

The presence of stigmatization: the objectivity of radicalisation prevention plans in Dutch schools



Capstone: understanding radicalisation from below

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Table of contents

- 1. Introduction 5**
- 2. Theoretical Framework 6**
 - 2.1 Radicalism 6
 - 2.2 Radicalism in the Netherlands 6
 - 2.3 Prevention plans in the Netherlands 7
 - 2.4 Radicalism and Extremism 8
 - 2.5 The concept of stigma 9
 - 2.6 Theory 10
 - 2.6.1 Suspect community theory 10
 - 2.6.2 Labelling theory 11
 - 2.7 Previous literature 11
- 3. Methodology 13**
 - 3.1 Research Approach 13
 - 3.2 Data collection 13
 - 3.2.1 Prevention plans 13
 - 3.2.2 Interviews 14
 - 3.3 Data Analysis 14
 - 3.4 Operationalisation 15
 - 3.5 Limitations 17
- 4. Discourse Analysis 18**
 - 4.1 The Self 19
 - 4.1.1 Pattern 19
 - 4.1.2 Character of the discourses 21
 - 4.1.3 Dynamics 22
 - 4.1.4 Results 23
 - 4.2 Labelling 23
 - 4.2.1 Pattern 23
 - 4.2.2 Character of the discourses 25
 - 4.2.3 Dynamics 26
 - 4.2.4 Results 26
 - 4.3 Stereotyping 27
 - 4.3.1 Pattern 27
 - 4.3.2 Character of the discourses 29
 - 4.3.3 Dynamics 29
 - 4.3.4 Results 30
 - 4.4 Separation 30
 - 4.4.1 Pattern 30
 - 4.4.2 Character of the discourses 31

4.4.3 Dynamics	32
4.4.4 Results	32
4.5 <i>Function and Critique</i>	33
4.5.1 Function 1	33
4.5.2 Function 2	34
4.5.3 Function 3	34
4.6 <i>Marginal patterns</i>	35
5. Interviews	37
5.1 <i>The concept of radicalism</i>	38
5.2 <i>Recognizing a process of radicalization</i>	40
5.3 <i>Prevention plans</i>	42
5.4 <i>Approach to radicalism</i>	43
6. Discussion	47
6.1 <i>Interpretation of results</i>	47
6.2 <i>Limitations of the research</i>	49
6.3 <i>Implications and recommendations</i>	49
7. Conclusion	51
8. Bibliography	53
9. Appendixes	60
<i>Appendix 1: Interview questions</i>	60
<i>Appendix 2: Transcript interviewee 1</i>	61
<i>Appendix 3: Transcript interviewee 2</i>	67
<i>Appendix 4: Transcript interviewee 3</i>	77
<i>Appendix 5: Transcript interviewee 4</i>	82
<i>Appendix 6: Transcript interviewee 5</i>	90

1. Introduction

Islam does not characterize radicalization but is often used to exemplify radicalism, thereby unintentionally stigmatizing Islam (Monaghan & Molnar, 2016). As a result, the Muslim community becomes susceptible to unequal treatment (Peirce, 2008). Former research shows how prevention plans for radicalism are regularly biased as they work stigmatizing (Monaghan & Molnar, 2016; Ahmed, 2015; Breen-Smyth, 2014). The prevention of radicalism should not produce inequality, mistreatment or discrimination but ought to be neutral in its approach as stigmatization works counterproductive to its cause. Awareness for this problem is needed and, therefore, further research is necessary to illustrate the presence of stigma in prevention plans.

The research focuses on analysing the extent of stigma present in prevention plans for radicalism offered in Dutch schools. The research question reads: *To what extent is there a presence of stigmatization in the prevention plans for radicalism for Dutch schools?* Former research done on this topic does not encompass the Netherlands and in particular Dutch schools, hence this research aims to contribute to new insights, making it academically relevant. The academic relevance also lies in the combination of investigating the practical and the operational level, which helps to comprehend the different dynamics of a prevention plan. The societal relevance of the research is the contribution to understanding how language and images are highly influential for the meaning-making of radicalism, while also increasing awareness in society to prevent further stigmatization.

The research starts by describing the concepts and theories used throughout the study after which the methodology section discusses the research method and data collection. The analysis of the prevention plans follows, substantiated with the answers of the interviews. Finally, the discussion section covers the interpretations, limitations and recommendations of the research after which the conclusion states the main findings and answers the research question.

2. Theoretical Framework

By explaining concepts, discussing theory and literature, the theoretical framework aims to create a better understanding of how the research is conducted.

2.1 Radicalism

The concept of radicalism is not absolute, meaning that several definitions of radicalism coexist. According to Sedgwick (2010), the term radicalism confuses as it is interpreted differently in contrasting contexts, levels and agendas. The definition of radicalism is, therefore, ambiguous and subject to interpretation. For example, radicalism can be described as the use of violent means to reach a certain goal, but it can also be described as going against the status quo to establish a new political structure (Della Porta & LaFree, 2012; Bötticher, 2017). Additionally, the discourse of radicalism frequently shifts and adapts to new developments. In the 1970s radicalism was used to describe the interaction between states and social movements (Della Porta & LaFree, 2012). Moving forward to the period between 2005 and 2007, in which media frequently mentioned radicalism concerning the increasing occurrence of home-grown terrorism, counter-measures were created resulting in the term's institutionalization (Sedgwick, 2010). After the events of 9/11, radicalism further accelerated as an explanation for Islamist terrorism, ignoring other elements of its emergence (Sedgwick, 2010). The association of radicalism with Islam has continued in recent times as stated by Yafie and Syahid (2020), Torabi, Shirkhani and Abarghouyi (2020) and Mashuri and Zaduqisti (2019).

According to Schmid (2013), radicalization is described differently based on where the emphasis is placed. For example, the emphasis can be on a changing society or on the use of violent means, which can lead to different approaches in preventing radicalism. It is important to examine how the Dutch government interprets radicalism, as this is the definition the research will be critical of and build upon.

2.2 Radicalism in the Netherlands

As aforementioned, the definition of radicalism depends on the emphasis and changes in different situations (Sedgwick, 2010; Expert Group, 2008). States often define radicalism, thereby directly influencing the approach for prevention (Koopmans, 1993). The Dutch intelligence and security service (AIVD) describe radicalism as follows:

“The (active) pursuit and/or support to far-reaching changes in society which may constitute a danger to (the continued existence of) the democratic legal order (aim), which may involve the use of undemocratic (means) that may harm the functioning of the democratic legal order (effect).” (AIVD (c), 2004, 13).

The emphasis is placed on the democratic legal order that is endangered by the emergence of radicalism. This assertion is further strengthened by the AIVD’s annual report of 2012, which describes radical and extremist movements as dangerous because they promote anti-democratic beliefs (AIVD (a), 2012). The AIVD describes the democratic legal order as the rules and regulations recognized in a society, which actively involves the participation of citizens (AIVD (c), 2004). Furthermore, the AIVD formulates 3 main types of radicalism that could undermine the democratic legal order, namely: *antidemocratic radicalism*, *undemocratic radicalism*, and *radicalism undermining democracy* (AIVD (c), 2004, 14-16). Antidemocratic radicalism is described as individuals challenging democracy and wanting to establish a different form of governance, thereby undermining rights such as the freedom of expression (AIVD (c), 2004). This form of radicalism is present in extreme-right or extreme-left activism and radical Islam (AIVD (c), 2004). Undemocratic radicalism is characterized by using undemocratic means to achieve a certain goal in which violence plays an important role (AIVD (c), 2004). Examples being animal rights activism. Radicalism undermining democracy is explained as activism that does not aim to undermine democracy but can affect the functioning of it such as anti-integration beliefs of minorities (AIVD (c), 2004). It is likely that these types of radicalism are also portrayed in the Dutch prevention plans.

2.3 Prevention plans in the Netherlands

The Dutch government facilitates the support of schools and educational institutions in dealing with radicalization in the classroom. This initiative of the government is called the Complementary Education Approach (COA) and aims to better equip schools in the field of recognition, action, and resilience to radicalization and polarization (Rijksoverheid (a), 2017). The Dutch government created the COA as part of the Action program called Integral Approach to Jihadism, executed by the Ministry of Safety and Justice and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (Rijksoverheid (a), 2017). The action programme focuses on Jihadism, but the COA is aimed at tackling radicalism. Prevention plans for radicalism are not obligated for schools and the usage is fully voluntarily (Rijksoverheid (a), 2017). This leaves schools with the option to choose freely between different plans.

On the website of the Dutch government (Rijksoverheid (b), n.d.) they refer to the websites of the Stichting School & Veiligheid and the Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, which are part of the COA, for information and guidance about radicalism. The research analyses four prevention plans derived from these organisations. Since the research makes use of prevention plans offered by these organisations, it is important to look at how these organisations describe radicalism. The website of Stichting School & Veiligheid (n.d.) describes radicalism as the process in which a person or a group accepts the consequences of striving for a society that not corresponds with the Dutch democratic legal order. The website of Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs does not state a clear definition of radicalism on their website. However, when looking into their course material it shows that they describe radicalism as using undemocratic means to reach a certain goal. The descriptions of radicalism are coherent as both organisations emphasize the disruption of democracy and society, meaning that they focus on either preventing antidemocratic radicalism or undemocratic radicalism.

2.4 Radicalism and Extremism

Radicalism and extremism are often misinterpreted as identical concepts, while they are distinctive in context. The misuse of radicalism and extremism causes correlation providing governments with a narrative to turn down radical groups even when they use legitimate means (Bötticher, 2017). The AIVD describes the difference between radicalism and extremism as follows:

“Radicalisation is explicitly seen here as a (one-way) process and not as a state. In the description of the components of radicalism, there is an obvious relationship with the term 'extremism'. Reference is made to 'far-reaching reforms' and 'far-reaching consequences'. The terms 'radicalism' and 'extremism' are related (in common parlance). However, the latter term has an almost exclusively negative connotation, whereas this does not always have to be the case with the former. For example, some left-wing liberal parties and movements in several European countries call themselves 'Radicals' (but certainly not 'Extremists').” (AIVD (c), 2004, 14-15)

The AIVD indicates that the key distinction between the two concepts lies in the fact that radicalism is to some extent accepted as it does not directly harm society or violate the law. Extremism is described as trying to reach a goal with the use of undemocratic means (AIVD (c), 2004). The AIVD (2004 (c)), affirms that extremist groups are infringing the political

framework whereas radicals are active within that framework. Bötticher (2017) supports this notion by describing radicalism as working within the lines of democratic consent, while extremism is not. This research requires paying attention to these matters as it affects how the prevention plans are executed.

2.5 The concept of stigma

Stigmatisation is a concept first defined by Erving Goffman in 1963, he defined stigma as *an attribute that is deeply discrediting* (Goffman, 1963, p.3). Goffman divided the attributes into three stigmas namely, *tribal stigmas* (e.g., religion and race), *physical deformities* (e.g. blindness) and *blemishes of character* (e.g., mental illness) (Goffman, 1963, p.4). According to Goffman (1963), experiencing stigmatization is likely to be present at some stage in life. Built upon Goffman's definition, many other definitions followed resulting in the concept's ambiguity (Link & Phelan, 2001). Multiple definitions lead to several understandings, therefore, the research uses the definition formulated by Link and Phelan. Link and Phelan built forth on Goffman's definition of stigma by extending the so-called relationship between an *attribute and a stereotype* (Link & Phelan, 2001, p.366). According to Link and Phelan (2001), stigma happens when five components interrelate with each other. Their definition is as follows:

“ In the first component, people distinguish and label human differences. In the second, dominant cultural beliefs link labeled persons to undesirable characteristics . . . In the third, labeled persons are placed in distinct categories . . . to accomplish some degree of separation of “us” from “them.” In the fourth, labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination. . . Finally, stigmatization is entirely contingent on . . . power . . . ” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367)

Link and Phelan state that stigmatisation can develop when *labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss* and *discrimination* coexist together with a strong power position (Link & Phelan, p. 367). This definition of stigma is useful for measuring the extent of stigma and represented throughout the paper. The operationalization of stigma is discussed in the methodology section.

2.6 Theory

Prevention plans intent to be objective in their approach but research shows that these plans often work stigmatizing. (Monaghan and Molnar, 2016). The suspect community theory and the labelling theory contribute to understanding the implications of stigmatization.

2.6.1 Suspect community theory

Hillyard (1993) was the first to use the term ‘suspect community’ to demonstrate how the Irish community were mistreated in the United Kingdom, specifically in the period 1974 to 1989. The United Kingdom linked the Irish to terrorism and continuously portrayed them as suspects. Additionally, the legislation called the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) contributed to the structural discrimination of the Irish community (Hillyard, 1993). Hillyard (1993) states that targeting the Irish as suspects of terrorism resulted in police efforts increasingly limiting their basic human rights and freedom. The suspect community theory reveals how stigma can lead to structural discrimination and criminalisation. Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) described the ‘suspect community’ as follows:

‘a sub-group of the population that is singled out for state attention as being ‘problematic’ ... individuals may be targeted, not necessarily as a result of suspected wrong doing, but simply because of their presumed membership of that sub-group. Race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, language, accent, dress, political ideology or any combination of these factors may serve to delineate the sub-group.’ (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009, 649)

The state is an important factor for the systemic alienation of a community thereby affirming the notion that a strong power position is essential for the emergence of stigmatization. The theory of Hillyard led to research also investigating other communities, such as the Muslim community. Gareth Peirce (2008) stated that Muslims in the United Kingdom experienced similar and sometimes even worse treatment than the Irish community. The suspect community theory is useful for this research as it might show how a particular group is targeted as suspects of radicalism.

2.6.2 Labelling theory

Labelling theory assumes that by assigning labels to individuals or groups this can develop into a self-fulfilling prophecy (Warren & Laufer, 2009). Machú describes the labelling theory as follows:

“The labelling theory deals with labelling individuals according to their abilities and skills. After an individual is labelled, their attitude, as well as the attitude of professionals and their environment towards them changes and the individuals thus becomes stigmatized.” (Machú, 2013, 185)

This means that by labelling people they act according to that label, making it a self-fulfilling prophecy. According to Warren and Laufer (2009), the self-fulfilling prophecy occurs because the labelling puts the group in isolation in which they have less access to resources and means. Labelling theory has been frequently used to examine how labelling in schools affects the outcomes of students (Thomas, 1997; Machú, 2013). Labelling theory is relevant in this research as it can demonstrate what labels are assigned to a radicalized individual.

2.7 Previous literature

Monaghan and Molnar (2016) demonstrated that the prevention of radicalism has led to discrimination towards Muslim groups in Canada. Especially policing efforts indicate discriminatory elements under the umbrella of countering radicalism (Monaghan & Molnar, 2016). Monaghan and Molnar state the following:

“In movements towards pre-emption, the equation of risk indicators with ethnic and radicalised identities has already translated into forms of Muslim profiling through which domestic populations are subjected to discriminatory police treatment and more intrusive surveillance.” (Monaghan & Molnar, 2016, 409)

The article specifically focuses on policing, it nevertheless shows the implications language can have. Furthermore, Shamila Ahmed (2015) researched the consequences of the War on Terror for the British Pakistani Kashmiri Muslims, showing that through policing they were alienated, thereby, fuelling feelings for radicalism. Context matters and should be carefully taken into consideration when introducing tools to prevent radicalism (Ahmed, 2015). Ahmed states the following:

‘‘Vulnerability describes factors and characteristics associated with being susceptible to radicalization and the internalisation of the ‘other’, as well as the rejection of a British identity are factors which contribute to the radicalisation process.’’ (Ahmed, 2015, 122)

It becomes clear that risk indicators for radicalization could have a contradictory effect as it develops an image of the ‘other’ in which particular traits are linked to radicalism. Breen-Smyth (2014) also stated that by creating a ‘suspect community’ of the Muslim community, it produces the idea of ‘‘good Muslims’’, in which there is a need to prove oneself. This creates the problem of feeling pressured to act as ambassadors for their religion and condemn any form of violence (Breen-Smyth, 2014).

Furthermore, former research done on the Prevent programme of the United Kingdom also affirms the notion that radicalism is often linked to Islam (Thomas, 2016; Taylor & Soni, 2017). The Prevent programme was implemented in 2007 as a counter-terrorism approach (Thomas, 2016). Part of this programme was focused on funding the community development of the Muslim community, thereby directly proving the presence of stigma (Thomas, 2016). Since there was a specific focus on the Muslim community, the programme contributed to the stereotypical image of a ‘‘terrorist’’ (Thomas, 2016). Additionally, schools were expected to identify pupils that show *extreme political, social or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo* (Sieckelinck et al, 2015, p.330). Thomas and Soni (2016) state that this approach produced isolation and fear among pupils, thereby fuelling feelings and thoughts of not belonging or fitting in society.

Previous literature demonstrated how prevention plans work stigmatizing and produce problematic outcomes. It is, therefore, important to be critical of the language and images used in prevention plans. Additionally, schools are known to have a prominent role in the upbringing of children and young adults and are an influential actor for meaning-making. Consequently, this research specifically focuses on radicalisation prevention plans in Dutch schools, as former research has not focused on the Netherlands making this research academically relevant.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Approach

The research aims to investigate to what extent stigma is present in prevention plans for radicalism in Dutch schools. To investigate this, the research focuses on the language and images used to construct the image of a radicalized individual. With the use of the theoretical framework, the discourses of radicalism can be investigated through inductive reasoning.

In order to find out whether Dutch prevention plans may stigmatize, a single case study is conducted. A case study is an *empirical research method used to investigate a contemporary phenomenon, focusing on the dynamics of the case, within its real-life context* (Yin, 2003). A case study is useful for describing a phenomenon and makes it possible to analyse different cases focused on finding patterns (Summers & Teegavarapu, 2008). It is also effective for explaining the process of a phenomenon through in-depth analysis instead of observing the phenomenon from a macro-level (Zainal, 2007).

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Prevention plans

Data is collected from the websites of Stichting School & Veiligheid (School & Safety Foundation) and Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs (Higher Education Institution). On the websites of these organisations, data can be found to prevent radicalism such as e-learning courses. In order to investigate whether these prevention plans are stigmatized the focus is on four plans offered, which are the following:

Stichting School & Veiligheid

1. TERRA: Radicalism and why this is relevant for you. A guide for teachers and youth workers. (<https://www.schoolenveiligheid.nl/po-vo/kennisbank/folder-radicalisering-relevant-voor-jou/>)
2. Puberal, awkward or radicalizing: cross-border behaviour of young people in education. (<https://www.schoolenveiligheid.nl/po-vo/kennisbank/puberaal-lastig-of-radicaliserend/>)

Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs

1. Triggerfactors in the radicalization process. (<https://www.socialestabiliteit.nl/documenten/publicaties/2016/09/27/brochure-triggerfactoren>)
2. E-learning Alarming Behaviour. (<https://www.integraalveilig-ho.nl/instrument/e-learning-alarming-behaviour/>)

These four documents are representative for the general prevention plans offered to Dutch schools, as they are the most prominent and accessible plans, which enhances the validity of the research.

3.2.2 Interviews

Besides collecting data from the websites of Stichting School & Veiligheid and Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, data is collected by conducting interviews. The interviews were aimed to be held with different schools, care counsellors, experts on radicalism and educational research organisations, but due to COVID-19 it was difficult to reach out to possible interviewees. Five people were willing to participate in the interview, all experts on radicalism. The interviews were conducted through a phone call or by using Skype. The interviews are valuable for gaining knowledge from the interviewees and useful in terms of analysing how the interviewees give meaning to radicalization and what they interpret as atypical behaviour regarding the subject.

3.3 Data Analysis

To analyse the qualitative data and to test the hypothesis, this study will use the method of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is useful for researching meaning-making, which seemingly fits the purpose of this research (Georgaca & Avdi, 2011). Fairclough states the following about discourses:

“ Discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be. ” (Fairclough, 2012, 458)

The created discourses, in turn, influence the way people act (Fairclough, 2012). Language is seen as the tool that constructs the way the world is perceived (Georgaca & Avdi, 2011).

Language creates discourses and discourses influence the way we act and think about certain

matters (Wetherell & Potter, 1988). As the aim of this research is to find out whether stigmatization is present in Dutch prevention plans, the use of discourse analysis is the most useful method to examine this. Discourse analysis can help to demonstrate how language can develop a specific discourse of a topic and what effect this has for the way people interpret the world (Fairclough, 2012). The discourse analysis is structured by using analytical steps as subheadings. The following steps are included:

1. Patterns: language is analysed and mapped into dominant and marginal patterns. Specific focus on the language used to describe the Self and the Other.
2. Dynamics: focus on how Othering is presented, meaning with strong language or soft language, inclusive language or exclusive language, accepting or condemnatory. Attention is also paid to the authors of the plans and what kind of influence they have on the terminology used.
3. Character discourse: looks at what discourses are present and what values underline these discourses. Also focuses on the knowledge the discourse produces.
4. Function: concentrates on the function of the discourses present, meaning that it looks at how the discourses work and what effect they generate.
5. Critique: critical look on the language used and how it influences meaning-making.

The analytical steps will contribute to a complete understanding of the prevention plans as they are thoroughly analysed. The steps will be mentioned again at the beginning of the analysis to offer guidance to the reader.

3.4 Operationalisation

By using the method of discourse analysis, it is important to clarify how language is going to be analysed. In other words, how the extent of stigmatization is going to be measured. The research is going to be focused on the vocabulary of the prevention plans and more specifically, the vocabulary used to create identities. As the research makes use of the suspect community theory and the labelling theory, analysing vocabulary to see how identities are created is the most efficient way of studying the language used in the prevention plans. The focus is, therefore, on the presence of Othering. Othering can be explained as the way people understand each other in relation to others in which identities are created to differentiate, which helps to make sense of our own identity (Silva, 1969-2014).

As described in the theoretical framework the paper follows the definition of stigma as defined by Link and Phelan. Link and Phelan state that the presence of five components determines whether stigma exists namely, *labelling, stereotyping, separating, status loss* and *discrimination* (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367). The last two components, status loss and discrimination will not be incorporated in this research as these components are more likely to be a consequence for when stigma is present in prevention plans. To measure stigma in the prevention plans there will be a focus on the first three components from which its vocabulary will be analysed as follows:

- Labelling: physical and mental characteristics assigned to a radicalised person with the use of particular vocabulary to distinguish and make clear that there are specific human differences. Furthermore, the oversimplification of differences to create groups.
- Stereotyping: representation of a specific group in a generalized and simplified way that ignores the broader complexity. (e.g. representation of Muslims as a community particularly susceptible to radicalization leaves out the many other ways that Muslims are successfully part of society)
- Separation: Emphasizing of differences between ‘‘us’’ and ‘‘them’’ or dual positioning, meaning that a particular group is being separated from society while also being separated from their community.

These three components can all be seen as practices of Othering. According to Link and Phelan (2001), besides the presence of the components there needs to be a strong power position in which stigma can evolve. Stigma is, therefore, dependent on power. This means that the authors of the prevention plans need to hold a strong power position for stigma to develop, therefore, this is also investigated.

The extent to which a specific component is present can differ which means that stigma is a matter of degree and depends on the interrelation of all components (Link & Phelan, 2001). A strong presence of Othering together with a strong power position of the

authors will represent a high degree of stigma. The extent of stigmatisation in prevention plans is, therefore, measured by analysing Othering and the power position of the authors.

3.5 Limitations

The reliability of this research is based on the online information offered by Stichting School & Veiligheid and Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs. As these two institutions are directly linked to the case study there is a consistent and detailed data collection to be found. The data is a direct representation of the prevention plans for radicalism offered to Dutch schools and serves the generalisability of the research. Concerning the primary source, the same measurements would most likely lead to similar results. The internal validity of the research is assured by only making use of data that is officially acknowledged as prevention plans by the Dutch governments.

As the research is conducted with the use of discourse analysis it could be difficult to replicate the research as it focuses on interpretative matters. A certain degree of subjectivity is involved throughout the research as the interpretation of words can differ. The research is therefore partly dependent on the choices made by the researcher which may affect the objectivity. Therefore, to address this inclination, three separate categories of stigma with the use of five different analytical steps of discourse analysis are introduced. This way, the interpretation of the results is subject to criterium producing a high degree of objectivity and internal validity. Additionally, the external validity is improved by not mentioning the hypothesis and purpose of the research to the interviewees beforehand. Furthermore, it is important to specify every step taken to justify the interpretation of language during the research, this way replicability can also be enhanced.

4. Discourse Analysis

The research uses inductive reasoning to draw conclusions from the analysis. (Ketoviki & Mantere, 2010). Inductive reasoning examines similarities and differences producing generalizations or regularities (Klauer & Phye, 2008). The data comprising the four prevention plans lead to conducting a single case study. Furthermore, discourse analysis tests the hypothesis using the theory described in the theoretical framework.

The three different strands of Othering result in the operationalization of stigma. Othering explains the creation of identities in which describing the Other helps to distinguish between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’, the Other possessing the ‘bad’ characteristics (Silva, 2017). Reproduction and repetition of specific identities contribute to the development of Othering (Holslag, 2015). Othering includes labelling, stereotyping and separation, which are also components of the process of stigma (Link and Phelan, 2001). Stigma is investigated by looking at Othering through the use of these three components. Meaning that the visibility of the components indicates the presence of stigma in the prevention plans. Furthermore, the construction of the Self adds to the understanding of Othering. The analysis will, therefore, also include the representation of the Self in the prevention plans.

As discourse analysis is used to investigate the prevention plans, the analysis is structured by mentioning the patterns, dynamics, character of discourse, function and critique of each component. The reader is provided with more guidance throughout the analysis as each subheading repeatedly mentions the description of the categories. All categories are first explained in table 1.0.

Table 1.0 Structure of Discourse Analysis

Pattern: focuses on mapping and classifying the language used and describing its main patterns and marginal patterns.
Dynamics: analyses the kind of Othering present, meaning is there a strong or gradual presence of Othering (e.g. is the language used inclusive or judgmental).
Character of the discourse: looks at which discourses are used and what are the values and knowledge that defines the present discourses.
Function: analyses how the discourses present work and what effects it generates.
Critique: shows how language is not self-evident by judging the aforementioned categories.

First, the Self and the Other will be analysed with the use of the first three aforementioned categories. Second, the marginal patterns are discussed. Finally, the function and critique are stated. The reader needs to remember that the results of the analysis apply to all four prevention plans as the aim of the research is to affirm the generalization of the theory. The analysis, therefore, may present examples of one specific prevention plan, but the results are not limited to that plan.

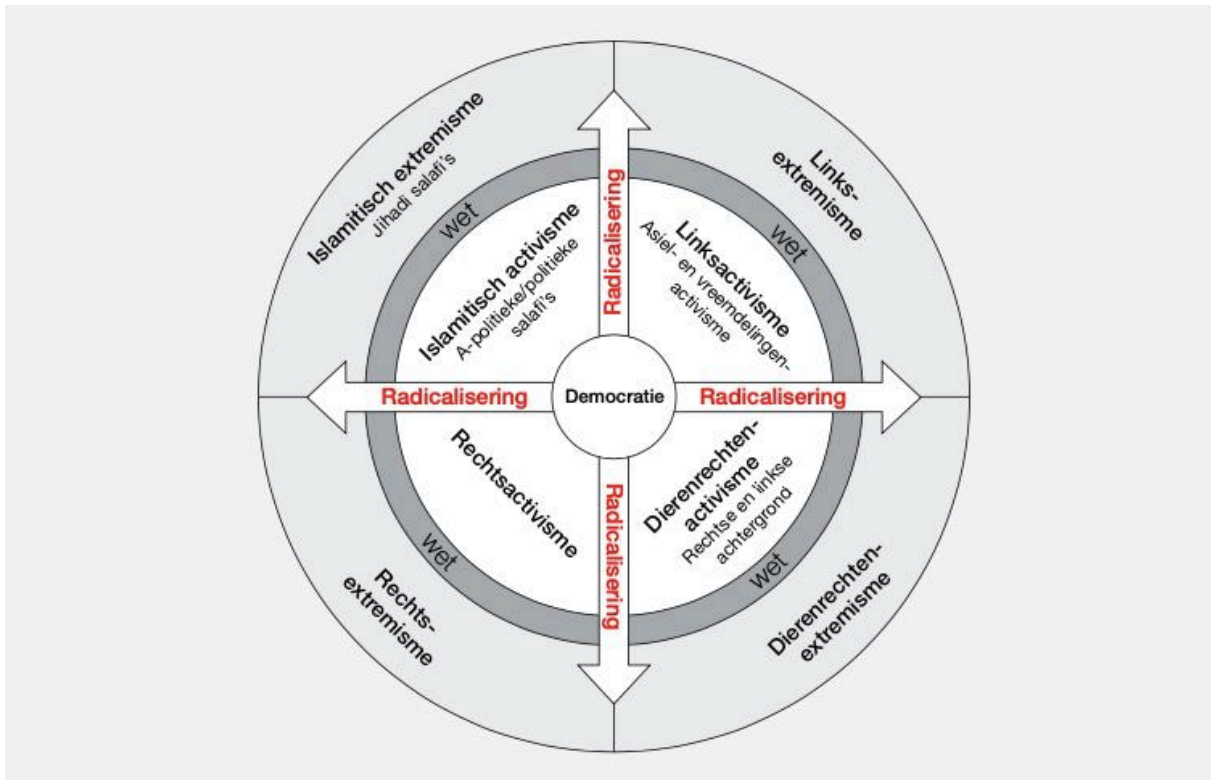
4.1 The Self

The construction of identities helps to create understanding for people and is constantly subject to change (Hall et al., 1996). Discourse contributes to the construction of identities. (Hüllsse, 1999). According to Hüllse (1999), the creation of the Other helps to understand the Self and is even essential for the construction of the Self. Hüllse makes clear that *one cannot think of one's identity without the non-identical, i.e. the 'other' is crucial for the construction and representation of the 'self'* (Hüllse, 1999 p.16). Hence, the Self is visible through the description of the Other and is therefore important to analyse. Additionally, the Self leads to a full understanding of the identity of a non-radicalized individual by looking at the values the Other is rejecting.

4.1.1 Pattern

focuses on mapping and classifying the language used and describing its main patterns.

The prevention plans show how democracy is a valuable factor as it helps to distinguish between the Self and the Other. Living in a democracy means that citizens have the possibility to participate in matters that represent their values (Robert, 2009). Participation can take place in politics but can also happen outside the political spectrum (Morlino, 2004). Not all forms of participation are accepted. The Dutch Intelligence Service (AIVD) states that activism is legal in the Netherlands when it does not pursue undemocratic ambitions. (AIVD (b) n.d.). The prevention plan written by Spee and Reitsema uses the following image:



(Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), 2014 in Spee & Reitsema, 2010, p.7)

The illustration shows the perception of legitimate and illegitimate forms of activism. Democracy provides legitimacy to activism and radicalism. In line with the information given by the AIVD, activism is accepted when it does not harm democracy. Radicalism positions itself in-between activism and extremism. Spee and Reitsema state that:

‘Radicalizing young people are in a process in which they are increasingly developing towards extremism and, in order to achieve their goal, the use of undemocratic means for them is becoming increasingly real.’ (Spee & Reitsema, 2010, p.6).

It is not directly clear where radicalism fits in as the authors state that radicalism can develop into extremism, which is a possibility but no certainty. Extremism is characterized by using undemocratic means, making it presumably that radicalism uses democratic means. Building forth on the aforementioned illustration and description, the plan presents radicalism as democratic, but this contradicts with the description the authors give to a radicalized individual:

‘In summary, we can say that there is radicalization if:
 - - *Young people promote radical social changes that threaten the democratic way of living. . .’* (Spee & Reitsema, 2010, p.7).

Here, they state that a radicalized person threatens democracy. It remains uncertain whether radicalism is democratic or undemocratic. However, what is certain is that the Self is described as complying with the values of democracy, while also referring to good citizenship. Furthermore, the characteristics of the Self are visible through the following statement:

‘‘Certain circumstances can form a breeding ground for radicalization: a disadvantaged social position, or general feelings of frustration with one’s own life or the situation in the world. However, there are many people who are in such a position or struggle with such feelings that do not radicalise.’’ (Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016, p.3).

The statement shows how a radicalized individual is perceived as a deviation from society, emphasizing that difficult circumstances do not instantly produce radicalism. Difficult circumstances referring to, for example, the death of a loved one, unemployment or a problematic home situation (Spee & Reitsema, 2010; Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016; TERRA, 2015; Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019). It suggests that individuals who radicalize lack the capabilities to cope with these matters. Besides, it expects from citizens to possess a good coping mechanism to create resilience. Citizenship refers to the assumption of behaving as expected, as not doing so is perceived as alarming. In short, the plans present the Self as working within the democratic legal order and behaving accordingly.

4.1.2 Character of the discourses

looks at which discourses are used and what are the values and knowledge that defines the present discourses.

The discourses used to differentiate between the Self and the Other is that of democracy and citizenship. The democracy discourse underlines the notion that the plans see democracy as the starting point of Dutch society and, therefore, needs to be respected and protected. The democracy discourse serves to specify right from wrong, while also creating a guideline for participation in society. The prevention plans demonstrate that working within the democratic legal order is the fundamental difference between what is perceived as legitimate and illegitimate. However, the plans fail to clarify where radicalism fits into this framework.

The citizenship discourse implies that it is necessary to prevent radicalism as it deviates from the perception of appropriate behaviour. Furthermore, the discourse proves to serve as a criterium for the skills citizens ought to possess.

4.1.3 Dynamics

analyses the kind of Othering present, meaning is there a strong or gradual presence of Othering (e.g. is the language used inclusive or judgmental).

Othering is gradually visible throughout the plans as they do not directly mention the characteristics of the Self. This means that the language used to construct the Self is soft language. The characteristics of the Self and Other are clarified in Table 2.0.

Table 2.0 Comparing the characteristics of the Self and Other

Self	Other
Strong coping mechanism	Weak coping mechanism
Active participation in society	Less or no participation in society
Positive view towards society	Pessimistic view towards society

These characteristics are derived from the language used in the prevention plans. The plans indicate a presence of separation as they portray a radicalized individual as deviant from society's standard. Separation takes place when differences between the Self and Other are emphasized, in which it separates the Other from society (Warren & Laufer, 2009). Even though the language used to differentiate between the Self and Other is gradual and soft, it is not inclusive but condemnatory. An example being:

“More anger against society and less participation in it. While this position may not be openly expressed, most individuals will want to share their views on this, to confirm their connection to the group or to recruit new members.” (TERRA, 2015, p.13)

It assumes that less participation in society is an indicator for radicalism. Besides, as aforementioned the discourse of citizenship includes the value of participation and condemns deviant behaviour (Asen, 2004). Thus, the plans indicate that citizens are expected to behave in a certain manner, illustrating the use of Us vs. Them language. Although Othering takes place gradually and with the use of soft language, the plans nevertheless show how the component of stigma, separation, is present.

4.1.4 Results

The Self is presented through the use of the democratic and citizenship discourse. Behaviour is an essential factor distinguishing between the Self and the Other. The Self is actively part of society and works within the democratic legal order, while the Other shows deviant behaviour. The plans emphasize the differences between the Self and the Other, producing separation. Conclusively, it can be stated that there is a medium degree of separation present when examining the construction of the Self.

4.2 Labelling

This section will look at the component labelling. Labelling is one of the components contributing to the process of stigmatization (Link & Phelan, 2001). A high degree of labelling, therefore, indicates a high degree of stigma present. Labelling occurs when physical or (socio)psychological characteristics are assigned to an individual (Warren & Laufer, 2009). The language used to emphasize human differences confirms labelling (Machû, 2013).

4.2.1 Pattern

focuses on mapping and classifying the language used and describing its main patterns.

All the prevention plans make use of indicators and trigger events to recognize a process of radicalization. Using indicators directly reflects labelling as it describes what characteristics belong to a radicalized individual. While all prevention plans mention that there is no clear image of a radicalized individual, the use of indicators suggests otherwise. For example, isolation is a key indicator mentioned in every prevention plan, sometimes also defined as *alienated*, *loneliness* and *socially isolated* (Wienke & Ramadan, 2011 in Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p. 7; Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019, p. 25; TERRA, 2015, p.10; Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016, p.6). Not having a lot of friends or being socially distant from others are traits belonging to a radicalized individual (Spee & Reitsema, 2015; Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019; TERRA, 2015; Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016).

Furthermore, the indicators mostly refer to (socio)psychological characteristics. It shows that the prevention plans perceive (socio)psychological characteristics as essential factors for recognizing radicalism. The following examples demonstrate its usage:

“The loss of faith authorities (school, police, government, etc.) Here, too, it is uncertain whether they express their feelings.” (TERRA, 2015, p.12).

“Experiences with discrimination and exclusion: experiences with discrimination can evoke strong feelings of frustration and anger, and radical groups respond to that feeling. These experiences can make someone open to radical ideologies, or can be seen as an affirmation of someone's radical ideas.” (Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016, p.7).

“Grievance, hurt or bitterness. Inflated self-image. Mental-health problems. Always insists on being right. Obsessive/monomaniacal behaviour.” (Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019, p. 7).

“The young person feels insecure. The young person can be influenced by people who are nearby” (Young et al, 2013 in Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p.14).

It is noticeable that these characteristics mostly refer to the emotions and feelings of an individual. The prevention plans indicate that emotions such as frustration, anger, hurt and feelings of insecurity and loss of faith are prominent aspects of a radicalized individual. Using emotions and feelings as indicators prove how labelling is existent as they emphasize the human differences between the Self and the Other.

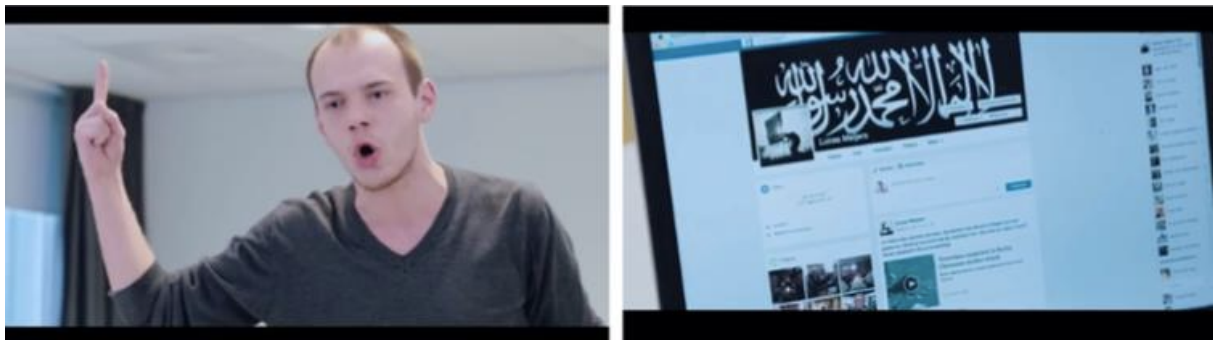
When analysing physical characteristics, one illustration and two images come forth. The illustration is as follows:



(Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p.27)

The illustration shows how the prevention plan characterizes a radicalized individual by its physical appearance. The illustration portrays the radicalized individual as having a beard, wearing a white robe (djellaba) and slippers. The clothes refer to Islam, where it is custom to wear such clothing (Boulanouar, 2006). It showcases a specific image of a radicalized individual, identifiable by clothes and physical aspects. Additionally, it causes the correlation of radicalism with Islam. Furthermore, the expression of the persons sitting next to the radicalized individual shows that they are scared or anxious. The impact of this illustration may cause people to associate Islam with fear. Taking into consideration that the prevention plans are made or financed by government institutions, this perception is likely to be reproduced (Link & Phelan, 2001).

One prevention plan uses the following images to indicate alarming behaviour:



(Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019, p.4)

The first image shows a person looking angry. The second image shows a Facebook page illustrating Arabic text in the page's header. The first image demonstrates a psychological characteristic while the second image demonstrates a physical characteristic. The physical characteristic in the second image refers to the association of radicalism with the Arabic language or Islam. The images confirm the idea that labelling can lead to oversimplification by assuming that a radicalized individual is a Muslim or from Arabic descent. Both labelling and separation are displayed here.

4.2.2 Character of the discourses

looks at which discourses are used and what are the values and knowledge that defines the present discourses.

By analysing the labelling component, it became clear that the prevention plans use the discourse of isolation. The discourse of isolation is closely related to the discourse of citizenship. As aforementioned, the discourse of citizenship values active participation in

society. The discourse of isolation brings forth the notion of loneliness as harmful. By applying the isolation discourse, the prevention plans can justify the use of indicators. For example, all prevention plans describe not taking part in society or rejecting society as an indicator for radicalism (Spee & Reitsema, 2015; Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019; TERRA, 2015; Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016). Not having many friends is also part of isolation and seen as a permanent characteristic rather than a state a person may go through. This leaves no room for interpretation, for example, some people might be more comfortable with fewer friends, while not going through a process of radicalization. The discourse of isolation brings forth that citizens are enforced to be socially active.

4.2.3 Dynamics

analyses the kind of Othering present, meaning is there a strong or gradual presence of Othering (e.g. is the language used inclusive or judgmental).

Labelling is existent in the prevention plans through the use of soft language. However, the soft language is exclusionary as it emphasizes differences between the Self and Other. The prevention plans mention that indicators are no certainty for knowing whether someone is radicalizing. However, the strong power position of the authors adds to its replicability and could contribute to a standardized profile. The strong power position of the authors is highly influential for the interpretation of radicalism. This means that the use of (socio)psychological characteristics, images and illustrations leads to the oversimplification of correlating radicalism with Islam or Arabic descent.

4.2.4 Results

Labelling is present in the prevention plans and demonstrated by the usage of (socio)psychological and physical characteristics. All the prevention plans implement indicators as a tool to recognize a process of radicalization and provide no alternative methods. Meaning that the indicators regulate the interpretation of a radicalized individual. Conclusively, it can be stated that there is a high degree of labelling existent in the prevention plans.

4.3 Stereotyping

This section will look at the component stereotyping. Stereotyping is one component contributing to the process of stigmatization (Link & Phelan, 2001). A high degree of stereotyping, therefore, indicates a high degree of stigma present. Stereotyping occurs when a specific group is generalized. The hypothesis of this thesis is that stigma is present in the prevention plans, particularly stigmatizing the Muslim community. Stereotyping in the research would, therefore, specifically appear when radicalism is associated with the Muslim community but can also occur in other forms.

4.3.1 Pattern

focuses on mapping and classifying the language used and describing its main patterns.

The prevention plans frequently associate radicalism with the concepts of extremism, Jihadism and terrorism, causing stereotyping to develop by depicting radicalized individuals as dangerous. Additionally, this can cause potential harm of seeding fear into society.

As explained in the theoretical framework the concepts of radicalism and extremism are often misinterpreted, while closely related to each other they are not the same. Following the explanation of the AIVD, being radical is not directly harmful, this in contrast to extremism (AIVD (c), 2004). The AIVD states that extremism is harmful as the use of violence is accepted (AIVD (c), 2004). Furthermore, the AIVD states that extremism can lead to terrorism when *it causes social disruptive damage and/or frightens large groups of people* (AIVD, (b) n.d., <https://www.aivd.nl/onderwerpen/extremisme>). However, in the prevention plans, any act of violence is correlated with terrorism. The following was stated as a stadium a radicalized individual can go through:

‘Action: a person takes action, such as preparing or performing an act of violence. We can already speak off extremism or terrorism’ (Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016, p.4).

This shows how the use of violence is linked to extremism and terrorism. Linking extremism to terrorism may escalate the sensitivity of the topic for being overly simplified. There are explicit differences between the concepts of radicalism, extremism and terrorism, but in the prevention plans, they use the concepts similarly. The misuse of the concepts of radicalism and extremism is further demonstrated in the titles of different chapters:

Chapter 5: Dealing with youth that develops sympathy for extremist ideas
Chapter 6: Suppose they really join a radical group?
Chapter 7: As they integrate deeper in the extremist group
(TERRA, 2015, p. 11-15)

The titles are conflicting as it states that youth may develop sympathy for extremist ideas, leading them to join a radical group and eventually integrating deeper into the extremist group. Having extremist ideas is not similar to having radical ideas, and joining a radical group is also different from joining an extremist group (Platform Jap, n.d.). The mixing up of these concepts confuses and can lead to misinterpretation. Furthermore, radicalism is often related to Jihadism. The AIVD explains Jihadism as follows:

“Jihad literally means "effort for God." And that can mean: to live as a good-believing Muslim, but also: to fight to defend Islam.” (AIVD (d), <https://www.aivd.nl/onderwerpen/terrorisme/jihadistische-ideologie>)

Even though some prevention plans explain the differences between radicalism and Jihadism, the plans often use Jihadism as an example for radicalism. Using Jihadism as an example of radicalism is problematic as it causes stereotyping. The correlation of Jihadism with Islam acknowledges Jihadism as the next phase of radicalism and it frames the Muslim community as susceptible for radicalism. For example, when stating that it is not easy to recognize the process of radicalization, the following is mentioned:

“It is an illusion to think that we can trace every radicalizing young person before he or she leaves for Syria” (Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p.5)

A radicalized individual is portrayed as someone who will eventually go to Syria, thereby interpreting radicalism and Jihadism as a linear process. While some prevention plans are specifically aimed at preventing Islamic radicalism, the use of the term Jihadism adds another negative layer to the concept of radicalism. Furthermore, Jihadism is used to exemplify radicalism:

“After a turbulent period in her life, she found peace in the Center Islamique Belge in Sint-Jans-Molenbeek, a meeting place of Islamic fundamentalists and one of the first places where radical jihadist voices were propagated” (Expertise-Unit Social Stabiliteit, 2016, p.9)

The frequent use of examples of Jihadism leads to an oversimplification of correlation with the Muslim community. Radicalism can lead to Jihadism but the concepts are not identical.

4.3.2 Character of the discourses

looks at which discourses are used and what are the values and knowledge that defines the present discourses.

By analysing the stereotyping component, it became clear that the prevention plans used the discourse of extremism and Jihadism. Extremism and Jihadism are both concepts characterized by its violent character. The prevention plans pressure radicalism against a negative background as it is linked to violence. Although radicalism could eventually lead to extremism or Jihadism, the concept itself is not acknowledged as directly harmful (AIVD (c), 2004). Besides, extremism and Jihadism are criminal activities as they do not work within the democratic legal order (AIVD (c), 2004). Radicalism, on the other hand, is seen as being in line with the law (AIVD (c), 2004). By making use of the discourses of extremism and Jihadism, the plans criminalize radicalism, which can have severe consequences for the approach of radicalism.

4.3.3 Dynamics

analyses the kind of Othering present, meaning is there a strong or gradual presence of Othering (e.g. is the language used inclusive or judgmental).

All the prevention plans link the concepts of extremism, Jihadism and terrorism to radicalism. The language used to explain radicalism is strongly judgmental as it mostly uses examples of Islamic radicalism, examples being:

"Muslims, join us and rush to jihad ... Oh mujahideen everywhere, rush and make Ramadan a month of disaster for the unbelievers." (Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016, p.10)

“Growing up as a Muslim adolescent is accompanied by a great fear of losing yourself in the great ocean of the free West, where all kinds of things that are not allowed according to the Quran happen.” (Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p.4)

It demonstrates how the plans depict the Muslim community as vulnerable to radicalism. Additionally, hard language instead of soft language is present as a radicalized individual is depicted as ‘‘extreme’’ or being a ‘‘terrorist’’ (TERRA, 2015, p.9; Expertise-Unit Sociale

Stabilität, 2016, p.4). The strong presence of Othering is shown through the use of judgemental and stereotypical language.

4.3.4 Results

The prevention plans misinterpret radicalism as violent, while also depicting the Muslim community as susceptible, thereby showing how stereotyping is existent. Furthermore, the plans misuse the concepts of extremism, Jihadism and terrorism, which causes confusion and misjudgement. Furthermore, the depiction of the Muslim community as being vulnerable for radicalism leaves out the many other ways that Muslims are successfully part of society. Additionally, other explanations are not mentioned as the plans do not question whether their Muslimness has little to do with radicalization in the first place. The results of the analysis show a strong presence of stereotyping, relating this to the theory it means that the Muslim community is labelled as a suspect community. The suspect community theory explains how linking a particular group to a problem can negatively affect that group as it displays them as a suspect (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009). Conclusively, it can be stated that there is a high degree of stereotyping existent in the prevention plans.

4.4 Separation

This section will look at the component separation. Separation is one component that contributes to the process of stigmatization (Link & Phelan, 2001). A high degree of stereotyping, therefore, indicates a high degree of stigma present. Separation appears when differences between the Self and Other are emphasized through the use of Us vs. Them language. Separation can also happen through dual positioning, meaning that a person is separated from both society as well as their own community.

4.4.1 Pattern

focuses on mapping and classifying the language used and describing its main patterns.

As mentioned in the stereotyping part, the prevention plans often describe radicalism in the context of extremism, Jihadism or terrorism. Besides contributing to the separation with society it also contributes to the criminalisation of radicalism. An example being:

‘‘ Although in theory, anyone could radicalise, research shows that some groups are extra susceptible. Most (but not all) terrorists are young men, in their late teens or early twenties. Terrorist activities can be an attractive experiment for young men looking for their identities. The possibility of tension and fame makes it extra attractive. The search for identity plays a role in the development of every teenager.’’ (TERRA, 2015, p.9)

Being radical, in this example, is directly associated with being a terrorist. Portraying a radicalized individual as a terrorist criminalizes radicalism as terrorism illegitimate (AIVD (b) n.d.). Besides, separation is visible by describing radicalism as threatening democracy:

‘‘In summary, we can say that there is radicalization if:

- *Young people promote radical social changes that threaten the democratic way of living, and*
- *young people are in a process from thinking to doing. The radical philosophy in combination with the perceived injustice increasingly determines their actions and behaviour. ‘‘(Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p.7)*

This demonstrates how radicalism is described, along with the notion of threatening democracy. It dehumanizes a radical individual into a threat creating more distance between a radicalized individual and society. This may fuel the process of radicalization as one may feel more isolated and seeks validation in a radical group. The perception of threat also adds a layer of fear as a radicalized individual is more easily perceived as dangerous.

Furthermore, dual positioning is also visible in the prevention plans. Dual positioning occurs due to the correlation of radicalism with Jihadism in the plans. Jihadism is explained as *an ideological movement within the political Islam* that violently tries to establish Islamic rule globally (Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p. 6). The term Jihad is explained as *‘an effort for a creditable purpose’* meaning that this can also happen in a non-violent way (Spee & Reitsema, 2015, p.6). As the plans frequently link radicalism to Jihadism, the Muslim community becomes the subject of discussion, which produces not only separation from society but also from their own community. This leads to further isolation and is, therefore, a problematic development.

4.4.2 Character of the discourses

looks at which discourses are used and what are the values and knowledge that defines the present discourses.

By analysing the separation component, it became clear that the prevention plans used the discourse of threat and fear. The discourse of threat causes to interpret the matter of

radicalism as something that needs to be taken care of. In other words, radicalism as a threat provides legitimacy of the measures taken. In this case, it justifies the need for prevention plans and the development of indicators for radicalism. Furthermore, the discourse of fear leads to the perception that radicalism is dangerous. The discourse brings forth that people may feel the need to protect themselves or demand far-going measures.

4.4.3 Dynamics

analyses the kind of Othering present, meaning is there a strong or gradual presence of Othering (e.g. is the language used inclusive or judgmental).

The presence of Othering, considering the component of separation, is done with soft language throughout the plans. Although it is not directly stated that the Muslim community is dangerous, the multiple use of examples of Jihadism suggests this idea, an example being:

“I only got excited about the caliphate when a recruit from Hizb ut-Tahrir spoke to me about that anger and offered me an explanation and a dream. I linked my anger to radical Islam, a pernicious ideology. That step made me radical. ” (Maajid Nawaz, de Correspondent, 2015 in Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016, p. 8)

The example used is from Maajid Nawaz, an ex-jihadist according to the prevention plan (Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016). It shows how Islam is presented negatively, while also demonstrating a judgemental view on Islam.

4.4.4 Results

Separation is less present in the prevention plans as the Us vs. Them language used is not directly visible. Nevertheless, the use of the discourses of threat and fear contribute to separation as it serves to provide legitimacy for the measures taken. This means that a radicalized individual is seen as a problem, hence measures are needed to solve this problem. Furthermore, dual positioning is visible through the multiple use of Jihadist examples. As a radicalized Muslim is immediately linked to Jihadism it causes them to be positioned outside society and their community. The results of the analysis show how separation and dual positioning are present through soft language. Conclusively, it can be stated that there is a medium degree of separation existent in the prevention plans.

4.5 Function and Critique

In this section, the function and critique of the discourses and language used are discussed. Analysing the function of the discourses means to look at how the discourses work and what effect they generate. The critique follows up on the function and aims to show how language is not self-evident. The function and critique are focused on the radicalism discourse. The analysis showed how radicalism is framed and interpreted, meaning that the radicalism discourse discussed in this section is existent from the information given in the prevention plans. Baker-Beall (2014) stated that discourse analysis *helps to reveal how certain types of knowledge becomes accepted as 'common sense'* (Baker-Beall, 2014, p.229). The radicalism discourse shows how the concept of radicalism is perceived, presented and reproduced to justify measures taken and to identify radicalized individuals.

The functioning of the discourse of radicalism can be summarized as follows. The first function of the discourse is to make a distinction between what is seen as legitimate and what is seen as illegal. The second function of the radicalism discourse is the interpretation of how a radicalization process can be recognized, thereby making a clear differentiation between the Self and Other. The third and last function of the discourse is to provide legitimacy for preventing radicalism by describing the phenomena as a threat and linking it to extremism, Jihadism and terrorism.

4.5.1 Function 1: *serves to make a distinction between what is seen as legitimate and what is seen as illegal*

First, the function of the radicalism discourse serves to distinguish between what we see as legitimate activism and illegal activism. When labelling something as radicalism it is seen as being on the verge of becoming illegal activism (Spee & Reitsema, 2010). The prevention plans show that there is a thin line between radicalism and extremism. The first function of the radicalism discourse, therefore, tries to serve as a dividing line between what is accepted (e.g. radical ideas) and what is not (e.g. the use of violence) which proves to be difficult as radicalism is a broad concept. Radicalism in one plan is described as *a mental attitude that indicates the willingness to accept the utmost consistency of a way of thinking and to put it into action* ((Spee & Reitsema, 2010, p.6). In another plan, it is described as *behaviour with extremist ideas* (Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019, p.3). This shows that the concept confuses, making it difficult to establish a clear description of the definition of radicalism. Although the discourse of radicalism tries to function as a guiding line for what is

seen as legitimate and illegal, the definition of radicalism is problematic to begin with. Its function is, therefore, not directly evident or efficient as it is subject to many difficulties such as the confusion with extremism. In other words, it is difficult to draw a clear line because the concept of radicalism covers many aspects. The differentiation between legitimate and illegitimate becomes indistinct.

4.5.2 Function 2: serves to show a process of radicalization can be recognized

The second function of the radicalism discourse is that it shows how a process of radicalization can be recognized by attributing characteristics and behaviour to a radicalized individual. This is done by making use of indicators and trigger events, which also contributes to the perception that radicalized individuals can be helped. Additionally, the plans make use of images referring to Islam and frequently display Jihadism to exemplify radicalism, which further enhances the interpretation of how a radicalized individual looks and acts. This is problematic as it produces a stereotypical image of a radicalized individual being a Muslim.

4.5.3 Function 3: serves to provide legitimacy for the measures taken

The last function of the discourse of radicalism is to justify measures taken, this is done by associating radicalism with the concepts of extremism, Jihadism and terrorism. The association of radicalism with these concepts causes radicalism to be perceived as a threat while also being criminalized. As aforementioned, one function of the discourse is also to draw a line between what is seen as legitimate and what is seen as legal. As radicalism is criminalized by correlating it to extremism, Jihadism and terrorism, it leads to the assumption that radicalism is illegal. This provides legitimacy for the creation of the prevention plans and justifies the use of indicators. The prevention plans claim that the indicators are no assurance for whether someone is radicalizing but as no alternative method is mentioned, the warning that trigger indicators are no certainty becomes less convincing. Only implementing one particular method to recognize radicalism leaves out other ways radicalism could be prevented. This means that although the prevention plans warn not to fully rely on these indicators, there is nothing else to rely on.

4.6 Marginal patterns

Marginal patterns are patterns that are not evidently present in the prevention plans but interesting to point out. The marginal patterns are shortly mentioned after which the impact of the pattern is discussed.

Results

The first marginal pattern is that of transferring responsibility. The prevention plans state that there is no clear image of a radicalized individual and the indicators used to recognize a process of radicalization, therefore, can never be fully relied on (Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit, 2016; TERRA, 2015; Spee & Reitsema, 2010; Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019). Examples being:

‘How to recognise alarming behaviour? Unfortunately, there are no checklists or flow charts to enable you to predict with certainty whether a person will begin displaying alarming or high-risk behaviour.’ (Stichting Integrale Veiligheid Hoger Onderwijs, 2019, p. 6)

‘It is very important to underline that there is no checklist with “symptoms”, which when all boxes are checked gives a definite answer as to whether someone is radicalizing.’ (TERRA, 2015, p.9)

As aforementioned the indicators give no assurance to confirm whether someone is radicalizing, it thereby transfers the responsibility to the persons using the prevention plans, which in this particular case, are the teachers of Dutch schools. This means that accountability is also solely dependent on the teachers as the authors of the prevention plans implement a precautionary warning.

The second and last marginal pattern visible is the contradiction in the prevention plans with the use of the democratic discourse. Even though the prevention plans aim to be neutral in their content, the analysis has shown otherwise. For example, radicalism in the prevention plans are mostly linked to the Muslim community and associated with Jihadism, which causes labelling, stereotyping and separation. As the plans, all make use of the democracy discourse it is contradicting to use specific indicators to differentiate between individuals. Democracy is characterized by the value of inclusiveness (Böhmelt, Böker & Ward, 2016). Nevertheless, the description of the Self does not indicate any form of inclusivity to be present. The plans use democracy as the dividing line between the Self and the Other, it is logical that the Self, being part of democracy can only be mentioned in the

context of valuing inclusiveness. However, this is in sharp contrast with the stigmatizing language used in the plans. There is a tension between complying with the values of democracy and the identification of the Self. Meaning that the language used in the prevention plans is in sharp contrast with the values they are trying to embrace.

5. Interviews

In this chapter, the answers of the interviews will be analysed and discussed. Five individuals were interviewed, all having an educational background or expertise relating to radicalizing youth. All the questions asked can be found in Appendix 1 but will not be extensively mentioned in this chapter. The subheadings serve as a guideline to cover the different themes discussed in the interviews. The interviews focused on the meaning-making interviewees give to the phenomena of radicalization and its prevention. The answers of the interviewees are substantiating the analysis of the prevention plans and examine for example, whether the expertise on radicalism is in line with what is stated in the plans. This way the interviews contribute to a broader perspective of stigma in prevention plans. It analyses how the technical level and operational level intertwine.

The names of the interviewees are known by the author but mentioned by number to protect the identity of the individuals. Using numbers also makes it easier to refer to the interviewees and prevents the repetition of names. The profile of the interviewees is shortly described:

Table 3.0 List of Interviewees¹

<p>1. Interviewee 1: researcher and policy advisor. Currently working on the project called Cohesion, which is financed by the European Commission. Cohesion is aiming to develop education focused on citizenship for primary and secondary schools in order to prevent polarisation.</p>
<p>2. Interviewee 2: working as a youth advisor specifically focusing on radicalism and polarisation. Providing education on the topic of radicalism in schools.</p>
<p>3. Interviewee 3: has a background as a teacher and is currently doing a PhD at the VU Amsterdam. The PhD focuses on the radicalization of young people and prevention.</p>
<p>4. Interviewee 4: working as the head of Stichting Vreedzaam, which aims to introduce and implement the peaceful neighbourhood. The programme called ‘Vreedzaam’ focuses on democratic citizenship, thus enhancing citizenship skill for children and young people. The prevention of radicalism is part of this notion.</p>

¹ The names of the interviewees are known by the author but mentioned by number to protect the identity of the individuals

5. Interviewee 5: working as a contact person for student care. This means that teachers can contact the care coordinator when they feel like a student may need extra care and support. The care coordinator serves as a connecting person between the school and internal or external support.

5.1 The concept of radicalism

The interviewees were asked to explain what radicalism is according to them and how it differs from extremism.

Most of the interviewees explained radicalism as someone who rebels against democracy or society and particularly having ideas that do not conform with the values of society. Interviewee 1 mentioned that radicalism can be a process in which people refuse to use democratic means to achieve something, which can be limited to the idea of it. Furthermore, identity seeking is also described to explain radicalism, which is not a strange occurrence for young people according to the interviewees. The interviewees also state that ‘to be radical’ in something is not necessarily negative and often common in puberty and young adulthood. Examples of this being:

“ In my opinion, you can also be radically for democracy. . . . of course, it becomes dangerous if you actually want to hurt others or if you really want to disrupt society. . . . But in essence, radicalization? Yes, I mean I am radically for democracy. You can also call that radicalization.” (Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020).

“ It's a very interesting question, I think, there is definitely this kind of positive aspect whether it can be there of radicalism or where people are able to think beyond the norms and the structures around them, where they see things that need to change in society and are willing to work for that change.” (Interviewee 3, personal interview, 12 May 2020).

“ I mean also in the phase after puberty, young adulthood, you are going to develop yourself and you often push yourself off and in your puberty you are most opposed to it. . . . That you are opposed to the established order, society as it is and a bit of mischief is therefore most common.” (Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020).

Furthermore, interviewee 4 stated that *someone can have radical ideas without being radical* (Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020), thereby clarifying that you can have certain ideas in your head without expressing them. Besides, three of the five interviewees mentioned the negative annotation the word radicalism carries.

Radicalism according to them is not necessarily alarming, it becomes dangerous when these ideas cause them to harm others or can disrupt society (Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020; Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020). When explaining radicalism, most interviewees refer to democracy as being the turning point for deciding whether someone is radicalizing. Interviewee 2 stated:

“ . . . when someone rebels against democracy or society in such a way that the motivation, a belief, an ideology, is a certain goal that is completely against the society that we have together.” (Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020).

The discourse of democracy is evidently present throughout the answers given. This means that much value is given to democracy, which corresponds with the analysis of the Self in the prevention plans. Furthermore, the interviewees are conscious about the negative undertone the word radicalism carries. This shows that the concept of radicalism has to be used carefully as there are many ways one can describe it. In comparison to the analysis of the prevention plans, the answers of the interviewees are indicating the presence of more awareness regarding the phenomena. The prevention plans fail to mention or explain forms of radicalism that are not damaging.

When asked whether they know what the difference is between radicalism and extremism, only one interviewee did not know the difference. However, all interviewees perceived extremism as being more harmful than radicalism. The execution of radical ideas is seen as extremism, directly harming society. Again, the interviewees referred to democracy as a reference point. Executing actions harming democracy or using undemocratic is seen as characterizing extremism. Additionally, interviewee 3 explained extremism follows :

‘I think extremism is where there is like a set of ideas together. . . that this is the one and only way the world should be and it doesn't admit to the possibility of changing or of adjustment in light of the nature of the views of others or scientific experiences.’ (Interviewee 3, 12 May 2020).

According to interviewee 3, extremism occurs when ideas are no longer subject to change, in contrast to radicalism. This statement assumes that radical thoughts can change throughout the process and have more chance to be adjusted as they still take into consideration the opinions of others. In general, the distinction between radicalism and extremism is in line

with what is stated in the prevention plans. The assumption is that taking action with the use of undemocratic means is extremist while radicalism limits itself to ideas and thoughts.

5.2 Recognizing a process of radicalization

The interviewees were asked how a process of radicalization can be recognized.

All the interviewees stated that recognizing a process of radicalization is difficult because certain signals might be interpreted in the wrong way. It is, therefore, merely impossible to have a clear set of indicators ensuring that someone is radicalizing. Interviewee 1 called the example of a tool based upon questionnaires in which you tick the boxes that apply to the individual, which shows to what degree an individual is vulnerable for radicalism. Interviewee 1 states that:

“ A list like that will never be able to determine whether someone is radicalized. Because that is of course also the difficulty of radicalization, it is in someone's head. As long as someone does not act, you can do very little about it and you can, therefore predict and control very little.” (Interviewee 1, personal interview, 11 May 2020).

Interviewee 1 clarifies that checklists are problematic as it can never guarantee whether someone is radicalizing. All interviewees agreed that signals can be misinterpreted and misleading but are a starting point to initiate a conversation.

However, a prominent signal that all interviewees acknowledge to recognize a process of radicalization is that of isolation. Interviewee 5 described it as *someone becoming more of a loner in a group* (Interviewee 5, personal interview, 12 May 2020). Furthermore, interviewee 2 talks about the process of de-socialisation:

‘Someone who withdraws, participates less in sports activities, is often absent on school, these are also signals to us. Only going to specific places, dealing with particular people, not or no longer mingling with others, de-socializing, these are real signals that we discuss. . .’ (Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020).

Here, someone that is distancing themselves from others, is absent from school or is not taking part in group activities is seen as an alarming signal. Even though the interviewees state that the use of signals is flawed, isolation is recognized as an important sign to act upon. This means that isolation is not only seen as a critical indicator in the context of radicalism but is also significant to other situations. Parallel to the analysis of the prevention plans, isolation is a key indicator for radicalism. In contrast to the prevention plans, the answers of

the interviewees show that isolation is seen in a broader perspective, not only belonging to radicalism. Furthermore, the interviewees were critical of current prevention plans, mentioning that formulating signals can be harmful. There is a high degree of awareness and consciousness existent.

The interviewees were also asked what image they have of a radicalized individual, specifically focusing on the psychological and physical characteristics. The interviewees mentioned no physical characteristics. Besides, interviewee 4 made clear that it is problematic to assign certain characteristics to a group. He stated the word *guilt association*, which produces generalizations and wrongful correlations between an individual and a group. (Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020).

Noticeable from the answers of the interviewees is that it connects psychological characteristics to behaviour. Both interviewee 2 as interviewee 3 and 4 mention that a radicalized individual may be convinced of his or her own truth, thereby believing that this is the only truth. They indicate that a process of radicalization might be present when there is less exchange of information with others, isolating them from others (Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020; Interviewee 3, personal interview, 12 May 2020; Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020). Interviewee 3 mentions the behaviour of unwillingness of a radicalized individual, meaning that this person is unwilling to listen to others. Besides, interviewee 3 states the following:

“... somebody who's got some very fixed ideas of the way things should be and who hasn't got either the skills, the critical skills or the support to question some of these fundamental ideas. If someone is unwilling to really enter the dialogue and explore their perceptions of reality.” (Interviewee 3, 12 May 2020).

This indicates that there is a lack of something, which leaves room for improvement. The current psychological behaviour can be subject to change when these skills are developed.

The interviewees again refer to the democracy discourse as they mention the lack of different opinions and information characterizing a radicalized individual. Following the values of democracy, everyone should be free to express their opinion and politics is based upon debate and discussion (Böhmelt, Böker & Ward, 2016). Following the answers of the interviewees, a radicalized individual does not live up to the values of democracy as he or she does not accept other views and is unwilling to have a dialogue about their ideas. As

aforementioned most interviewees explained radicalism as something that goes against democracy, this view is further proven when asking them about psychological characteristics.

5.3 Prevention plans

The interviewees were asked about their views on prevention plans in schools and how they would approach the matter of radicalism themselves.

When asked whether the interviewees think prevention plans for radicalism in schools are necessary, most of them answered that they prefer a broader approach. A broader approach, in this case, referring to citizenship. Interviewee 1 explained that by including good citizenship in the curriculum of schools, it already covers a large extent of prevention. Interviewee 2 once again underlined the importance of having discussions with each other in which students can exchange their opinions and views. Furthermore, interviewee 4 clarified that the culture in a school itself is very important. According to interviewee 4, if the culture of a school is in order, a teacher will follow up on this by showing certain behaviour. When the culture is not in order, the behaviour of one teacher eventually will fade as it is not practised by colleagues (Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020). Interviewee 4 also refers back to democracy, stating that:

‘In my view, it always starts with creating a democratic culture and taking on a role as a school leader and then accordingly taking the teachers along with this culture, teachers passing this on to their students and also parents.’ (Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020)

The discourse of democracy and citizenship are often present in the answers of the interviewees. Teaching the values of democracy and good citizenship are the fundamentals of creating a positive environment for young people (Interviewee 2, personal interview, 11 May 2020; Interviewee 1, personal interview, 11 May 2020; Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020). Apart from this, interviewee 5 who is working as a care coordinator in schools emphasizes that schools have a certain amount of responsibility and, therefore, it is important to have information about matters such as radicalism. Additionally, interviewee 3 points out the following about prevention plans:

‘I think they can be helpful when they are properly framed. And so, they don't become again, something that creates this kind of mystery. This feeling of something that is very bad, it

almost demonizes young people when they fall into the category of a prevention plan.” (Interviewee 3, personal interview, 12 May 2020).

This suggests that radicalism usually produces a negative interpretation. The interviewees however show consciousness when talking about radicalism. The answers indicate that radicalism is not a problem on its own but one of the many stages that young people can go through. This consciousness is in line with the discourse of democracy as the language used is not exclusive or condemnatory. This in contrast to the prevention plans, where there is a tension between the notion of democracy and the presence of stigma.

Following up about the necessity of prevention plans in schools, the interviewees were asked whether they think such plans can work stigmatizing. All interviewees answered with yes. Evidently, most interviewees pointed out that this is particularly depends on the teachers. Examples being:

‘If the material is good and if the teacher uses it well, then in principle it does not stigmatize. But those are two big "if's".’ (Interviewee 1, personal interview, 11 May 2020)

‘Yes, I think it's particularly when there is not a good education for teachers. That they just have this prevention plan, then it's very easy to fall into our social stereotypes for what counts as radicalization.’ (Interviewee 3, personal interview, 12 May 2020).

In essence, it is assumed that the prevention plans itself are not stigmatizing but the execution of the plans can cause it to be. It is interesting to see that the prevention plans itself are not seen as using stigmatizing language. Rather, the person using the plan carries the responsibility to not execute it in a way that is stigmatizing. This brings up the discussion of whether prevention plans that are stigmatizing can still be used in a non-stigmatized way when executed with the right knowledge.

5.4 Approach to radicalism

The interviewees were asked whether they are in favour of using indicators and trigger events for recognizing a process of radicalization.

All the interviewees stated not to be a strong supporter of the use of these tools. Once again, the interviewees stated that it depends on who uses them, how radicalism is framed and its interpretation. Interviewee 2 made clear that it is about people which makes it difficult and,

therefore, the approach always has to be flexible. Interviewee 1 approves this notion as he mentioned the following:

“... a list of indicators can certainly be helpful, but is always only part of an assessment that you actually make of someone, of the total picture.” (Interviewee 1, personal interview, 11 May 2020).

In other words, indicators can serve as a guideline but are not fully reliable. Interviewee 4 is a strong opponent for the use of indicators and trigger events and states that the use of it is dangerous. According to interviewee 4, it is important to take on responsibility as caretakers and to communicate with others about signals you might be seeing. He also states that it is important to be reflective on yourself, explaining the following:

“I also have my judgments, but at least be aware of that and try to open the conversation as openly as possible. Without letting your opinions or prejudices speak out there, which I understand is sometimes really difficult. . . openness is a very important skill that you should have as a teacher and also make sure that you are not alone. Test it with the environment of the student, with the student after the conversation, but also with your colleagues. So, make sure you are not alone.” (Interviewee 4, personal interview, 13 May 2020).

Interviewee 3 builds forth on this approach as he mentions that it is more important to be conscious as a teacher and to reflect on why they perceive certain signals as being radical.

Although the interviewees did not directly state they are against the use of indicators and trigger events, except for interviewee 4, they all admit that the dependency on the tools is limited. This was also claimed in the prevention plans but as mentioned before, it suggests no other methods resulting in the multiple use of indicators. Using indicators demands from teachers to stay conscious about the limitations of the tool as one can easily misinterpret a situation. Furthermore, it was asked who the most important actor is for a radicalized individual and what the most important thing is to keep in mind when communicating with a radicalized individual. These questions were asked to find out what approach was recommended by the interviewees themselves.

The interviewees gave different answers on the question *who is the most important actor to respond to a radical person?* Answers differed from only teachers, teachers and parents, community police officers to anyone who has a relationship of trust with the radicalized individual. Noticeable is that the actors mentioned are all part of the direct environment of a radicalized young person. The interviewees also give importance to the connection between the different actors, which according to some interviewees is essential. A

relationship of trust is also seen as essential in order to initiate a conversation, this contributes to a safe space in which young people can express their feelings and ideas. Interviewee 5 notes:

“Schools have a signalling function and that it is not just limited to radicalization or extremism.” (Interviewee 5, personal interview, 12 May 2020).

The school is not necessarily seen as the only actor important to respond to a radicalized individual, but due to its pedagogical role is expected to do so.

The interviewees were also asked to give their opinion on the first step schools should take when suspecting someone is radicalizing. Almost all the interviewees indicate that the first step to be taken is to initiate a conversation with either the student, their parents or colleagues. According to interviewee 4, there must be room for discussion with other colleagues about matters such as radicalism. He refers again to establishing a good culture in a school in which they promote to have conversations with students and colleagues. This way both teachers and students feel comfortable to express their feelings. Similarly, interviewee 1 mentions the importance of communicating with parents because they can exchange information that will help to understand the student better. This way misperceptions may be less likely to happen. In general, communicating with different actors is seen as the first step to take when suspecting a process of radicalization.

Furthermore, the interviewees were asked what the most important thing is to keep in mind when initiating the conversation with the student. Going into the conversation with no prejudices and treating the person with respect was the answer mostly given. Again, there was a high degree of awareness for the effect of associating radicalism against a negative background. Interviewee 3 stated that one needs to remember the following:

“They are a human being and maybe they look different or they have different perspectives on certain aspects but you build from that kind of common humanity.” (Interviewee 3, personal interview, 12 May 2020)

The emphasis is given to humanity, thereby not using language that might cause separation between society and the individual. The interviewees show that they value inclusiveness and the language used in a conversation with a radicalized individual should include that. Besides, interviewee 4 advises examining your own behaviour by asking feedback from others.

Examining your own behaviour, in this case, means to make sure you do not have any prejudices against the individual and to start the conversation with an open mind.

The awareness of the interviewees contributes to a less likelihood of stereotyping and separation. This in contrast to the prevention plans in which the language used is exclusive and sometimes condemnatory. The approach interviewees suggest is inclusive and open and offers space for understanding.

6. Discussion

6.1 Interpretation of results

The research showed the large extent of stigma present in the prevention plans for radicalism as all three components, labelling, stereotyping and separation were visible. The results, therefore, affirm the hypothesis of the research.

Similar to the research of Monaghan and Molnar (2016), the language used in the prevention plans mostly associate the Muslim community with radicalism. Moreover, the images and illustrations used in some prevention plans also show physical characteristics and references to the Muslim community. Following the theory of Hillyard (1993), linking a particular group to a certain threat causes them to be seen as a suspect community. This can have severe consequences for the way Muslim are treated. Hillyard (1993) already proved how the Irish community, labelled as a suspect community for terrorism, had to deal with limited freedom and rights. Besides, because the prevention plans are written by individuals possessing a strong power position, the stereotype of a Muslim being inherently related to radicalism is likely reproduced. Additionally, the oversimplification of the Muslim community causes dual positioning. This means that within the Muslim community a differentiation is made between being a ‘good’ Muslim and being a ‘bad’ Muslim (Breen-Smyth, 2014). This can have the effect of the Muslim community feeling pressured to prove themselves to fit in with society (Breen-Smyth, 2014). Both stereotyping as separation is prone to further accelerate when the prevention plans are put into practice.

Relating the labelling theory to the analysis, it can be stated that the use of indicators in the prevention plans directly reflects the labelling. Labelling theory is based on the perception that certain characteristics are labelled to a person or group, eventually leading them to act accordingly (Warren & Laufer, 2009). Although the labels are not rightly assigned, they can influence how people may behave (Warren & Laufer, 2009). Following this theory, the indicators in the prevention plans work contradictory, thereby not preventing but producing radicalism.

It is interesting to see how the content of the prevention plans is in sharp contrast with the answers of the interviewees. The interviewees showed to be very aware of how easily stigma can develop when talking about radicalism. They are, therefore, not in favour of using

indicators and indicate that inclusiveness is an important factor for the prevention of radicalism. The prevention plans, with the use of indicators and the Us vs. Them language, clash with the value of inclusiveness. While the plans aim to recognize radicalism by contrasting it to the values of democracy, it is problematic to do so as inclusiveness cannot be adhered to. Furthermore, analysing the patterns, characters and dynamics demonstrated how stigma is used to provide legitimacy for anti-radicalization policies.

The main pattern in the prevention plans is the usage of the concepts of alienation, extremism, Jihadism and democracy. Together, these concepts justify the need for prevention plans. Implementing the concepts of extremism and Jihadism lead to the perception that radicalism is dangerous and, therefore, prevention is necessary. Additionally, the concept of alienation serves to make clear that prevention is useful as radical individuals can be helped. The concept of alienation helps to advocate for soft measures as without this concept the prevention for radicalism demands a more severe approach. Furthermore, by continuously referring to democracy as the turning point for radicalism, the plans create a feeling of responsibility. It personally connects teachers to its cause as the democracy reflects their own way of living, making them more eager to act.

The prevention plans implement the discourses of citizenship, isolation, Jihadism, threat and fear. The character of these discourses, again contributes to the legitimacy of prevention plans. The discourse of isolation is used as an indicator to recognize radicalism, combined with the discourses of Jihadism, fear and threat it affirms that radicalism is a damaging process. The discourse of citizenship characterizes the Self and serves as an example to demonstrate what behaviour is appropriate in society. The citizenship and isolation discourse is needed for the creation of indicators as this help to clarify what is seen as a-typical behaviour. Not implementing the discourse of citizenship would suggest that there is no hope for the radicalized individuals to be part of society again as the discourse clarifies the characteristics of a non-radicalized individual. This distinction is needed for criterium purposes as recognizing a process of radicalism also means re-integrating this individual to society's standard.

Analysing the dynamics of the prevention plans demonstrate how language is exclusionary and judgemental. The usage of exclusionary and judgemental language constructs the idea that radicalism is not accepted, thereby advocating for the need of prevention plans. The exclusionary component is essential as it clarifies how radicalized individuals fall outside society. Only using judgemental language indicates that radical behaviour is condemned but not threatening to society.

The results of the analysis show how stigma is present but also how it contributes to the legitimacy of anti-radicalisation policies and strategies.

6.2 Limitations of the research

It is beyond the scope of this study to encompass the entirety of prevention plans for radicalism available for schools. The four prevention plans chosen are written or financed by government institutions and can be seen as the most prominent plans recommended by the Dutch government. Although it cannot be said that all prevention plans are stigmatized, the research shows the importance of looking at language and serves as a reminder that unintentionally stigma can be present. The prevention plans analysed are valid in the sense that they represent a broader problem of unconsciously producing stigma. Even though the external validity considering the generalization of the results is not directly applicable, with the use of the comprehensive interviews this is compromised. Besides, the finding that in the four prevention plans, promoted by the Dutch government, stigma is unintentionally present makes it logical to assume that stigma is also likely to be present in other plans.

Furthermore, the reader should bear in mind that the research is based on only five interviews. Because of COVID-19, it became more difficult to find interviewees. The research aimed to include people from the field, particularly staff from different schools. This would enable to find out how the prevention plans are implemented and executed at the operational level. Due to the measures taken by the Dutch government, schools were obliged to close down because of COVID-19. It was challenging to get in contact with schools as these schools were mostly busy dealing with the consequences of COVID-19. Five people were willing to participate in the interviews, most of them being experts on radicalism. The interview questions were made more extensive to receive enough information from the interviewees. The sample size weakened the internal validity of the research as it was lower than expected. The contradiction between the content of the prevention plans and the answers of the interviews may have been less prominent if the sample size would have included more people.

6.3 Implications and recommendations

The analysis and the answers of the interviewees contributed to new insights. It revealed how the prevention plans do not include knowledge from real-life experiences of experts

frequently dealing with young people and radicalism. The information given in the prevention plans is not coherent with the advice and information of the interviewees. There is a gap between the bureaucratic level and the operational level as the bureaucratic level lacks to incorporate knowledge from people working in the field. This may also be one factor explaining the high degree of stigma present in the prevention plans. Incorporating the knowledge of people working in the field is recommended as they have first-hand experiences with radicalized young people. More communication and exchange of information is needed between these two parties to develop prevention plans that do not produce stigma. Both parties give high importance to democracy, which can be seen as the starting point of developing a successful prevention plan.

Further research is required to determine what information is gathered and consequently used to develop prevention plans. The prevention plans examined in this research are recommended by the Dutch government and are, therefore, highly influential for the way radicalism is tackled. It would be interesting to find out how these prevention plans are drafted, thereby looking at who is involved in the process and what expertise they possess. Taking into consideration that stigma also contributes to the legitimacy of prevention plans, further research could also look at whether the authors are consciously thinking about which words and images to use. Radicalism remains a relevant issue in today's societies and, therefore, research considering this subject is necessary and valuable.

7. Conclusion

The research focused on answering the following question: *To what extent is there a presence of stigmatization in the prevention plans for radicalism for Dutch schools?*. The research was done by using discourse analysis for the prevention plans and by conducting interviews with experts on the subject of radicalism. By using these two methods both the practical level as well as the operational level of prevention plans for radicalism could be examined. The interviews were used to investigate whether the knowledge of the interviewees is in line with the information stated in the prevention plans. Stigma was measured in terms of the presence of labelling, stereotyping and separation.

The first component of stigma, labelling, is present in all the prevention plans. Labelling was visible through the use of the indicators in the plans, which assign (socio)psychological characteristics to a radicalized individual. Furthermore, the use of illustrations and images showed what physical characteristics belong to a radicalized individual. The illustration and images implemented indicate that a radicalized individual is a Muslim from Arabic descent as the images portray the customs and aspects of Islam. Conclusively, it can be stated that there is a high degree of labelling present in the prevention plans as specific labels are used to identify a radicalized individual.

The second component of stigma, stereotyping, is also strongly visible throughout the plans. Radicalism in the prevention plans is often associated with extremism, Jihadism and even terrorism. The different concepts are misused and confused with each other, making it hard to establish a clear definition of radicalism. Stereotyping is shown here as the concepts of extremism, Jihadism and terrorism are characterized by the use of violence. The misuse of these concepts causes radicalism to be seen as a violent form as well. Additionally, the frequent use of Jihadism as an example for radicalism shows how a radicalized individual is again, mostly characterized as being a Muslim. Linking the Muslim community to radicalism proves how stereotyping is present in the plans.

The third component, separation, is only partially noticeable in the prevention plans. Radicalism is described as a threat in the plans, meaning that a radicalized individual will more easily be perceived as not being part of society anymore. Separation is created this way and it indirectly shows the use of Us vs. Them language. Furthermore, dual positioning is demonstrated by correlating radicalism with Jihadism. This may cause a separation between a

radical Muslim and society but also separation within the Muslim community. Separation shows how radicalism is predominantly presented against a negative background. As the Us vs. Them language is not directly visible and it is uncertain whether dual positioning will appear in practice there is a medium degree of separation existent.

As there is a high degree of two of the three components of stigma, it can be stated that stigma is to a large extent present in the prevention plans. Relating the results of the analysis to the interviews, it shows how the information mentioned in the prevention plans is not in line with the expectation of the interviewees. First, the interviewees are not in favour of using indicators to recognize a process of radicalization as they are aware of how this can work stigmatizing. Secondly, the democracy discourse used in the prevention plans is different from the way the interviewees give meaning to democracy. In the prevention plans, the appreciation given to democracy is in sharp contrast with the exclusionary language and the description of the Self. Inclusiveness is not covered in the plans as the use of indicators does the exact opposite, be exclusive to differentiate between the Self and the Other. On the contrary, the interviewees show a high degree of awareness on how inclusivity is essential to connect people to democracy. Lastly, the interviewees explained that radicalism is usually interpreted from a negative perspective. The prevention plans, using stigmatizing language, contribute to this negative perception of radicalism.

To summarize, the three components of stigma were all noticeable in the prevention plans. This means that there is a high degree of stigma present in all the plans. Additionally, it is the Muslim community that bears the brunt of stigma. Furthermore, the content of the prevention plans is contradictory with the knowledge and advice of the interviewees, thereby, showing how there is a gap between the practical and operational level. The research demonstrated how there is a high degree of stigma visible in the prevention plans, while the answers of the interviews demonstrate a high degree of awareness to avoid stigma. Strikingly, the research also contributed to showing how stigma can be used for the legitimacy of the prevention plans, thereby indicating that although stigma is problematic it can also serve a certain purpose.

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9. Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview questions

1. The first question is what is your profession and in what way do you work on the topic of radicalism with youths?
2. What is radicalism according to you and can you give some examples?
3. Can you explain the difference between radicalism and extremism?
4. What image do you have of someone who is radicalized compared to someone who is not, by which I mean physical or mental characteristics?
5. How do you think a process of radicalization can be recognized?
6. Who do you think is the most important actor to respond to a radicalizing person?
7. What do you think is the first step schools should take when they suspect that someone is radicalizing?
8. What do you think is the most important thing to keep in mind when talking to a radicalized young person?
9. Do you think that radicalization prevention plans are necessary in schools and why?
10. Are you familiar with any prevention plans for schools? If so, which one?
11. Do you think prevention plans can have a stigmatizing effect? If yes / no, why?
12. Are you in favour of recognizing radicalism by using indicators and key moments? Why? If not, what other way do you suggest using?

Appendix 2: Transcript interviewee 1

Unedited transcript | Interviewee 1 | personal interview | 11 May 2020*

Currently working on the project called Cohesion, which is financed by the European Commission. Cohesion is aiming to develop civic education for primary and secondary schools in order to prevent radicalism.

*The interview is translated from Dutch to English, original transcript can be requested from the author

1. The first question is what is your profession and in what way do you work on the topic of radicalism with youths?

Yes, I am a researcher and policy advisor at the national psychotrauma center ARQ, and a lot of research is being done there into resilience, and from that angle resilience to shocking incidents and attacks has actually also entered the field. From that angle we got more with radicalization, we have become more involved with radicalization. A few European projects have emerged from it. Maybe those are also fun for you to check out but those are TERRA 1 and 2, and Cohesion is running right now. This is an Erasmus + project funded by the European Commission and which focuses on civic education for primary and secondary schools with the aim of preventing radicalization, this is not really what it will be called, but to prevent stigma, but that is ultimately the idea behind it.

2. What is radicalism according to you and can you give some examples?

Yes, that is always one of the best questions in this area for sure. I think radicalization is a process in which individuals accept not to use democratic means to achieve a goal in society.

And it is purely the accepting of this, so it is really still just the idea, execution does not even have to take place.

3. Can you explain the difference between radicalism and extremism?

Yes, well, then you immediately get to the last thing I included. Really carrying out non-democratic means to achieve your goal, as soon as you start to do that you are talking about extremism in my view, whilst thinking about doing that or forming radical thoughts, radical ideas, is radicalization.

4. What image do you have of someone who is radicalized compared to someone who is not, and by image I mean things concerning physical or mental characteristics?

That is very difficult because it is of course also very much depends on where you think radicalization starts and there are also quite a few researchers who say that radicalization is not such a big problem in itself, as a lot of political involvement can already be considered radical to a certain extent. Or being committed to environmental organizations, things like that. And then you certainly also have the difference in (external) appearance in regards to which ideology is adhered to or whether there are any external characteristics attached to it. So, in terms of (external) appearance I could not really say, and mentally I think it is more, the step you take for yourself to accept that there is something in society that you do not like to such a degree that it will takes serious measures to remedy. And yes, that also ensures a certain degree of isolation from the rest of society I think.

5. How do you think a process of radicalization can be recognized?

If there really was an unambiguous answer to that, we would have gotten a lot further of course. Again, ideology is very important for this. A number of tools have been developed to measure this, yes, actually. I don't know if you are familiar with the Vera and the Vera 2 tool for example?

No

Well then I would suggest looking at that. These are actually a kind of questionnaires with a checklist and this is where a score comes from and then you can, for example, estimate whether someone is at a higher risk of radicalization, because that is what those [questionnaires] are all about. Such a list will never be able to determine whether someone has been radicalized. Because that is of course also the difficulty of radicalization, it is in someone's head. As long as someone does not act, yes, you can do very little with it and you can therefore predict and control very little, yes.

6. Who do you think is the most important actor to respond to a radicalizing person?

In many cases I think it will be a combination of parents and teachers. Of course, it is often said that parents are very, yes, too close to their children. So, they are likely to notice changes in the behaviour or mentality of their children a little faster than teachers. At the same time, you can certainly see in adolescent youngsters that they actually distance themselves from their parents more, are less often at home, groups of friends are not always known and sometimes there is more insight into this at school, for example. Certainly, a combination of the two is very important in that area.

7. What do you think is the first step schools should take when they suspect that someone is radicalizing?

I think the first step is contact with parents. And you can even try to connect that to a regular parents' evening. But yes, as I indicated before, there are areas where parents have less insight. And there are areas where the school has less insight. And there you can get together. Of course, you also have the Safety House. That system has been set up in the Netherlands, whereby... In principle, the parents are not involved in this. But then, for example, we look with the local police officer or with a social worker and in this that teacher can also join them. So, there are some official protocols for that. But here again it also very much depends on what phase you are in. Is someone isolating themselves from the rest? Yes, then you first talk to the parents, but if you find a student locker containing all kinds of attributes or texts that lead to or at least can be traced to an ideological group. Yes, then you have probably passed that stage a bit.

No exactly, so it also depends on what stage the person is in and what action you take afterwards?

Yes, are you familiar with the Moghaddam staircase model?

No.

That might also be interesting to look at. I believe it is the staircase tool terrorism, those are the different steps of radicalization, more of the process of steps taken until someone is willing to use violence. And there you can also make a bit of a distinction in the different phases in which someone is situated.

8. What do you think is the most important thing to keep in mind when talking to a radicalized young person?

To listen I think. Very often it's the young people who enter the process of radicalization. That often starts with not fitting into a society or group at school. The lack of friends, things like that. Very often there is a much more superficial reason for using this process and by having those young people try to explain why they follow a certain philosophy... Often they don't get there at all. But for a young person that can also really be a moment of realising like 'Yes, what am I even doing?' So above all, don't give a huge sermon on how things should be done differently and all the things they are doing wrong, but rather, ask why they are doing something. Why they believe something. What they want to achieve with this. Why they want to achieve that.

Yes okay, so mainly listen to the person?

Yes.

9. Do you think that radicalization prevention plans are necessary in schools and why?

Yes and no. That is also a slightly more nuanced answer. The moment you know how to prepare students for roles in society and that they can participate in them... So, through good citizenship, civic education basically... Yes, then you already covered prevention to a large extent. And that is really not just talking about political parties, because that is often a bit of social studies, of course, but also really about identity, about conflict resolution, about dealing with different opinions. Things like that. If you can encompass this in your entire curriculum at school, then you already have such a prevention program. And yes, as a whole that is of course very important.

Yes, so in principle there would not be a specific prevention plan for radicalism needed. If you were to deal with all that?

Eh no, I think you will already have come a long way then.

10. Are you familiar with any prevention plans for schools? If so, which one?

Well, a lot of those plans are much broader than that, they are drawn up broader, with respect to the issue. So, a prevention program actually rarely only addresses radical groups, for example, or the actual radicalization process, but focuses much more on those underlying competencies to prevent this. And then you have citizenship programs, such as the peaceful school. This is also extended to the peaceful neighbourhood. You have teaching material that we work with, which is called You Care. You have bounds, which I think is also a major program in this case. Let's see, I can probably find a few more for you, but I don't know them off the top of my head.

Okay, so you are familiar with different prevention plans used in schools?

Yes.

11. Do you think prevention plans can have a stigmatizing effect? If yes / no, why?

If they are used incorrectly, absolutely. Again, when you are talking about those really those basic social skills, the risk is much smaller and consequently, in my opinion, such a way has a very big advantage. But by discussing it and, yes, the escalation that can come from these

discussions, there is indeed a risk, even if that risk is very small. It cannot be ruled out. You try to support teachers with background information and teaching materials so that they feel confident. But someone in the class can of course react very strongly to another student, for example. You mean, of course, stigmatizing. If the material is good and the teacher handles it well, then it does not stigmatize in principle. But those are two big "if"s.

12. Are you in favour of recognizing radicalism by using indicators and key moments? Why? If not, what other way do you suggest using?

Depends on who's on the job. For example, that vera tool I mentioned earlier in the conversation is really a checklist. The risk of using such a checklist is that if a certain score is achieved, someone is considered radical, gets approached accordingly, and that is extremely stigmatizing. So, a list of indicators can certainly be helpful, but is always only a part of an assessment that you actually make of someone, of the total picture.

And what do you think is the best way to recognize radicalism without stigmatizing it?

The best way to recognize it is to keep in contact with at least the youngster. The closer you are to someone, the more you comprehend what someone is up to. So, trying to avoid isolation of such a young person. But yes, that can be very difficult of course.

Appendix 3: Transcript interviewee 2

Transcript | Interviewee 2 | personal interview | 11 May 2020*

Working as a youth advisor specifically focusing on radicalism and polarisation. Providing education on the topic of radicalism on schools.

*The interview is translated from Dutch to English, original transcript can be requested from the author

1. The first question is what is your profession and in what way do you work on the topic of radicalism with youths?

Well, I am a youth advisor from the urban MBO ²youth team. Anyway, I am actually a social worker originally, trained as a social worker, ‘school social worker’ as it was called before the transition. Yes, youth care provider. We work at MBO schools in Amsterdam, I work at the ROC in Amsterdam, at two different locations. Yes, that is the profession, that is what I do. Within my team, I am also a support officer pertaining to radicalization and polarization. That means that I just do some extra training, as my interest lies there. I also come from an environment..., I come from Amsterdam myself and have also known people in my private sphere who were radicalizing, for example, in the form of traveling to Syria, which was really the trend at that time. I've known people. Guys. Young people I know from the neighbourhood who have made the journey, who have died and basically from that moment on I thought, I want to give something back to those guys who have questions or, yes... To all young people really, but I started to delve more deeply into that issue and since then I have actually been educating myself on this and, moreover, as a support officer.

2. What is radicalism according to you and can you give some examples?

² MBO is the Dutch word for secondary vocational education

Do you want definitions or just practical examples?

Yes, a definition of radicalism and then examples of how you see it.

Well, I think that the moment someone rebels against democracy or society and the population in such a way that the motivation, a belief, an ideology, is a certain goal completely contradictory to the society that we have together... I think those are forms of radicalization. I mean, you can also be radical if you... Well, just to give an example, you often hear that Islam is linked to it, Salafism, that is really something that has a kind of patent on radicalization, and that is not the case at all. I am also from Amsterdam-Noord myself, and you have neighbourhoods there such as Blauwe Zand, Floradorp, I name these as examples, where there is a lot of radicalization on the right. Young boys who, I will dub them the white boys who interact with each other, only love the same football club, hooliganism, defacing mosques, things like that. You see that a lot and these are also forms of radicalization. Young boys with an Islamic, how should I put this, I do not necessarily want to call them Muslim. But in any case, youths with Islamic influences around them who are kind of lost, are developing their own identity at a certain age and do not have the right role models around them. Yes, they are influenced in a way that they use an ideology as a weapon. Literally and figuratively sometimes. Not recognizing oneself in today's society, in the democracy that we have here and recognizing oneself in something that is glorified and build up by someone else. Saying "you see, they don't want you" and then you see that young people are going to revolt. First things first, young people rebel anyway. I mean if you are also in that phase after puberty, young adulthood, you are going to develop yourself and you often differentiate yourself and in your puberty especially. It even starts in toddlerhood, but puberty is a bit more extreme. That you are opposed to the established order, society as it is and a bit of mischief is therefore most common. But yes, if it takes the shape of, like radical forms or if it has a very polarizing effect, yes then it is dangerous and then yes, you should help someone like that, I think. I see this as a duty for us, as a society.

So, you actually indicate that there is not one specific type of radicalism, but it can come from many different sides?

Yes, I think so.

3. Can you explain the difference between radicalism and extremism?

I think you can have radical ideas without being radical. I think you should look for this difference in the expression of it. And you can also have extreme ideas. Sometimes I also have very radical ideas. I love movies and I think "Oh that would be a very good script for a movie", but anyway if I tell someone about it they would probably say "you are crazy". But Quentin Tarantino does it and he wins Oscars, so it just depends on how you look at it. I think extremism is, well the word gives it away already, extreme goals, ideologies... But you can also be extreme in inline skating, so it's a little tricky. Extremism can also be a good thing, in the sense of, yes, if you're extremely good at something. Yes, if you link those things together then I think it is mainly the expression of certain ideologies, goals that are politically tinted or against society, against democracy as we know it.

Okay so extremism is really about taking action?

Yes.

4. What image do you have of someone who is radicalized compared to someone who is not, by which I mean physical or mental characteristics?

5. How do you think a process of radicalization can be recognized?

Well it depends. I am now talking about how things go down in schools. I often consult with care coordinators or with other professionals in schools who often want to talk because they have flagged something. It often starts with flagging. We also try to include teachers, healthcare professionals in training, sharing knowledge a lot. And I've had phone calls before... it's easier for me to talk in examples, so you have the context of it. I think that can help. So, for example, I'll meet someone who says to me "yes, I have a young person who does not shake hands anymore", so yes I'll say I also know plenty who have mysophobia. "Yes, I have a boy who constantly wears djellaba's in class now a days", sure, but someone who likes heavy metal wears Metallica shirts or whatever. It is always a combination of things

and it is not that I want to normalize it but you have to make it so that you can discuss it openly. The scarier you make it, the more we, so to speak, look at each other with different glasses.

I think when you say "Yes, such a young person is wearing a djellaba," yes, I really like it when someone practices a religion, I personally am also religious, to some extent. Everyone does that in their own way. Frankly I think it's a beautiful thing, if you adhere to a belief, since it means that you belong somewhere, which is nice, recognition. Most of the beliefs I know, actually all of them, glorify not using violence. So not even the Islam, I happen to have an Islamic background. So, if you really read that, it's all peace-loving. It's the people, the interpretations, and when you have that as a basis, you can look at an interpretation differently. Someone does not shake hands, someone wears certain clothes, but someone also says "yes women do not have some of the rights men have" or " I am more than you are ", " you are worth less to me being a nonbeliever ", now that is a combination of things of which you can say 'hey there are some red flags here'. The moment someone does not shake a hand because he is at a loss/searching³, or, well I know people who have mysophobia. Now a days, no one shakes hands. A girl wearing a burqa, well, we all have to wear face masks now. Of course, a burqa in public spaces, it makes sense, you have to see who you have in front of you, it is difficult if you are a surgeon, but well.. they also wears a mask. But I mean, a policewoman, I get that and that's just common sense. But that does not mean that someone is extreme or radicalized. Someone who withdraws, participates less in sports activities, neglects a lot, those are also signals to us. Just going to certain places, dealing with certain people, not or no longer dealing with people, de-socializing, these are real signals that we discuss in the case histories.

There are young people, for example, I'm just saying, the bloemen neighbourhood I mentioned, they do not go to school, they no longer go to a football match, they are alone at home on their computer and on their social media we find certain statements he =made, saying all dark people and Muslims should die. Well then I think yes, you should go and talk to the local police officer and report it at the report and advice hotline for radicalization. I will also submit my case there if I have any doubts, then I will call someone. We have a number especially for professionals, I mean every citizen can report. We have a number so we can

³ The interviewee refers to the emergence of COVID-19

consult with each other and then we go on together. The most important thing is to talk to the person and people are often very afraid of that. To appeal to such a young person. Not necessarily regarding his behaviour but just to talk. From "Hey I see that you don't shake hands anymore, what is that about? ", He just tells his side of the story and people are afraid of 'that like ' ooh ', ' or especially as a woman who might go "Oh he doesn't shake hands anymore, so how am I going to approach him as a woman... ". No, the moment you put up those blockades for yourself you will get nowhere and moreover that can help in alienating someone, because it is just alienating. Everyone is searching, everyone seeks recognition, everyone seeks a mirror, everyone seeks appreciation, everyone seeks to be part of society. And the moment you do not recognize yourself, yes then you start looking for where you can find that recognition. Often you just have those wrong types who will present you with a beautiful world view and in this case, in many cases, abuse faith to do that. Now you see, there are a lot of "The Netherlands as a country...", " Yes our country is losing from Muslims..." and "gets taking over by dark people and immigrants...", "We no longer live in *our* country..." and they use this patriot idea.

Anyway, looking at history, that's just abusing it. There are more than 180 nationalities here in Amsterdam alone so take a look at the history of The Netherlands. If you explain that the Dutchman does not exist in principle. It is a combination of Dutch, Frisian, Geuzen, Batavians. Together we are form a low country beautifully. A lot of history and very rich past that consists of people who... Western Europeans who were mainly in contact with each other in shipping trade, some call it piracy and the VOC era. I mean if you're going to talk to people this way, to those guys in the Bloemen district for example... And like my father, for example, after World War II, when Rotterdam capitulated after 1 day, everything was bombed flat and they needed guest workers because many Dutch people had migrated to New Zealand and Australia. At that point they went to get cheap labour from Morocco, from Turkey and before that Greece and Italy for five gulden 4an hour for reconstruction. The moment you say that, that our parents also contributed to the buildings you see now and that we are simply the result of people born there, you get a completely different view of them. I give this as an example because I experience it daily. It helps a lot if you normalize it and talk to them about it. Anyway, that doesn't mean you don't have to be extra alert for certain signals because a lot of things have gone wrong in recent years. With the defacing of buildings or with all those

⁴ Old Dutch currency; 1 gulden = 0.45 Euro

demonstrations and the Pegida as well as with the other side, with attacks that have been made, people with a certain Salafist ideology. I think young people, I mainly speak of the developments of the young person, young people are often searching. You just help them in their search and whether they have certain ideas at the moment, I also know young people who are very insecure about music movements. Am I a goth or is hip-hop my thing or... And you can also guide and help someone in this. Right, like talk to them.

So that's the most important thing, talking to them?

Yes.

6. Who do you think is the most important actor to respond to a radicalizing person?

Well the immediate environment. It is because I work in a school and a school often plays a very big role in the lives of young people. Be it the mentors, the teachers, contact points... So, it is also very important that they continue to be trained and continue to look with a close observing eye on several things. We try to train them on a lot of things, I mean we also train teachers how to deal with students who are desolated, students [who were victims] of domestic violence. Today's teacher is no longer the teacher who only performs a lesson, that no longer exists.

So, the teacher is a very important actor during this process?

Yes. The parents at home, the surrounding neighbourhood on the street. So indeed, the immediate environment. I think you have a certain responsibility to each other. I would also really appreciate if someone would intervene when noticing that I am not feeling well or have certain ideas about something. Or at least do something. So, following that line of reasoning, not directly look the other way.

7. What do you think is the first step schools should take when they suspect that someone is radicalizing?

8. What do you think is the most important thing to keep in mind when talking to a radicalized young person?

Yes, approach this person as open as possible and discuss it on their terms. Often you don't have to re-label things. You can talk to someone directly. Often you hear from those young boys who had made the journey "brother", like they call me brother, they use the word brother, which I find very fraternal. But then I wonder like 'hey two months ago you didn't call me that', what makes someone a brother and what doesn't. "Well, brother, you have the same faith as me," yes, that is correct, but does that make someone who has a different faith less of a brother... You know, that kind of stuff. You join in and that way you also test your own..., but you also hold up a mirror, so the person can check for himself like, am I...

Because if someone goes home after that conversation thinking screw that guy and I just keep going, well, even then we still can offer them help. But you can also send someone away with the thought of "Hey that was a nice conversation, that is someone like, who is not ashamed to just talk to me.", who acknowledges that I am in kind of a situation, 'searching', that's how I always call it. You can also send someone out with question marks that will make them think about "What makes me have this outlook ", so that they will reflect more on their own behaviour and way of thinking.

So, look at why they express this kind of behaviour?

Yes, why they are that way right now. And that it doesn't have to be a bad thing. Look, you asked me a very nice question about extremism and radicalization side by side. The moment you have ideologies..., every child has best radical ideas. I don't know how old you are?

I am 24.

Yes, it must have been not so long ago that you were also walking around with ideas. Not to blow up the world or to blow up buildings, but from your life, you want to do something. Sometimes you think I will travel or I will emigrate, you know - things like that. They are part of your development and that is very healthy. It becomes unhealthy the moment you start expressing it in a way that goes against society. You should not reject it [society], where everyone is just equal, where everyone has rights. The moment your ideas and your behaviour

endangers others, when you are a danger to yourself and your environment, yes then you need help. That is also the case with someone with depression and I think you should give those people a chance. And should not immediately write them off. The presentation often makes it so scary that we do not want to touch upon those radicalizing young people]. Meanwhile they [the youths] sense this and then, I think that backfires. Then they slide even further into "You see, it is confirmed by society". While if you think about it, like, we help someone with depression too. I also help someone with a disorder, or something or other. Someone who is struggling with who am I, because that is actually the beginning of radicalization. Someone who struggles with his identity, why wouldn't you help them.

9. Do you think that radicalization prevention plans are necessary in schools and why?

Yes it is a bit double because there is a lot. Yes, if I have to answer very briefly, yes, certainly. Prevention is always good and provides a lot of information. Preventive activities. Involving young people very early on in information exchanges. Being honest and open, yes absolutely. I also think that lessons should be given and not necessarily about radicalization but. Lessons are being given at MBO, about what love is. I mean, you think 'hey someone who does MBO is often 16/17, but most students are 18+ so you should just know what love is and what sex is, etc., but there are lessons for it anyway. Lessons have been added about debt. There were studies a few years ago that showed many young people are in debt. Yes, in the western megapolis cities anyways, the research was done in the big cities. Well then there will be a lesson on what money is, given by a debt relief organization. In all of Amsterdam, for example, at all schools. Then I think this is also a topic, not necessarily that you call it radicalization, but development. The trend of today. I mean, you also have a whole new movement right now which I find extremely radical. Namely the drill scene in music and the fact that 14-year-olds walk around with such knives. I think those are very radical groups. For they are groups. They share their passion for a certain music that incites violence. It is often young people who are indeed still in development, teens, adolescents who have got a body raging full of hormones . Wanting to belong somewhere, well, they are recognized there. Or at least if you stab someone you are important if such a thing is glorified, yes. So that's a trend going on right now. There should also be lessons about that, like what are the other sides, the downside. You could include radicalization into this, or it's often included with citizenship. You know, in which case people talk about society and about the differences between

countries. We have many classes with newcomers from Syria, Ethiopia, Somalia. Each ROC has at least two groups with newcomers, having Dutch as a second language. They come from war zones and it is very nice to have them exchange with someone from Amsterdam South. We also provide training in this, on safety in all classes. Yes well, then I also like it if there is someone from Syria that also wants to share their story with someone. This way you get to know each other's differences and similarities. He comes from an area where there is a lot of war, but he is a nice boy who also likes football or tennis just like me.

So again, starting the conversation with young people?

Yes. That works very well in prevention. Because then you expand a student's horizon, you teach someone to look like this instead of like that. And you often see that among radicalizing young people in schools that they are increasingly develop tunnel vision and are closing themselves off from what is happening around it. That they often cannot identify themselves with that. But that is actually not true. You can name the most divergent person, I know that I have something in common with that person and that ensures connection. Stay interested in each other.

10. Are you familiar with any prevention plans for schools? If so, which one?

11. Do you think prevention plans can have a stigmatizing effect? If yes / no, why?

Yes, when you have plans and you will mainly focus on Moroccan youth, which I just mentioned, yes then that can indeed work that way. You also have to do it in the broad sense and you don't even have to call it radicalization. Sometimes a different label is... ..can work very well. You might say youth and development. Whatever, name something,, I am making this t up on the spot. Something which is a part of ideologies, beliefs, movements and political movements and our view of them. If you name it that, I think you make it much broader, more accessible. And then I think those Moroccan boys from West and the Dutch boys from North and those Surinamese boys from Southeast all come together. And can exchange and at least ensure that that approach works much better or has a less stigmatizing effect.

12. Are you in favour of recognizing radicalism by using indicators and key moments? Why? If not, what other way do you suggest using?

Yes, what I said it's double. It has two sides. It is necessary, absolutely. You also have to have something to guide you and you have to have tools. You must have frameworks against which you can measure and test. Still, it remains work carried out by people, and I have been doing the work for 10 years now and working with people always requires a customized approach. Always tricky. So, you cannot know anything based on just indicators. Like I said before, I can wear a djellaba, I can't shake hands, I can call people brother. Those are also signals, only 1 I am afraid of contamination 2 I wear hemp clothing because my skin is allergic to denim and 3 I like to call people brother or sister. There is nothing wrong with me at all, but the moment you compare this to a fixed check list... Yes. Then all the alarm bells will go off. That's why, for me, entering into a conversation with someone, making contact, is as important as those indicators. But this is not to say that they are not important. They are necessary of course. Because you still have need of your frameworks and guidance.

Appendix 4: Transcript interviewee 3

Unedited transcript | Interviewee 3 | personal interview | 12 May 2020*

has a background as a teacher and is currently doing his PhD at the VU Amsterdam. His PhD focuses on the radicalization of young people and prevention.

*the interview is translated from Dutch to English, original transcript can be requested from the author.

1. The first question is what is your profession and in what way do you work on the topic of radicalism with youths?

So, my background is as a teacher and I am currently researching for my PhD, which particularly focuses on radicalization of young people and the prevention of radicalization. I am also involved in community-based education for young people, which is where my interest for radicalization first arose.

2. What is radicalism according to you and can you give some examples?

It's a very interesting question, I think, because there is definitely this kind of positive aspect whether it can be there of radicalism or where people are able to think beyond the norms and the structures around them, where they see things that need to change in society and are willing to work for that change. But I think the whole question of definitions is one of the issues in this whole area. There are things that we would consider problematic and I think often it's where these views of the changes in society become exclusionary and involve an us against them. So where is the transformation of society for the one group and in opposition to others? We often see one of the things people try to do that it is problematic is where it becomes about violence or where it's violence to achieve the means. But I think for me, it's also where we're really debating society and polarizing between groups. But I think we've got

to be careful not to see everything that is kind of questioning the way society operates as problematic, even if it's a bit deviant.

3. Can you explain the difference between radicalism and extremism?

Yeah, I think I touched on it in the previous question.

I think radicalism refers to the kind of radical ideas where there is a questioning of this status quo. There's a question about the way things are. And so, like in the past, people who were arguing for the emancipation of women were seen as radical. I think extremism is where there is like a set of ideas together that are taken as reality that this is the one and only way the world should be. And it doesn't admit to the possibility of changing or of adjustment in light of the nature of the views of others or scientific experience.

4. What image do you have of someone who is radicalized compared to someone who is not, by which I mean physical or mental characteristics?

If we take being radicalized in terms of those kind of extremist side, then my image is of somebody who's got some very fixed ideas of the way things should be and who hasn't got either the skills, the critical skills or the support to question some of these fundamental ideas. Yes, I think that's it. If someone is unwilling to really enter the dialogue and explore their perceptions of reality.

5. How do you think a process of radicalization can be recognized?

Yeah, I think this is really tricky because many of the outward things that we look for are. Ehm it might just be natural changes that young people are going through. I think where people are distancing themselves and their relationships with others. It doesn't necessarily mean it's radicalization, but it is something I think in general, especially when we're talking from an educational perspective, it's something that is concerning, that you want to understand what is it? And so maybe it's that they're just having a difficult time at home and

very few support. But I think regardless and it could also be a sign of their growing commitment to something else and that they need space to explore that. So, I think for me from an educational perspective, that the primary consideration is this distancing from others around them and from their teachers.

6. Who do you think is the most important actor to respond to a radicalizing person?

Yeah, I think that's tricky because I think it's a connected space, I think teachers are involved and maybe more so for some people than others. Or there's somebody within their network at a neighbourhood level. And there might be a youth worker. There might be even a trusted friend. There may be an uncle, I guess. And there may be yeah, it could be many. But I think it's that person who has that relationship of trust

7. What do you think is the first step schools should take when they suspect that someone is radicalizing?

I think at the heart it is not forgetting all that they already know about pedagogy and engaging with young people. And really, really entering into open conversation and exploring and keeping their minds open that it might be something else. so, it's really a Trinity. The other important thing, I think, is to remove this fear factor that they may have. It's because it's something that's feels strange to them but to have that confidence of a professional to engage in a conversation with the young person.

8. What do you think is the most important thing to keep in mind when talking to a radicalized young person?

I think that they are a young person and they have hopes and aspirations for the future, that they may. Yeah. But as to think yeah I'm sure there is a very human being and maybe they look different or they have different perspectives on certain aspects that are there but you build from that kind of common humanity. I'm trusting that there is that to be built upon.

9. Do you think that radicalization prevention plans are necessary in schools and why?

I think they can be helpful when they are properly framed. And so, they don't become again, something that creates this kind of mystery. This feeling of something that's very bad, it almost demonizes young people when they fall into the category of a prevention plan. But I think they can be helpful in helping educators to be conscious of what they may be looking for, and you have to have the first resources on how to respond.

10. Are you familiar with any prevention plans for schools? If so, which one?

Not these specific ones for radicalism.

11. Do you think prevention plans can have a stigmatizing effect? If yes / no, why?

Yes, I think it's particularly when there is not a good education for teachers. That they just have this prevention plan, then it's very easy to fall into our social stereotypes for what counts as radicalization. We can more quickly consider somebody from a Muslim background showing worrying behaviour as a radicalizing person, whereas maybe there's actually something else going on.

12. Are you in favour of recognizing radicalism by using indicators and key moments? Why? If not, what other way do you suggest using?

I think it's tricky because I think it's, it is always oversimplified. So, my preference is to have consciousness of how to perceive things as a teacher that raises our desire to be more closely in dialogue with young people rather than to see them as indicators of radicals. But maybe they're similar things. But when it's framed as indicators of radicalism, your first step is to go to the police, to security services. It seems that it's framed in that way. Whereas it is the job of the educator to interpret concerns and I think it is more the framing that is important.

So how to interpret it? The matter actually.

Yeah and what does that mean when you see things.

Appendix 5: Transcript interviewee 4

Unedited transcript | Interviewee 4 | personal interview | 13 May 2020*

working as the head of Stichting Vreedzaam, which aims to introduce and implement the peaceful neighbourhood. The programme called 'Vreedzaam' focuses on democratic citizenship, thus enhancing citizenship skills for children and young people. The prevention of radicalism is part of this notion.

*Interview is translated from Dutch to English, original transcript can be requested from the author

1. The first question is what is your profession and in what way do you work on the topic of radicalism with youths?

I am currently director of Stichting Vreedzaam and we are a foundation and we are working on introducing the peaceful neighbourhood. Actually, throughout the country, from Groningen to Maastricht. The Peaceful Program is a program aimed at democratic citizenship, thus enhancing civic skills in children, among young people and the role of educators in them. And to what extent I come into contact with processes of radicalization, that is, well, no neighbourhood is the same, but there are of course neighbourhoods where these types of processes take place and well then I immediately come into the picture. What we really do is really bind children of the inhabitants to our democratic society and if you are talking about prevention of radicalization then that is very important to me. So how do you know how to bind them to that democratic society.

2. What is radicalism according to you and can you give some examples?

In my opinion, you can also be radically for democracy. It has a kind of negative undertone, radicalization, but I personally don't really find much wrong with that. I mean, it is also a bit peculiar to being young that you oppose society, that you are discovering yourself, that you

are developing your own identity and that you may be radical in certain thoughts or ideas. or something. That you can go for it completely and that does not even have to be negative. I mean I'm like people who are different from the rest of society. I think we really need that and of course it becomes dangerous if you actually want to hurt others or if you really want to disrupt society or want to oppose society or choose a different system. But in essence, radicalization? Yes, I mean I am radical for democracy. You can also call that radicalization.

The next question is actually whether you can explain the difference between radicalism and extremism? But you already indicated that that is the limit if you really harm others, that there are some limits for you?

Yes, I am actually a little ahead of the questions.

3. Can you explain the difference between radicalism and extremism?

4. What image do you have of someone who is radicalized compared to someone who is not, by which I mean physical or mental characteristics?

Well for me it has to do with your beliefs. What you notice, of course, is if you go somewhere and that can be left or right. I happen to be on Twitter myself and then you clearly see the difference between the ideas a person believes in. Left or right or, far left or far right. What happens is the more you actually get into that belief with all those like-minded people, the more you will read about it and the more you become convinced of your own truth and that it is the truth. And these are actually processes of radicalization and that there is less and less exchange with the world around that perception. And that, of course, is not always a healthy development. On the contrary, I think it is healthy to have an occasional response, to be able to enter into a debate with people. In order to be able to listen to arguments that another gives, but above all to continue to see the other person who has a different opinion as a person. And that is of course also the inhumane development certain beliefs are linked to particular groups, guilt association. So just those Moroccans, just those Muslims, so you act like that and of course those are dangerous processes when you talk about things like this.

So, you actually indicate, there is not one specific image of a radical person because that could actually be problematic because you are already put them in a certain group?

Well yes, but if you are talking about those processes, it can of course say something about the processes of radicalization. So basically, what I have already mentioned, searching for like-minded people, that you come into contact with, having less contact with people outside your own group. These are of course processes that can promote radicalization.

Yes, so that you actually isolate yourself from the rest?

Yes.

Yes, that was actually the next question, of how you can recognize a process of radicalization, but you have already answered this.

5. How do you think a process of radicalization can be recognized?

6. Who do you think is the most important actor to respond to a radicalizing person?

Well, if I look at from the vision we hold in our foundation. We are very much working on it, call it a difficult word, pedagogical civil society. How I actually see it, that it is very much about networking in society. So, a radicalizing young person who is part of a broader network. Indeed, who comes from a family with parents, has contact with teachers and youth workers in those neighbourhoods out there, perhaps a community police officer. But also, the shopkeeper on the corner. And what we know is, you might know him, Robert Putnam, a sociologist from the United States. He talks a lot about social capital, which keeps us together as a society and that turns out to be very decisive when you look at, for example, processes of radicalization, or processes when you talk about crime or learning arrears, after all. That social capital is extremely decisive for the extent to which these actors relate to each other, know each other, work together, are children in the public context still addressed by adults or are they completely left alone? So, there is not one defining actor in this story in my view. You would actually want all those different people to be aware of their educational role and that is happening less and less in society. So, the example that I give that people are afraid to address certain behaviour of children or young people. A lot of people no longer do this. They

are afraid that the child scolds them or their parents will say ‘‘who are you to address my child’’. So, the whole upbringing has almost become something of a private affair and that is of course a very dangerous development in my view. So, what we do very much from our foundation is, make people very aware of their role as educators and certainly in the public domain, but also to think beyond your own field. I also sometimes come across teachers, and then they say: yes, but I am a math teacher, I am trained for that. So, they are much more focused on their own field but in my opinion you are an educator first. So, in my view you are an educator first and then you hope to teach children your subject somehow. So that's just a different way of thinking. So as a teacher you have a huge role in that, if you see a student who is not doing well or if something arises in your gym class, well then you can stop the gym class and start a conversation with the children. Instead of thinking of me, I have to achieve my substantive goals. But the same applies for a local police officer, a local police officer is not there to catch thieves. Yes, at first maybe but in principle an agent is there from a preventive point of view, you have to make sure that you know the people in your neighbourhood, that you have contact with all young people, that they also think you are a nice guy, that they think we can go to him if there is something. Then you will eventually also catch thieves more easily. So, it has a lot to do with the extent to which you as a professional take up responsibility and I think everyone has a role in that.

So, there is not a specific person but it is more of a responsibility of all?

Yes, because we actually see that in practice, sometimes it will just be, what is important for radicalizing young people is that there is also a confidential counsellor in their area, where they can go to and end up saying: oh, but now there is someone who really listened to me and I struggled with that and I was not judged. That person, look, you often hear that that is a teacher or a trainer of a sports club, but in essence anyone can be that person. It can also be a neighbour. So, it starts very much with that awareness, that your role is greater than what you might think it is.

7. What do you think is the first step schools should take when they suspect that someone is radicalizing?

Now you are talking about schools, the question is are you talking about a teacher or teachers. Because if it is one teacher, it may be the perception of that teacher. And then you can ask yourself, to what extent does the teacher in question have knowledge of the student or of the district, of the family where this student comes from. To what extent does the teacher enter into a discussion about this with his colleagues, so there is room to start that conversation. To what extent does a teacher arrive at that observation. Is it based on pronunciation, is it based on clothing, can be anything. So, there is not, in my view, an unambiguous approach, but what is important to me, in any case, is that there is a culture in school in which you can do things like this together. That there is a culture at that school in which students are used to having a voice, that there is a culture at that school in which students have a certain responsibility for each other and for the other. In which there is a culture at the school where teachers can talk to students about abrasive topics, but also in which teachers can be vulnerable and can also discuss this with their own colleagues. A very important one in this and then I make this a broader perspective, which is actually working towards a democratic culture in a school.

Okay, so then you actually take it much broader than just radicalism?

Yes. I'm actually not good at tips and tricks at all. Yes, I come from educational field myself, I can give enough tips, but if you want to make a change in education, it will be about culture. If the culture at a school is in order, a teacher will then show a certain behaviour. If that is not in order then that one teacher can still show certain behaviour, but that gets bogged down because there is no specific culture in the school. In my view, it always starts very much with creating a democratic culture and taking on a role as a school leader and then taking the teacher, the students, parents with them.

8. What do you think is the most important thing to keep in mind when talking to a radicalized young person?

Well you see, we all have our own judgments and prejudices and thoughts and that you cannot always prevent this. So, I mean, it is not always possible. I also have my judgments, but at least be aware of that and try to enter the conversation as openly as possible. Without letting your opinions or prejudices speak out, which I understand is sometimes really difficult. But I think that openness is a very important skill that you should have as a teacher and also

make sure that you are not alone. Test it with the environment of the student, with the student after the conversation, but also with your colleagues. So, make sure you are not alone.

9. Do you think that radicalization prevention plans are necessary in schools and why?

Yes. Yes. You see, radicalization is part of the map or something, of the curriculum. Just when, for example, hey, of course we had the arrival of IS and then it almost became a kind of hot item in society. When there are attacks or foreign fighters. So, we suffer from it and then it becomes such a hot item. But in my view, it is part of a wider framework. If young people do not feel part of that society or if they are put away or if they do not feel that they can go somewhere, then radicalization can develop. Only, crime may just as well have be a consequence. Being part of a criminal youth group, for example. Young people are going to search for each other, they are going to search for like-minded people and that is young people I think and they need a context in their environment that guides them in this. So yes, you can talk about radicalization or you can talk about crime or you can talk about gay hatred for example. I just mention something. The moment a gay couple is attacked, which was recently in Amsterdam, the video was also circulated on social media. Then we suddenly find it very important and then there have to be all kinds of diversity projects. But that too, is just as much part of the same story. So, to what extent are younger children accustomed from an early age to be included in a broader approach in which diversity is also a part and in which they are also a part of because those young people also have an identity and need to be heard. So, radicalization is a small part of a much broader approach in my view.

I mean, I notice, that in primary education this is often really good. In general, it is well arranged. The teacher has a class and is with that class the whole week, it is much smaller there. But I think that secondary education should pay much more attention to the subject of citizenship. I understand why they adjust the current law because in the past we have not done this properly.

So, we should really just broaden it all to citizenship and not specifically to radicalism or gay hatred.

Yes, exactly.

10. Are you familiar with any prevention plans for schools? If so, which one?

11. Do you think prevention plans can have a stigmatizing effect? If yes / no, why?

Yes, I think so. If you are going to transform it into something very big then you will suddenly see it everywhere. I think that is a dangerous development. That is the same with what I just mentioned about sexual diversity, if you suddenly make it very big you will also see it everywhere. And what are we going to say, then we are going to, well, I have worked in Overvecht for years. Then we will say no, but that school in Overvecht we have to do something about it. No, that has a lot to do with the answer I gave you before, personally it is not always like that. Actually, that is already stigmatizing, if you approach it that way, it already has judgment in it. But if you approach it broader then stigma will be less present I believe. It also has a lot to do with the prejudice that you already have in you as a teacher or something. With you. And what is also special when it comes to radicalization. Well what I said to you before, that it is often framed in the negative sense. But also, that in our society we talk very quickly about Muslim radicalization. While I can also tell you enough stories about right-wing extremist radicalization. Maybe that's even bigger nowadays. So, it almost carries a certain judgment.

12. Are you in favour of recognizing radicalism by using indicators and key moments? Why? If not, what other way do you suggest using?

Yes, I think that is dangerous actually. It's not that you shouldn't talk about it. For me there is strength in taking on your role as an educator. And if I am worried about a child, I will discuss this with my colleagues, ask them, do you also interpret it like this or is it just me? Focusing on how I perceive things, do I have certain prejudices, do I have a conversation with the student or maybe with the parents of that student? I'm going to search, I'm not saying I know the answer. At least I show responsibility for my role as an educator and express my opinion, 'I am shocked by that' or 'I noticed this'. And together with my student I enter into an open conversation. What I am telling you now is very much how I see it personally,

but I also understand that there are teachers who may need indicators. But I personally think that it is some kind of wax and noses or something. That you use a list and then you will tick off certain boxes and if you have a check mark or an 8 then that means you are radical or something, yes. People like that a lot, a lot of people like lists. Only, I think that it creates a false reality.

⁵ Wax and nose is a Dutch saying meaning that it does not say much about something / it does not have much value

Appendix 6: Transcript interviewee 5

Unedited transcript | Interviewee 5 | personal interview | 12 May 2020*

working as a contact person for student care. This means that teachers can contact the care coordinator when they feel like a student may need extra care and support. The care coordinator serves as a connecting person between the school and internal or external support.

*Interview is translated from Dutch to English, original transcript can be requested from the author

1. The first question is what is your profession and in what way do you work on the topic of radicalism with youths?

My profession is as a care coordinator, within Friesland College, which is called the contact person for student care.

2. What is radicalism according to you and can you give some examples?

Um radicalism in the broad sense of the word? Yes, in my opinion, behaviour based on extreme ideas, extreme ideas from religion or other movements, philosophical ideals, when extreme, that it can cause damage or possibly cause damage to other people.

3. Can you explain the difference between radicalism and extremism?

No, I can't, I thought it was the same. I can imagine that extremism is a bit worse than radicalism.

4. What image do you have of someone who is radicalized compared to someone who is not, by which I mean physical or mental characteristics?

Well if I look at the school context then it is not necessarily visible

5. How do you think a process of radicalization can be recognized?

Well what could happen is that someone becomes more and more of a loner in a group. Who isolates itself, and has less of a connection with the normal group of people.

6. Who do you think is the most important actor to respond to a radicalizing person?

I think parents or other family members

7. What do you think is the first step schools should take when they suspect that someone is radicalizing?

Well the first step within schools is to discuss this with other colleagues / check whether the ideas are correct.

8. What do you think is the most important thing to keep in mind when talking to a radicalized young person?

Well that's a tough question, of course it depends on the person you are talking to. I think it mainly has to do with the attitude, I choose to have an attitude that shows respect.

9. Do you think that radicalization prevention plans are necessary in schools and why?

Yes, I think so. Because schools have a signalling function and that is not just limited to radicalization or extremism. There should be some knowledge of what radicalism is, and if that develops into a plan, I think that is another step. Either way, it should be signalled.

10. Are you familiar with any prevention plans for schools? If so, which one?

No, I am not familiar with that. But that is mainly because we have had little to do with young people who are radicalising. Our school does not have a standard plan in place as far as I know, as I said earlier, I do think it should be there.

11. Do you think prevention plans can have a stigmatizing effect? If yes / no, why?

I am not sure.

12. Are you in favour of recognizing radicalism by using indicators and key moments? Why? If not, what other way do you suggest using?

I am not necessarily a proponent. Our job in our profession is to take signals seriously and that could also mean that it is radicalism. It is mainly just information we have and not a plan.