Climate Change Communications on Individuals’ Attitudes and Behavior.” *Environment and Behavior* 46, no. 1 (2014): 70–101. <https://doi.org/10/f5km94>.
- “Instructions for Searching the CVE Database.” Accessed December 9, 2019. <http://www.impact.itti.com.pl/index#/inspire/search>.
- Keller, Jonathan W., and Yi Edward Yang. “Empathy and Strategic Interaction in Crises: A Poliheuristic Perspective.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5, no. 2 (April 1, 2009): 169–89. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2009.00088.x>.
- Lamm, Claus, Andrew N. Meltzoff, and Jean Decety. “How Do We Empathize with Someone Who Is Not Like Us? A Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging Study.” *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 22, no. 2 (2010): 362–376.
- Lindner, Evelin. *Making Enemies: Humiliation and International Conflict*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.
- Lindsay, Clutterbuck. “Deradicalization Programs and Counterterrorism: A Perspective on the Challenges and Benefits | Middle East Institute.” Middle East Institute, June 10, 2015. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/deradicalization-programs-and-counterterrorism-perspective-challenges-and-benefits>.

- Manstead, A.S.R., Miles Hewstone, and Susan T. Fiske. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, 1995.
- Marsden, Peter V. *Handbook of Survey Research*, Second Edition. Edited by James D. Wright. 2 edition. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Group Limited, 2010.
- Moos, I., and A. Bjorn. "Use of the Life Story in the Institutional Care of People with Dementia: A Review of Intervention Studies." *Ageing and Society* 26, no. 431–454 (n.d.).
- Oliver, Mary Beth, James Price Dillard, Keunmin Bae, and Daniel J. Tamul. "The Effect of Narrative News Format on Empathy for Stigmatized Groups." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (2012): 205–224.
- Perloff, Richard. *The Dynamics of Persuasion: Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century*. Sixth Edition. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, n.d.
- Pung, Hans, and Et. al. "What Works in Tackling Violent Radicalisation and Extremism?" Accessed December 9, 2019. <https://www.rand.org/randeurope/research/projects/impact-europe.html>.
- RAN Guidelines for Effective Alternative and Counter-Narrative Campaigns (GAMMMA+). RAN Centre of Excellence, 2017. [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation\\_awareness\\_network/about-ran/ran-c-and-n/docs/ran\\_cn\\_guidelines\\_effective\\_alternative\\_counter\\_narrative\\_campaigns\\_31\\_12\\_2017\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-c-and-n/docs/ran_cn_guidelines_effective_alternative_counter_narrative_campaigns_31_12_2017_en.pdf).
- RAN ISSUE PAPER - Counter Narratives and Alternative Narratives. RAN Centre of Excellence, 2017. [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation\\_awareness\\_network/about-ran/ran-c-and-n/docs/ran\\_cn\\_guidelines\\_effective\\_alternative\\_counter\\_narrative\\_campaigns\\_31\\_12\\_2017\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-c-and-n/docs/ran_cn_guidelines_effective_alternative_counter_narrative_campaigns_31_12_2017_en.pdf).
- Rapoport, Anatol. *The Origins of Violence: Approaches to the Study of Conflict*. New York: Paragon House, 1989.
- Schmid, Alex P. "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review." The Hague: ICCT, 2013.
- . "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review." ICCT Research Papers, n.d. <https://doi.org/10.19165/2013.1.02>.
- Schuurman, Bart, and Quirine Eijkman. "Moving Terrorism Research Forward: The Crucial Role of Primary Sources." *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies*, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.19165/2013.2.02>.
- Scioli, Anthony, and Henry Biller. *Hope in the Age of Anxiety*. 1st edition. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Slater, Michael D., and Donna Rouner. "Entertainment—Education and Elaboration Likelihood: Understanding the Processing of Narrative Persuasion." *Communication Theory* 12, no. 2 (2002): 173–191.

Slater, Michael D., Donna Rouner, and Marilee Long. "Television Dramas and Support for Controversial Public Policies: Effects and Mechanisms." *Journal of Communication* 56, no. 2 (2006): 235–252.

Stijn, Sieckelinck, Elga Sikkens, Marion van San, and Micha De Winter. "Transitional Journeys Into and Out of Extremism. A Biographical Approach." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 42, no. 7 (March 7, 2019): 662–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1407075>.

"Tackling Extremism: De-Radicalization and Disengagement." Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2012.

<https://www.counterextremism.org/resources/details/id/191/conference-report-on-tackling-extremism-de-radicalisation-and-disengagement-copenhagen-8-9th-may-2012>.

## Annex I: Beck's Hopelessness Scale (BHS)

1. I look forward to the future with hope and enthusiasm.
2. I might as well give up because I can't make things better for myself.
3. When things are going badly, I am helped by knowing they can't stay that way forever.
4. I can't imagine what my life would be like in 10 years.
5. I have enough time to accomplish the things I most want to do.
6. In the future, I expect to succeed in what concerns me most.
7. My future seems dark to me.
8. I expect to get more of the good things in life than the average person.
9. I just don't get the breaks, and there's no reason to believe I will in the future.
10. My past experiences have prepared me well for my future.
11. All I can see ahead of me is unpleasantness rather than pleasantness.
12. I don't expect to get what I really want.
13. When I look ahead to the future, I expect I will be happier than I am now.
14. Things won't work out the way I want them to.
15. I have great faith in the future.
16. I never get what I want, so it's foolish to want anything.
17. It is very unlikely that I will get any real satisfaction in the future.
18. The future seems vague and uncertain to me.
19. I can look forward to more good times than bad times.
20. There's no use in really trying to get something I want because I probably won't get it.

Answer true or false.

## Annex II: Questionnaire Measuring the Impact of Lifestories

Question number		Question	Answer
1		I work at a government agency	Yes / No
2		I work for an international organization	Yes / No
3		I work for an NGO	Yes / No
4	a	I have come into contact with individuals that have expressed violent extremist sentiments	Yes / No
	b	If yes, please elaborate where (about) and how	Open question
5		I support the use of political violence	Yes / No

Explanatory note: Based on your answers above (yes or no), please go to either the stigmatization section or violent extremism section

Question	Answer	Sortation
1	Yes	Direct to stigmatization section
	No	None
2	Yes	Direct to stigmatization section
	No	None
3	Yes	Direct to stigmatization section
	No	None
4	N/A	None
5	Yes	Direct to violent extremism section

	No	Direct to stigmatization section
--	----	----------------------------------

**Background Information (optional)**

Ethnicity.....

Religion.....

Gender.....

Age.....

Nationality.....

Place of residence.....

Level of education.....

**Stigmatization dimension**

Question number	Question	Answer
5	I view people who harbor extremist sentiment...	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
6	I associate extremist sentiment with a specific group, namely...	Open question. Respondent is invited to provide a one-word answer of his/her own choosing.

**Violent extremism dimension**

Question number	Question	Answer
12	I am positive about my future in the country I'm currently living in...	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree

		5 Strongly Agree
13	I have control over my own life...	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
14	I view people who harbor extremist sentiments...	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

**After Watching the Lifestory Video**

***Stigmatization dimension***

Question number	Question	Answer
8	Which of the following emotions captures your response to the lifestory video best?	Circle one of them: pity, sadness, disgust, sympathy, indifference.
9	I understand why the person in the video made the choice he/she made.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
10	I view violent extremism differently after watching the lifestory video.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree

		5 Strongly Agree
11	I would like to know how I can help people like the person in the lifestory video.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
12	I would like to show lifestories videos to my work colleagues and family members. Interviewees are invited to write down additional thoughts.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

***Violent extremism dimension***

Question number	Question	Answer
15	Which of the following emotions captures your response to the lifestory video best?	Circle one of them: pity, sadness, disgust, sympathy, indifference.
16	I understand why the person in the video made the choice he/she made.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
17	I view people who harbor extremist sentiments...	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

18	I would like to show lifestories videos to my work colleagues and family members. Interviewees are invited to write down additional thoughts.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
----	---	---

**Disclaimer: Privacy Notice**

In addition to your opinion, we might collect certain types of personal data, such as age, ethnicity, nationality and broad place of residence (city/town/village and/or municipality).

The data is collected for research purposes only. The data collected will be kept in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation of the European Union, as well as relevant Privacy Laws where necessary.

The data will be used for measuring the impact of lifestories in the processes of Countering and Preventing Violence.

The data will be collected and stored securely until the end of the research period, no longer than necessary and will not be utilized for any other purposes beyond the one for which it is collected.

We respect and trust your privacy, and we will not sell the data to third parties.

You are granted to access, view, and edit your own information in a timely manner. You also have the right to be forgotten, which means that your data can be completely deleted from the database. You also have the right to be able to opt out from future communication and correspondence.

The data you provide is owned by yourself, and not by The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies or Peace Analytics.

Should you feel that your data has been compromised, or you no longer wish to have your data stored with us, please contact [arlindarrustemi@hcss.nl](mailto:arlindarrustemi@hcss.nl) or [arlindar@gmail.com](mailto:arlindar@gmail.com)