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**An Investigation of Resilience Constructs Alongside the Role of the
Community, Religiosity and Attitudes of Intolerance: Implications
for Countering Extremism**

Saskia Xanthe Ryan, *BSc (Hons), MSc*

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

September 2018

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ABSTRACT

The understanding of extremism in the United Kingdom is as important now as it has ever been, and in doing so there is a need to inform empirically underpinned policy and intervention with the development of an evidence base. Especially from a risk management point of view, early intervention prior to radicalisation is a preferable direction to take and the government's Prevent strategy reflects such. Yet currently, there are key concepts within counter-extremism and counter-terrorism policy which continue to be poorly defined and lack operationalisation, leading to negative implications on the ground and problematic implementation. Such issues can have a pertinent impact on perceived legitimacy of implementing agencies. Resilience, which is one such key concept alongside community cohesion, has been widely applied across disciplines and framed in a variety of ways. Whilst the psychological literature has begun to explore resilience as a multifaceted phenomenon, under a levels of resilience approach, there is a gap in the literature whereby resilience is reframed in the context of countering extremism. Resilience was subsequently framed in a vulnerability reduction context where the threat is the adoption of extremist attitudes and radicalisation and the successful adaptation is the rejection of such.

The overarching aim of this thesis was therefore to investigate resilience constructs alongside the role of the community and, political and religious factors. To link the exploration more closely to attitude change, one of the goals of counter-extremism interventions, the research also sought to determine the relationship of the above variables to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. The research conducted a pilot study to provide an initial exploration of individual, community, and national resilience on a sample of 134 students. Data was then collected from 355 members of the general population to firstly explore resilience and the role of the community in study one, secondly attitudes of intolerance in study two, and finally resilience and community in the context of attitudes of intolerance in study three. All respondents completed a comprehensive questionnaire including demographics, measures of individual resilience, community resilience, national resilience, religiosity, religious fundamentalism, and attitudes of intolerance.

Findings demonstrated resilience at the level of the individual, community and nation are distinct constructs which are dynamic in nature, especially across context. There were also significant relationships between resilience constructs and community cohesion which support a reintegration of these two concepts within counter extremism policy. Furthermore, both community resilience and national resilience were found to be directly related to attitudes of intolerance. These findings are discussed in detail, specifically in relation to reframing, reimagining, and reapplying resilience in the context of countering extremism in Britain. As part of this discussion recommendations are made to policy makers based on the current findings which ultimately seek to integrate an evidence base into counter extremism policy and subsequently have a positive impact on implementation at a grass-roots level. Concluding, when policy is understood as a diagnosis and interpretation of society, community resilience and community cohesion together can be applied as responses to the need to reduce vulnerability to the threat of extremism and radicalisation. The current findings indicate building resilience at the level of the individual is less likely to be as directly beneficial in relation to reducing intolerance and national resilience may increase intolerance. By applying empirical analysis to explore resilience and the role of the community, grounded in the psychological literature on attitudes and attitude change, a unique perspective on the future of resilience building strategies and the community cohesion agenda is offered. Drawing on the evidence base which has shown the utility of community based interventions in other areas of crime and social issues, and how early intervention in countering extremism may be particularly valuable from both a top-down and bottom-up perspective to meet the needs of the general public and governing agencies.

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CHAPTER 1

CHALLENGES, BARRIERS AND BRIDGES: THE CONVERGENCE OF POLICY AND PSYCHOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF EXTREMISM

‘Vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs’

Prime Minister’s Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism (2013, p.1)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

We continue to exist in challenging times, with a sense of uncertainty among the British public we are so often reminded of the fragility of life as we know it, almost expecting the next credit crunch, riot, mass redundancy, or terror attack. As such there are serious implications for better understanding such issues. It has long been of interest of psychological researchers to understand the psychological underpinnings of extremism at both the individual level (Borum, 2011; 2014; Horgan, 2003) and at the group level (McCauley & Moskaleiko, 2008; Post, 2005; Hudson, 1999). Despite the evidence base for which, if any, factors best predict extremism being generally weak (Munton, Martin, Lorenc, Marrero-Guillamon, Jamal, Lehmann, Cooper & Sexton, 2011), various strategies have been designed and implemented to counter extremism and the many forms it may take. Especially in recent times, extremism has taken a place among the most significant issues for the United Kingdom. A fact that is not least reflected in the amount of funding that has been, and continues to be, allocated to policy makers and local agencies to address extremism. Only recently has a non-statutory expert committee of the Home Office been established to tackle extremism, 12 years after the first version of CONTEST (HM Government,

2006) the UK's main counter-terrorism strategy, was made publicly available. This appointment of Sara Khan as the lead for The Commission for Countering Extremism has not been without criticism, largely because she has been a strong advocate of the Prevent strategy, one of the strands within CONTEST. A policy that from the outset was met with scepticism and has since been subject to a whole host of criticisms. Many of its critics seeing Prevent as a policy of disengagement that has permanently damaged relationships and the battle to engage with communities in the UK, damaging the hearts and minds approach. As a commission that has been framed as independent, operating at arm's length from governmental bodies, it is clear to see why such criticisms have been made and questions of just how independent such a commission will be. Yet, the establishment of the commission shows that extremism and the countering of such is still very much on the government's agenda. Moreover, there are key concepts within counter-extremism policies and interventions that continue to take centre stage, namely resilience and community cohesion, again both of which have been subject to their fair share of criticism. Whilst there is a plethora of research on resilience, crossing time and discipline, little empirical research is available in the context of countering extremism and the application of resilience to such endeavours. Resilience has proved to be an asset in many policy areas (Comfort et al., 1999; Gunderson, 2000; Rose, 2007) and has begun to be applied successfully within psychology to individuals (Bonanno, 2004; Masten, 2001), communities (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008), and the nation (Barnett, 2004; Chemtob, 2005; Cacioppo, Reis & Zautra, 2011). Research has begun to explore resilience as an extensive cluster of capacities, characteristics, and resources (Aldrich, 2012; Norris et al., 2008). It is therefore understandable that such a concept continues to be drawn upon to explore its value in tackling further societal issues such as that of extremism.

The following chapter outlines the context of the thesis, covering historical and current social policy in the arena of countering-extremism and countering-terrorism, showing how resilience has been applied to such leading in to the rationale of the current research. This chapter also provides a brief introduction to each subsequent chapter and introduces the overall aim of the thesis.

1.2 POLICY

1.2.1 Critical Social Policy

Policy and policy frameworks make a particular diagnosis and interpretation of society, and in turn seek to guide intervention and potential resolutions. As a field of activity, social policy is decided upon and implemented by the government, usually by way of a course of action and network of decisions (Hill, 1997). It is usually a stance toward a particular issue or topic, influenced by ideology, media input, and assessment of research evidence (Harrison & MacDonald, 2008). Put simply ‘we literally eat, drink, and breathe public policy’ (Torjman, 2005, p.1), it is ingrained in all aspects of our lives. Yet arguably, social policy has an identity problem, namely the *lack* of any real identity (Blakemore & Warwick-Booth, 2013). On one hand it reflects an academic subject under which empirical research can be conducted, on the other it reflects something with real-world impact. Historically, the two have not always acted collaboratively, with some issues of convergence withstanding efforts to build bridges between the two worlds. Social policies, are ‘aims or goals, or statements of what ought to happen’ (Blakemore & Warwick-Booth, 2013, p.20). They should seek to improve human welfare and meet the needs of the people. Yet this is not always the outcome, especially in such sensitive areas as counter-extremism and counter-terrorism. The impact of social policy can just as often

reflect a way of controlling individuals as it can reflect a way of liberating individuals, and can have a huge impact on perceived legitimacy of the implementing agencies among the people (Murray, Mueller-Johnson & Sherman, 2015). From a police perspective at least, perceived legitimacy can have substantial implications for community engagement, with lack of trust hindering intelligence gathering and intervention implementation (Murray et al., 2015), something which likely also transcends into implications for local agencies trying to achieve similar goals around countering extremism. Therefore, poorly implemented strategies or misunderstood goals can come full circle and not only damage perceptions but further worsen the ability to successfully implement strategies and interventions.

1.2.2 The History of Counter-Terrorism and Countering Extremism

The experience the United Kingdom has in combating the threat of terrorism, some argue must have put us in good stead for the present day (Clarke, 2007). The experience referenced is some 30 years of the Irish terror campaign. However, there are notable differences between then and now, the Irish campaign was domestic and largely used conventional weaponry, carried out by terrorists in tightly knit networks who were desperate to avoid capture and had no desire to die in the pursuance of their acts (Clarke, 2007). That coupled with the vast technological advances, and overall contextual and cultural differences almost wholly refute such an argument. The difference in the Irish campaign and the current threat climate, Clarke (2007) argues means that experience does not necessarily equate to being equipped to dealing with the threat we face today. Moreover, culturally the United Kingdom is more complex than it has ever been and the relationships between and within communities have brought about a network of factors (Parekh, 2000) that are likely to be more pertinent than was the case in the Irish terror campaign era.

At the height of the Kosovo war in 1999, Tony Blair gave a speech which was dubbed the ‘Doctrine of the International Community’, setting out several key themes. These included challenging any dictatorship in its infancy, remaining humbled to America’s superpower status, and the relationship between external and internal matters for the state (Blair, 1999). The terror attacks on September 11, 2001 saw an unprecedented response from NATO, invoking Article V which states that an attack upon one member of the alliance is an attack upon all (Cox & Oliver, 2006). Despite such a reaction, neither NATO or the EU was represented in Afghanistan or the pursuit of Al Qaeda. Instead individual states such as the United Kingdom and Germany contributed by way of military support. Some argue this represented fast-paced, decisive action, with other offers of multilateral support brushed aside. One of the main aims of the United Kingdom’s security policy is the maintenance of close ties with the United States (Cox & Oliver, 2006). This underpinning aim has, some argue, left the United Kingdom more of a prominent western target for extremist violence and acts of terrorism (Chatham House, 2005). Prior to 9/11, Marc Calmers posited that ‘antiterrorism actions are designed as defensive measures to prevent the occurrence of terrorism as opposed to counterterrorist measures, which are offensive in nature and are designed to respond to a terrorist act’ (1987, p.13) was an accurate representation. Though such a simplistic dichotomy appears to have been falsified by the evolution of counter-terrorism measures (Sliwinski, 2013).

The expenditure on security policy to protect the homelands increased exponentially in the wake of the 9/11 events (Dawson & Guinnessy, 2002; Lum, Kennedy & Sherley, 2006; Silke, 2004). Since this date there have been many policy developments in relation to countering-extremism and countering-terrorism, both in the United Kingdom and across many western countries. Since 9/11, the United Kingdom itself has seen a number of horrendous act of

terrorism; the 7/7 bombings (BBC News, 2015) and the Manchester Arena suicide bombing (The Independent, 2017) as well as knife and gun attacks both on groups, such as those seen in London in March 2017 and June 2017, and on individuals such as the attack carried out on Lee Rigby (The Guardian, 2013). Such events bring to the forefront questions around what the government is doing to protect its people. Such events also result in the scrutiny of law enforcement and intelligence agencies, especially when the individual is found to have been 'known' to such agencies which can have a huge impact on overall police legitimacy (Boer, Hillebrand, & Nolke, 2008; Tyler, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010). Further, whilst terror attacks such as the aforementioned are still rare, there have been numerous foiled plots that also influence government agendas and subsequent policy. For example, in 2012, six individuals from Birmingham planned to carry out violent attacks at an English Defence League rally held in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire (BBC News, 2013). It is clear to see why such an expenditure continues and the real importance of getting policy in this area right.

Policy can be categorised on several dimensions; substantive or administrative, vertical or horizontal, current or future policy, and reactive or proactive. Proactive policies in a counter-extremism context are generally those designed to harden targets, improve technological barriers, secure borders and, increase surveillance and identity monitoring measures. Whereas reactive policy comes about in response to a concern or crisis that needs to be addressed. Reactive policy often arises from pressures brought on by such crises, for example, events such as the 9/11 attacks, whereby the public need to be reassured that *something* is being done. Proactive policy on the other-hand is more deliberate and planned in anticipation for future issues (Torjman, 2005). Whilst reactive policy, in the realm of extremism, is understandable, a more focused and empirically underpinned direction for policy seems an appropriate development for early, largely

reactive policy in this area. That is, that policy should encourage researchers to explore the issues further and develop an evidence base around this, and policy should be revisited considering new evidence. Moreover, policy makers and implementors should be willing to offer data in which empirical evaluations of interventions can be undertaken to offer future direction and improvement.

The date of 9/11 undoubtedly saw an influx in both academic literature, policy, and legislation alike which sought to explain, address, and put new sanctions on the rise of ‘new terrorism’ (Field, 2009; Jackson, 2009; Neumann, 2009; Spencer, 2011; Taylor, Roach, & Pease, 2016). Art and Richardson (2007) neatly organise counter-terrorist measures under three groups; ‘political, legislative, or judicial and security’ (pp. 16-17). The United Kingdom’s major legislative changes were seen in the Terrorism Act 2000, the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001, the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005, the Terrorism Act 2006, and the Counter-Terrorism Act 2008 (Walker, 2011). This new legislation gave law enforcement greater powers in relation to stop and search, surveillance, arrest, and detention, whilst also creating new crimes, such as the dissemination of material deemed to ‘glorify terrorism’. The Terrorism Act 2000 also introduced a new and broader definition of terrorism (Fenwick, 2002). That is, ‘any action or threat of action against a person or property or electronic system designed to influence government or intimidate the public or sections of the public with the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause (ss. 1 and 2). A definition which some have come to argue allows for a wide array of groups to be labelled terrorist (Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009), and a definition which has implications for those who maybe targeted for counter-extremism intervention.

In response to both outbreaks of unrest and in the context of the ‘war on terror’, the multiculturalism rhetoric, which had gained much popularity in public policy from the 1980’s, saw a more critical stance taken towards it (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007). The idea that Britain was contending with the complexities associated with becoming multicultural, or a ‘community of communities’ (Parekh, 2000), saw the blame for many social issues placed on a lack of social cohesion within the United Kingdom, including that of home-grown terrorism. One of the early responses to this was the idea of increasing community cohesion, the principle of which has been viewed more as a capacious political philosophy with communitarian roots characteristic of the Labour government. Yet it can be argued that when taken as a broader philosophy it seeks to revalue and remobilize civil society (McLaren, 2005). Under the idea of policy as a diagnosis and interpretation, community cohesion is a response to the diagnosis of the United Kingdom becoming thwart with civic alienation, decreasing social interactions and a disintegrating social glue (Wetherell, 2007). The way in which community cohesion has been understood varies among commentators and even within policy blueprints, the understandings of such seemingly contradict one another (Khan, 2007). As realised by the Local Government Association, a cohesive community is defined as one where:

- there is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities;
- the diversity of people’s different backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and positively valued;
- those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities; and
- strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds and circumstances in the work-place, in schools and within neighbourhoods

(Local Government Association, 2006, p. 5)

The concept of community cohesion has a long history within the academic literature, with its use within government directed interventions and policy observed across Europe and North America (Keating & Benton, 2013). There has been an overabundance of initiatives and policy announcements from both the government and local authorities which address threats to social and community cohesion and solutions to such (Cantle, 2001) many of which focus on shared values (Schuster & Solomos, 2004). In relation to the issues the current research is focused upon, community cohesion was initially applied as a principle ingredient in the agenda developed in response to the Bradford Riots in 2001 (Home Office, 2001; Independent Review Team, 2001). Despite there being little evidence around patterns of segregation in towns and cities in England at the time, reports such as that by The Independent Review Team (2001) placed great emphasis on the contribution of residential segregation to social disharmony and unrest. Questions such as ‘how do we maintain a sense of common values and community when the make-up of community is changing rapidly?’ (Keating & Benton, 2013, p.166) have undoubtedly fuelled the increase in research, building conclusions and making recommendations around community cohesion. The underpinning factors to such questions are argued to include increased immigration, the actual or perceived social change and potential instability (Keating & Benton, 2013; The Independent Review Team, 2001) for which the community cohesion agenda sought to address. However, Robinson (2005) argues that the community cohesion narrative, posed as evidence-based, ignores the conceptual complexities and contested interpretations of community cohesion. Furthermore, community cohesion is an agenda built on ideological assumptions, within which the very concepts of community and multiculturalism are disputed, and simply draws on dominant discourses concerning key themes in contemporary public policy

(Robinson, 2005). Nonetheless, the community cohesion agenda was extended from this initial response to events such as the Bradford riots, to the countering of extremism, an extension which some argue has weakened Britain's ability to oppose terrorism through its indulgence of ethnic separation (Prins & Salisbury, 2008). Moreover, some critics felt it was a direct target on the Muslim communities within Britain (Pantzaïs & Pemberton, 2009). Though some argue that indeed at this time, the greatest threat to Western Liberal democracies was, or was at least framed to be, from 'Islamic fanaticism' (Pantzaïs & Pemberton, 2009) and the policy was merely reflecting such. Yet the other forms of extremism the United Kingdom has also faced should not be underestimated in such a dynamic climate. For example, at the beginning of 2004, the United Kingdom saw a marked increase in animal rights activism and associated extremism (Mills, 2013). This led to, at least in theory, the government to attempt to make a more explicit direction towards counter-extremism measures which addressed all forms of extremism.

On 23 March 2015 Theresa May gave a speech under the banner 'A New Partnership to Defeat Extremism', within which there was a heavy focus on 'the proud promotion of British Values' (2015, March 23). Going on to say 'These values – such as regard for the rule of law, participation in and acceptance of democracy, equality, free speech and respect for minorities – are supported by the majority of British people'. Adding to this Theresa May stated 'the Home Office was for the first-time taking responsibility within government for developing a completely new counter-extremism strategy. This strategy aims to tackle the whole spectrum of extremism, violent and non-violent, ideological, and non-ideological, Islamist and neo-Nazi – hate and fear in all their forms' (2015, March 23), appearing to widen the scope of such strategies exponentially. Despite this, many critics continue to assert that because of such legislation and policy that has been implemented in recent years, Muslims have become a 'suspect community'

(Hickman, Thomas, Nickels, & Silvestri, 2012; McGovern, 2010; Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009, 2011) a narrative first applied in the 1990's to 'the Irish' (Hillyard, 1993). Something which has arguably worsened tensions within the United Kingdom and impacted perceived legitimacy of the government's strategies and interventions designed to target extremism.

1.2.3 Current Counter-Extremism Policy

At present there are two main policy narratives that all local authorities will be familiar with, both representing the government's intention to address extremism, disrupt extremists and counter extremist narratives and ideology through interventions (O'Toole et al., 2013). The overarching cross-governmental CONTEST strategy, which was first coordinated in 2003 by the then Blair-led Labour Government (House of Commons, 2009), is the UK's counter-terrorism strategy and, alongside the Counter-Extremism strategy (HM Government, 2015), makes up the predominant response by the government. The strategy is delivered by several different government departments (Kudnani, 2009) and law enforcement agencies (Innes & Theil, 2012; Spalek, Awam, McDonald, & Lambert, 2008). Since its inception, where it was described by some media outlets as one of 'the most ambitious government social engineering projects in recent years' (The Times, 2004), the strategy has undergone a number of revisions, in 2006, and again, by the Conservative-Liberal Democrats coalition Government in 2011. The stated goal of CONTEST is 'to reduce the risk to the UK and its interests overseas from terrorism' (HM Government, 2011, p.40). The CONTEST strategy is made up of four strands; Prevent, Pursue, Protect, and Prepare.

‘**Pursue:** stopping terrorist attacks through detection, investigation, prosecution, and other sanctions;

Protect: protection of infrastructure, crowded places, the transport system, and border controls;

Prepare: mitigating the impact of attacks through strengthening the response of the emergency services, and so on;

Prevent: stopping people becoming terrorists or supporting violent extremism’.

(HM Government, 2011, p.10)

In 2006/07, under the Prevent strand of CONTEST, ‘soft’ approaches to counter-terrorism emerged. Initially, such programmes included youth projects, sports activities, workshops for debate and discussion, and internet awareness. The five key strands within the Prevent strategy involve:

‘Challenging – the violent extremist ideology and supporting mainstream voices

Disrupting – those who promote violent extremism and support the institutions where they are active

Supporting – individuals who are being targeted and recruited to the cause of violent extremism

Increasing – the resilience of communities to violent extremism

Addressing – the grievances that ideologies are exploiting’.

(Audit Commission, 2008, p.8)

All of which can be understood under a vulnerability reduction perspective. That is, Prevent appears to be targeted towards reducing the vulnerability of communities and their members to adopting, and transforming in to action, extremist attitudes and ideology. Therefore, to some extent the whole population has a role to play.

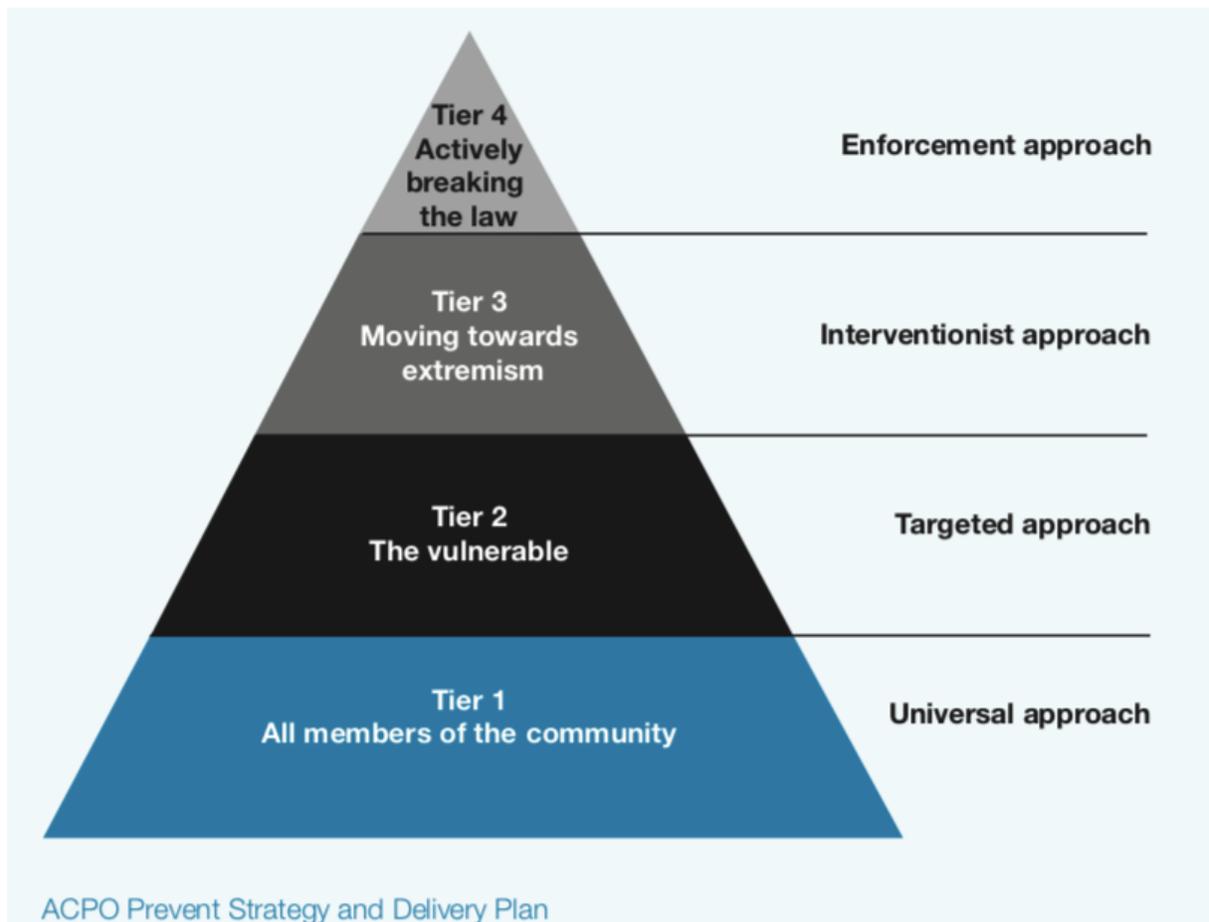


Figure 1.1: Tiered model of intervention to address ‘Prevent pyramid’¹

The Prevent pyramid was developed by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) in response to the Prevent strategy (Audit Commission, 2008). As can be seen in figure 1, the model represents increased levels of radicalisation moving up, with decreasing numbers of involved individuals at each tier. The model assumes that there is a linear relationship between

¹ Audit Commission (2008) *Preventing Violent Extremism: Learning and Development Exercise. Report to the Home Office and Communities and Local Government*, p.12.

the process of radicalisation and ultimately for some, participation in acts of terrorism (Christmann, 2012). At each level there is an associated response category ranging from a 'universal approach' which refers to anything that would target the whole general population to an 'enforcement approach' which relates to those who commit acts chargeable under terror legislation. The Prevent strategy frames ideology as a central factor in 'the radicalisation process' illustrated by Figure 1 (HM Government, 2011, p.40). Consequently, there has been a large focus on responding to the 'ideological challenge of terrorism'. One of the answers to achieving this saw the emergence of resilience building as a response to the need for reducing vulnerability to extremism.

In the 2006 version of CONTEST, resilience was only applied to the Prepare strand, largely being used under an economic conceptualisation. It was in a 2009 report addressing the delivery of Prevent at a local level which saw resilience integrated into the Prevent strand of CONTEST (HM Government, 2009). Despite this integration, the term resilience did not feature at all in the report (HM Government, 2010) on Channel which was aimed at local authorities to help support vulnerable individuals from being recruited in to extremism. Channel being a multiagency intervention to provide support to individuals who have been identified at specific risk of being drawn into terrorism. However, the 2011 revision of Prevent saw resilience more formally being drawn on as a key concept for countering extremism and radicalisation. Yet, the concept was never fully operationalised in any of these reports, with only the provision of the following definition in the 2011 Prevent report, 'the capability of people, groups and communities to rebut and reject proponents of terrorism and the ideology they promote' (H.M Government, 2011, p.108), seemingly assuming resilience as a single construct or at the very least interpretable as being applicable to individuals, communities, and groups in the same way.

Within the 2011 Prevent report, the concept of community resilience was introduced (H.M Government, 2011, p.37), though it remained that no distinction was made between resilience and community resilience, with the definition continuing to put resilience at all levels under one conceptualisation. Another pertinent issue raised within this report in relation to its use of resilience is that 70% of schools felt ‘they needed more information to build resilience to radicalisation’ (H.M Government, 2011, p.69). Clearly demonstrating that those left to implement such policies were at a loss as to what exactly they were supposed to be doing, highlighting the dangers of not fully operationalising key concepts within policy in a way that is meaningful to the audience. Further to this, in a Local Government Association report published in 2015 it was clear that councils were applying resilience in different ways and in order to achieve different goals. For example, Birmingham City Council had appointed a ‘resilience adviser’ to help in implementing the Prevent agenda. In the report it quotes Ms Butt as saying her ‘job is about building resilience, embedding it within safeguarding’ (Local Government Association, 2015, p.4). London Borough of Waltham Forest indicated they were building pupils individual resilience through an overarching digital resilience programme, which they suggested works with ‘families, schools and communities to build resilience and cohesion as well as protecting people and communities from extremism’ (Local Government Association, 2015, p.14). Not only is there no indication as to what definition or conceptualisation of resilience local authorities were working upon, but there was no clear picture around exactly what they were building resilience to.

From the beginning, Prevent was controversial, largely on the basis of its perceived focus on the Muslim population (Thomas, 2012) falling foul to the same issues that were seen with the community cohesion agenda. Certainly, with the versions prior to the 2011 revision the problem

was just that (Lowe, 2017), despite Theresa May's 2015 speech extending direction to all forms of extremism. Whilst the revised counter-terrorism strategy published in 2009 saw the focus of Prevent widened to promoting shared values as well as opposing violent extremism it was only in the 2011 revision of Prevent, that saw an explicit shift in the focus to all forms of extremism, be it violent or non-violent, seemingly underpinned by the idea that it was not only Islamist violent extremism influencing individuals (Lowe, 2017). This included political extremism among far-right and animal rights groups and made it clear that those extremists, be it violent or non-violent, who do not adhere to the core British Values would not be tolerated in the United Kingdom (O'Toole, Jones, DeHanas, & Modood, 2013). Some researchers have however argued that by addressing all forms of extremism, and in fact addressing non-violent extremism in and of itself has ventured into the arena of addressing ideological threats of the state (Richards, 2015). Nonetheless one of the key recommendations in the area of countering-extremism contends the focus should be on all forms of extremism, and that this should be communicated more robustly to members of the public (Barzegar, Powers, & Karhili, 2016).

The criticisms of Prevent are not just around the targeting of some individuals, another substantial body of criticism is around how Prevent has undone much of the progress achieved through the community cohesion agenda. Despite this, many viewed it as a welcomed move away from what had previously been seen by some as a target on ethnic minority, specifically Muslim communities (King, 2011). Some aspects of the revised Prevent strategy however were received more cautiously, namely the separation between Prevent and earlier community cohesion work (O'Toole, DeHanas, & Modood, 2012). Whilst community cohesion may have taken a back seat somewhat in terms of governmental policy (Thomas, 2014), and despite formal separation within the 2011 revision of prevent, it is still a strong feature within the rhetoric of

many local implementers and agencies, and the newly formed commission for countering extremism states that the ‘Promotion of British values and community cohesion’ is one of its key aims (2018, January 25). Yet whether the two narratives complement one another is subject to much criticism (Thomas, 2014).

1.2.4 Synergy or Contradiction? Relationships Between the Two Policy Narratives

One of the key findings of Kundnani’s (2009) report for the Institute of Race and Relations, titled ‘Spooked: How not to Prevent Extremism’, is summarised in the following statement ‘Prevent has undermined many progressive elements within the earlier community cohesion agenda and absorbed from it those parts which are most problematic’ (p. 6). Thomas (2014) also discussed concerns with how the Prevent programme and wider community cohesion policies are experienced at an operational level. Whilst the two narratives have arguably been distinct all along, coming to the counter-extremism arena from different histories, it was the 2011 revision of Prevent which saw the formal separation and thus saw resilience building and community cohesion independently dealt with within policy. Despite this formal separation, Thomas (2014) highlights that at a grass-roots implementation level, the two have continued to operate together, yet have done so unharmoniously. Many local authorities refused to take Prevent funding because they were worried about the effect it would have on the hard-work that had already been put in to the community cohesion agenda (O’Toole et al., 2013). Such concerns being understandable when it is not at all clear from the published policies what building resilience and reducing vulnerability looks like. Certainly, from a research point of view, it is likely that a contributing factor to the confusion and lack of coherent implementation is the lack of understanding around the concepts and how they relate to each other at a grass-roots level.

What the two narratives do have in common, is the criticism of both around their seeming focus on Muslim communities, despite the multitude of speeches and other material directing the UK's strategy towards extremism in all its forms. Which brings to question, can the two narratives be applied together to combat a range of extremism at a grass-roots level and at what stage of the Prevent pyramid are they likely to be most impactful. It is also clearly important, that those local agencies who are continuing to implement the two concepts as interventions have operationalised concepts with which to work.

1.2.5 The Academic-Practitioner Relationship: Using Psychology to Inform Policy

As previously stated, it is not only legislation and policy in the areas of extremism and terrorism that have exponentially increased in the last couple of decades, but also academic interest and subsequent research. With a very pertinent focus on the requirement for researchers to be producing work with real world impact and interest to audiences beyond the academic world (Flinders, 2013), the question is perhaps to what extent academics merely study and comment on the policy process and to what extent they have a real impact on it. Though it may be difficult for a causal link between pieces of research and real-world outcomes to be demonstrated (John, 2013) there are a number of incentives for researchers to try and show the impact of their research. Not only is there a focus on the potential impact, but also on the dissemination of research in a way that is meaningful to such audiences (Brooks & Cooper, 2013). The academic-practitioner relationship is often hindered by the attempt of academics to keep things orderly, with this not reflecting the messy and often unpredictable real world (Cairney, 2014). Instead of hindering the process, the insight of such problems should direct

development and translate them into discussions between academics and practitioners about how to address these to meet the needs of both parties.

Despite this, it is argued that British counter-terrorist law, policy, and practice continue to rest upon a series of assumptions, arguments and perspectives which are grounded in paradigms of knowledge such as certain strands of psychology and social movement theory (Coppock & McGovern, 2014) without a full and explicit understanding of the evidence base. A focus on radicalisation assumes to some degree that answers can be found at the level of the individual in the attitudes they hold and subsequent actions they may take (McCulloch & Pickering, 2006). As a result, there has been a notable shift away from examining the political context of terrorism towards a greater focus on the social and psychological factors contributing to the ‘terrorist mind-set’ (Moghaddam, 2005; Sageman, 2008; Wiktorowicz, 2005). The explanatory framework for ‘terrorism’ and the conceptualisation of ‘radicalisation’ and ‘extremism’ which are evident in CONTEST draw upon social science paradigms which may be understood as the ‘psychologisation of social problems’ (Coppock & McGovern, 2014, p.246). This reframing of social and cultural problems as psychological ones (Furedi, 2003) has not been without criticism, with some arguing it leads to a denial of political agency (Howell, 2010; Pupavac, 2001). Yet Prevent draws heavily on perspectives that ‘emphasise radicalisation is a social process particularly prevalent in small groups. Radicalisation is about ‘‘who you know’’. Group-bonding, peer-pressure and indoctrination are necessary to encourage the view that violence is a legitimate response to perceived injustice’ (HM Government, 2011, p.17). Despite arguments against the psychologisation of social problems, it is undeniable that psychological research has a lot to offer in providing a direction for more evidence-based policy in counter extremism. Moreover, there are already pieces of excellence to be drawn upon to contribute towards an evidence base for

counter-extremism strategy. One solution is to attempt to bring together the psychological understanding and the specific policies and concepts therein, working together to translate these into something meaningful and understandable to the end users.

1.2.6 Implications on the Ground

Following the counter-extremism strategy introduced in 2015, the United Kingdom placed a statutory obligation on staff in various public bodies, such as teachers and nurses, to prevent people from becoming drawn into terrorism (Lowe, 2017). Especially in relation to the Prevent strand of CONTEST, the resulting perceptions from communities and issues with implementation have been well documented (Bartlett & Birdwell, 2010; Innes, Roberts, & Lowe, 2017; Khan, 2009; Kudnani, 2009; Lakhani, 2012; Mythen, Walklate, & Peatfield, 2016; Thomas, 2010) and there remains confusion around the overarching aims of the strategy (Lakhani, 2012). Especially when investigating how best to operationalise both resilience building strategies and community cohesion interventions, it would make sense that these can be applied to all, not just segments of society. Something which seemingly goes against the need to increase relations within communities, and shows a need to facilitate discussions and build relations between communities and increase the resilience of the nation. O'Toole et al., (2013) suggest counter-extremism measures are framed by local actors, highlighting the importance of understanding local contexts and what these mean to the individuals with whom the policy is addressing. Suggesting at present, blueprints are top-down blanket policies, that fail in recognising the needs of the local implementers and those they are designed to target. For interventions to yield maximum effect, it is vital that they acknowledge the individuals to whom they seek to target and the groups and communities to which they belong. Such individuals who

may already feel like outsiders and alienated, thus being vulnerable to an escalation of extremist attitudes to behaviour based on such. Furthermore, community engagement and support for intervention is achieved through legitimacy, and legitimacy is achieved through treating people fairly (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Some researchers have argued that the very key to combating home-grown terrorism and countering extremism is ensuring perceived legitimacy to increase levels of support for policy and interventions (Lowe & Innes, 2008).

Here, the focus is on how the concepts are drawn upon and how they are operationalised within policy. The criticisms outlined show how problems can arise in the transitional phase from policy blueprints to implementation on the ground, and highlight that this may be a result of poorly operationalised concepts. Serious consequences result when the concepts and goals are misunderstood and subsequently implemented at the grass-roots level not as intended. That said, often it takes compromise, policies should be viewed as dynamic, complex living things, not static lists of goals, rules, or laws. At the very least however, conceptualisation at the outset in the policy blueprints should be strong enough to guide grass-root implementation in the best possible direction. Therefore, an argument can be made for placing greater efforts in conducting research from a grass-roots level, investigating the social environment in which an individual is in as they themselves understand it, to ensure policy is meaningful and practicable.

1.3 RESEARCH RATIONALE

Current counter-extremism efforts largely have one of two goals, sometimes without making explicit which one they seek to achieve. The first is disengagement, that is to dissuade individuals ‘from violent participation in and material support for violent extremist organisations and movements’ (Berger, 2016, p.3). A goal which has seen a large body of work undertaken in

relation to disengagement once incarcerated (Silke, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2017). The second is to dissuade individuals ‘from adopting extremist ideologies’ (Berger, 2016, p.3). Especially in relation to the second, such efforts are sometimes referred to as preventing violent extremism. Berger (2016) argues that the key fact to be determined before any policy or intervention is implemented is whether it seeks to counter acts of violence, through disengagement, or whether it seeks to counter the adoption of extremism, through both deradicalization and counter-radicalisation. Especially from a risk management point of view there is a lot of value in being able to target interventions at the second, that is to address attitudes that may potentially escalate *prior* to radicalisation rather than the resource costly and increased risk of disengagement. One response is to try and reduce the vulnerability of communities and their members to extremism and radicalisation. At present the response to this is dealt with under the Prevent strand of CONTEST (HM Government, 2011). The five key strands of which relate to reducing vulnerability to extremism.

The current study is situated in the application of policy buzzwords to achieve or contribute towards counter-extremism and counter-radicalisation, and how an understanding of psychology can aid with such. Based on the assumption that, but also seeking to determine whether, resilience is a useful concept within the social sciences to be applied to counter-extremism interventions and policies. At present there is scope to improve the conceptualisation of such buzzwords to improve policy at both the development and implementation stage. At the same time, it is likely that such an understanding will also be of great value theoretically with resilience now appearing to hold a firm place within psychology and other academic disciplines.

It is important to note that not all radicalisation leads to participation in acts of terrorism and determining who exactly is likely to move from extremist attitudes through the process of

radicalisation to violent action is beyond the scope of the current thesis. Furthermore, the current research does not pertain to any specific form of extremism, in recognition that extremism within the United Kingdom takes many forms. Instead the thesis seeks to apply empirical analysis to explore resilience and the role of the community, grounded in psychological literature to offer an original contribution to knowledge that may have great value to policy makers and those tasked with implementation. The thesis rests on the premise that investigating the role of the social environment around an individual, as they themselves understand it, alongside the attitudes and beliefs of the individual may prove a useful direction for future research and policy making in this area.

1.4 THESIS AIMS AND STRUCTURE

There are important implications in getting it right, or at least continually improving and developing policy and intervention based on empirical evidence. Especially when, at the very extreme end, we are talking about threat to national security and the potential for loss of life. Despite the criticisms of current and past policy, it is important to recognise the research that has already been done and continues to be done in a climate of extreme challenges. The current study seeks to contribute to the existing body of knowledge by developing the understanding of resilience as a key concept within security policy, which has not previously been done under the conceptualisation of resilience at different levels. The overall aim of the thesis is to explore the role of resilience and community cohesion in the holding of attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

The thesis is structured under five chapters. Chapter two provides a review of the relevant literature to ground the research in past and current understanding, attempting to bring together a

discussion of the literature drawn from several areas within psychology. Providing a unique interpretation of how such areas can inform a multifaceted investigation to increase understanding around counter-extremism. Chapter three then provides a full exploration of the methods of enquiry adopted. Providing justifications for why this methodology was adopted and applied to address the aims and objectives of the current research. Chapter four then presents the results under three subchapters which seek to inform the overall aim of the thesis. Each subchapter represents a distinct exploration of study variables with a set of objectives. Study one explores resilience and the role of the community, including a pilot of the three resilience scales. Study two then explores attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. Study three then explores resilience and community in the context of attitudes considered against the social norm. Finally, in chapter five the main findings of the research relative to each aim are discussed. The complexities of developing a well-rounded counter-strategy to extremism are revisited with considerations of how the findings on resilience may contribute to such policies and strategies, with recommendations made based on the current findings.

CHAPTER 2

GROUNDING THE RESEARCH: THEORY, CONSTRUCTS AND CONCEPTUALISATIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by introducing the current literature on intolerance, extremism, and radicalisation in the United Kingdom. Whilst doing so a brief review of the literature on attitudes is presented before focussing on explanations around those attitudes which are generally considered against the social norm. Extremism and radicalisation are then considered individually, and the range of perspectives and approaches which have been applied to further the understanding of such, situating the research in this context. Then, relevant to the understanding of the research context, an overview of the history of resilience and circumstances in which resilience has been applied are outlined. The main argument for reframing resilience to have greater meaning in the arena of countering-extremism is then presented, before finally considering the relationship between this policy narrative and that of community cohesion.

2.2 COUNTERING WHAT? INTOLERANCE, EXTREMISM AND RADICALISATION IN THE UK

In a statement regarding an approach to integration, Eric Pickles stated that one of the key factors was around challenging intolerance and extremism, which he argued warrants a robust response to threats which increase segregation and worsen tensions (Bowers, 2013). Bonnell, et al's., (2011) contention is that 'extremism is more than simply stubbornness in one's views or general intolerance to others. It involves holding views which are considered by equals, peers and society as being at odds with the core beliefs of the whole' (p. 9). Tolerance is a key feature of democratic societies and has been considered such for a substantial period (Dewey, 1916;

Gabardi, 2001; Bowlin, 2016), with beliefs about equality having become one of the core values of the Western world (McClosky & Zaller, 1984). In 1935, Gordon Allport argued that a person's attitude towards a person or group is one of the main predictors of that person's behaviour towards them. Research has shown that attitudes of intolerance towards moralised issues, such as that of equal rights of certain groups, are more impactful on behaviour than attitudes that are not grounded in moral beliefs (Morgan, Skitka, & Wisneski, 2015). Britain takes pride in its national characteristics which include social cohesion, respect for the political system, and a high level of tolerance (Eatwell, 2006). Whilst overall, most of society is largely tolerant of others, and the support for equality for all is increasing, attitudes of intolerance continue to persist (Janmaat & Keating, 2017).

2.2.1 Attitudes of Intolerance: Extremity and Polarisation

Attitudes and their defining attributes, including intensity, extremity, certainty, and knowledge, influence individual interactions with the socio-political world (Krosnick, Boninger, Chuang, Berent & Carnot, 1993). That is, the attitudes we hold play a role in the way we navigate through a social world and the political factors that are part of the building blocks of this social world. Attitudes affect thoughts, behaviours, information processing, and the way in which we judge others. It comes to no surprise then, that attitudes are one of the most comprehensively studied concepts within the social sciences, and certainly within psychology. Over 70 years ago Gordon Allport declared the attitude 'the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology' (Allport, 1935, p.798). In the time since this bold claim, a vast body of literature has accumulated reinforcing the attitudes firm place as an important concept within psychology. This literature base broadly indicates two things; some

attitudes have a powerful impact on thought processes and behaviour whereas others are somewhat inconsequential. Put simply, some attitudes influence perception, cognition and behaviour, and some attitudes do not.

As a concept with such a rich and varied history, especially in the research domain, defining attitude varies greatly and a full review of such is beyond the scope of the current thesis. A broad consensus suggests an attitude to be a disposition towards responding favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event. The entity or thing that the disposition is toward is the attitude object, which can be either abstract or concrete (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). The underlying, and arguably the core, characteristic of an attitude, largely agreed among contemporary social psychologists, is its evaluative nature. Over time, there have been many advances in the understanding of attitudes, including the relationship between attitudes and behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), the importance of the individual (Ajzen, Timko & White, 1982), and the context (Pryor, Gibbons, Wicklund, Fazio & Hood, 1977). Showing that the field of psychology, specifically social psychology, has moved away from seeing attitudes solely as evaluations that use prior experience to direct thinking and action (Howe & Krosnick, 2017). Instead, recognising the utility of attitudes in many individual and social processes. Nonetheless, a definition incorporating the evaluative nature of an attitude (Bem, 1970; Edwards, 1957; Hill, 1981; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957) toward an object is strengthened by the way in which attitudes have been, and continue to be, measured. Scaling techniques generally result in a score that places an individual on a continuum in relation to the attitude object in question (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and allow for various aspects of attitudes to be investigated. The structure of attitudes has dominated the literature under two different strands; the internal structure of a

single attitude (Brekler, 1984; Katz & Stotland, 1959) and the structure of sets of attitudes and beliefs or systems (Cartwright & Harary, 1956; Heider, 1958).

Perhaps though, the most compelling advance in the context of the current thesis, and arguably the field of attitude study overall, is the recognition that attitudes vary in strength (Howe & Krosnick, 2017) and the implications this has on subsequent behaviour. Moreover, research has shown that attitudes can be changed through message-based persuasion and social influence (Wood, 2000). Research demonstrates political action and political violence are often preceded by milder forms of support (Klandermans, 1997; Moghaddam, 2005; Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). Therefore, being able to change an individual's attitudes and subsequent behaviour that is influenced by such, indicates exploring attitudes of intolerance, extremist attitudes and violent extremism holds important implications. That is, to tackle extremist attitudes prior to tipping points through which an individual moves towards action (Klandermans, 1997).

2.2.1.1 Attitude strength

Attitude strength has widely been applied as an explanation as to why some attitudes may have a powerful impact on both thinking and behaviour and others may not (Krosnick & Petty, 1995). Strength related attributes include importance, certainty, intensity, and extremity (Wojcieszak, 2012), among others. A body of literature exists which documents the relationship of attitude attributes with the following defining features of strong attitudes: resistance to change, stability over time, and a powerful impact on thought and behaviour (Krosnick & Petty, 1995). Research has demonstrated, for example, that attitudes with greater personal importance are better predictors of behaviour (Budd, 1986; Parker, Perry, & Gillespie, 1974; Rokeach &

Kliejunas, 1972), more change resistant (Fine, 1957; Gorn, 1975; Zuwerink & Devine, 1996), more likely to influence how an individual feels about others in the world around them (Byrne, London, & Griffitt, 1968; Clore & Baldrige, 1968; Granberg & Holmberg, 1986; Krosnick, 1988; McGraw, Lodge, & Stroh, 1990), and many other cognitive processes including accessibility from memory (Powell & Fazio, 1984).

In a social-political climate understanding attitude strength is central to exploring why some attitudes may result in certain behaviour and others may not (Wojcieszak, 2012). Furthermore, it is in this climate, where strongly opinionated individuals are especially prone to polarize (Fiorina, Abrams, & Pope, 2005). These individuals have also been found to be more likely to seek public support for their views (Wojcieszak & Price, 2009), publicly express these views (Moy, Domke & Stamm, 2001), and actively take part in politics (Scheufele & Eveland, 2001). Indicating the individual holding the strongest attitudes, will be the individual carrying them forward and persuading others their way of thinking is the correct way. Therefore, especially in the context of wanting to reduce vulnerability of communities and their members, there is particular importance in targeting attitude strength to reduce the likelihood of those individuals persuading others.

Some strength indicators may also interact with other indicators to predict strength consequences. For example, when attitudes are un-ambivalent, increased certainty increases resistance to change and stability over time but not for ambivalent attitudes (Clarkson, Tormala & Rucker, 2008; Luttrell, Petty & Brinol, 2016). In relation to the current thesis, the most important strength indicator is attitude extremity. Here, attitudes are typically conceptualised as lying on a continuum from very positive through neutral to very negative. Attitudes that lie toward either end of this continuum are considered to be extreme (Abelson, 1995), with

extremity being a feature of the attitude itself. The evidence base on the strength of the attitude-behaviour link on the whole is conflicting. Numerous reviews have shown that attitudes are to some extent consistent with future behaviour (Kim & Hunter, 1993; Schuman & Johnson, 1976), which differed from the results of earlier reviews in which it was argued that attitudes are unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviours (Wicker, 1969). The conflicting evidence is further demonstrated in Kraus' (1995) review, in which it is highlighted that attitudes account on average for only 14% of the variance in behaviour, and 17 out of the 88 studies included in the meta-analysis showed no significant attitude-behaviour relationship could be established. However, researchers have argued that especially in relation to the implications for public policy, only extreme attitudes have a significant impact on behaviour (Van Doorn, Verhoef, & Bijmolt, 2007). Attitude extremity plays a key role in most conceptions of attitude strength and the specific relationship between this dimension and behaviour has been consistently evidenced (Peterson & Dutton, 1975; Raden, 1985). Whilst attitude extremity is often used as a moderator in research (Kraus, 1995), Van Doorn et al., (2007) make an argument for focussing on the main effect when considering such in the context of public policy. The aim of which is to examine the direct relationship between attitudes and behaviour to direct interventions towards attitude change.

2.2.1.2 Attitude change

One of the key theories in relation to attitude change and persuasion, is the Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). This dual process approach suggests that receptiveness to persuasion is largely impacted by the amount of thinking an individual has done about the attitude object and in turn the strength of the attitude held by the individual. The

two processes, referred to as the central route and the peripheral route are distinguished by the amount of elaboration, or thinking about, the individual is likely to do. Under the Elaboration Likelihood Model, persuasion is achieved by recognising this likelihood of elaboration and framing persuasion under one of these two routes. Using the central route, whereby the likelihood is relatively high, persuasion is achieved through the individual's thoughtful examination of information relevant to the issue. Using the peripheral route, whereby the likelihood is relatively low, the individual is more likely to focus on simple rules, for example communicator credibility (O'Keefe, 2008). Therefore, the stronger the attitude, and thus the more thinking that has been done about the attitude object, for example whether to extend equal rights to different groups, then persuasion is best achieved through engaging in thoughtful discussions about issue related matters.

Changes in attitudes and consequential behaviour may occur at different levels when these changes are a product of social influence. Three processes of influence are outlined by Kelman (1958); compliance, identification, and internalisation. Compliance refers to a situation whereby an individual accepts influence because as a result that individual hopes to achieve a positive reaction from a particular group or person. Notably here, it is not the content that attracts the individual to change their attitudes, but the potential rewards and approval seeking that drives the change. Identification refers to where an individual accepts influence because they want to establish or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship with another individual. Here, the individual believes in the value system they adopt but the specifics of the content of the associated attitudes are of less relevance. Internalisation on the other hand, refers to a process whereby the individual accepts influence because of the content of the value system and

associated attitudes. These and the consequential behaviour are found intrinsically rewarding for the individual because it is congruent with their value system overall.

2.2.1.3 Moralised attitudes and behaviour

Individuals in all cultures possess moral convictions, that is a strong or absolute belief that something is right or wrong (Skitka, 2002; Skitka & Mullen, 2002). The grounding of an attitude in core moral beliefs impacts both strength and ability to predict subsequent behaviour (Bloom, 2013; Morgan et al., 2010; Skitka & Bauman, 2008; Skitka, Bauman & Sargis, 2005; Wright, Cullum & Schwab, 2008). Attitudes grounded in moral beliefs tend to be strongly based on ideology, rendering them more impactful (Morgan et al., 2010). When morally based attitudes are compared with non-morally based attitudes of equal strength, substantial differences in behavioural consequences have been found; on group interactions, social and physical distance from attitudinally dissimilar others regardless of relationship, intolerance of others' attitudes, and inability to generate solutions to resolve disagreements (Skitka et al., 2005). A distinctive characteristic of moral attitudes is their resistance to processing through a cost/ benefit framework (Baron and Spranca, 1997; Bennis, Medin, & Bartels, 2010). There are also important political consequences of moralised attitudes, with research showing moralised attitudes lead individuals to oppose compromises, punish those who compromise, and renounce material gains (Ryan, 2017).

Specific differences between ideological principles and tendency to moralise attitudes suggest it is more than just the presence of ideology that causes differences in the way in which individuals process attitudes. Some research has shown that a more conservative ideology corresponds with a greater tendency to moralise attitudes (Jarudi, Kreps & Bloom, 2008).

Though meta-analysis results indicate that individuals moralise attitudes that are important to any ideology, liberal or conservative (Skitka et al., 2015). The relationships between moral grounding, attitude strength and consequence indicate there may be fundamental differences between morally based attitudes and non-morally based attitudes. Other evidence indicates stable internal origins, demonstrating a link between morality and the heritability of certain attitudes, for example, those towards equal rights (Tesser, 1993). Yet, consistently found shifts in attitudes, such as those towards gay rights, indicate there are factors beyond heritability playing a significant role in the formation and strength of such attitudes and their susceptibility to change (Brewer, 2003). Nonetheless, there is a substantial and compelling evidence base suggesting attitudes based on moral beliefs are of particular importance in behavioural consequences. Moreover, findings show people use their beliefs about morality to evaluate equal rights, with those favouring traditional moral standards seeing certain equal rights policies as a threat to those standards (Lewis & Rogers, 2002; Wilcox and Wolpert, 2000).

2.2.2 Prejudice, Discrimination, and Intolerance

Within prejudice research, it is widely accepted that prejudices emerge as generalized negative attitudes towards individuals and groups, purely because these groups and individuals are members of an outgroup (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, Jackson, Brika, Lemaine, Meertens, Wagner, & Zick, 1997). In addition, Schutz and Six (1996) indicate that usually these attitudes are deemed 'socially unacceptable', though they highlight it can be challenging to identify the social norms or values which they violate. Despite the pejorative nature of prejudice, it is a functional concept. Prejudices bond, serve to preserve and enhance self-esteem, offer control, and legitimize hierarchies, supply knowledge and orientation, and show who can be trusted and

who cannot (Zick, Kupper, & Hoverman, 2011). Discrimination has consequentially been defined as the resulting overt behaviour of prejudice (Merton, 1949). More specifically, an unjustified negative behaviour towards an individual or group towards which prejudice is held (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Leading some researchers to, from a systematic point of view, describe the relationship between prejudice and discrimination as a special case of the attitude-behaviour relationship (Schutz & Six, 1996). However, the relationship is complex and likely non-linear with a variety of further factors involved. After all, there can be prejudice without discrimination and discrimination without prejudice. Intolerance on the other hand, whilst connected to prejudice and discrimination, is argued to imply a lack of willingness to stand other groups and individuals, such as those belonging to different religions, races, or cultures (Stouffer, 1955; Sullivan, Pierson, & Marcus, 1993) and to extend expressive rights to these groups (Hurtwitz & Mondak, 2002). Habermas (2003) posits that tolerance first becomes a necessity when an individual rejects the convictions of others, arguing ‘we do not need to be tolerant if we are indifferent toward other beliefs or attitudes or even if we appreciate otherness’ (p. 3). Tolerance therefore only becomes necessary when the prejudice held by an individual leads to discrimination towards a particular group whereby the norm would be to not discriminate, for example the denial of equal rights on the basis of those beliefs. As such, attitudes of intolerance, such as those against equal rights of certain individuals and groups, are social attitudes that should be understood through the context of the individual holding them (Zick et al., 2011). Moreover, the social nature of such attitudes means the values and norms of the culture in which intolerance is being investigated is key in any investigation. Research has shown intolerance to be related to religious beliefs including atheism (Beatty & Walter, 1984; Falwell, 1980) and fundamentalism (Bolton & Ledbetter, 1983; Morgan & Meier, 1980). Research has also found

low socio-economic status (Inglehart & Wezel, 2005), low levels of education (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Gibson & Dutch, 1992; Moore & Ovadia, 2006) and smaller communities to be associated with intolerance (McClosky & Brill, 1983; Prothro & Grigg, 1960; Stouffer, 1993). Further demographic differences have been found with regards age, with studies showing younger individuals have higher levels of tolerance towards others (Keeter & Kohut, 2003; Weil, 1985), and older individuals to be less tolerant of others (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Stouffer, 1955). Though some researchers have argued that this is correlational, not causal, and that factors such as the changing culture play an important role in such relationships (Wilson, 1994). That is that older individuals grew up in a different climate to the multicultural United Kingdom that younger individuals have been raised within. The relationship between gender and intolerance is even less clear, with some findings suggesting women are less tolerant of certain groups than men (Golebiowska, 2004).

2.2.3 Values and Social Norms

An individual's behaviour is greatly affected by their culture and the values within that culture (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989) and individuals often react negatively to anyone who violates these norms and values within their culture (Miller & Anderson, 1979; Schacter, 1951). Values are often referred to as abstract goals (for example, equality, freedom, and pleasure) that are guiding principles in life. Furthermore, values have been considered among the most fundamental social psychological constructs (Feather, 1990; Rohan, 2000; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Reflecting the aspirations of individuals, communities, and societies, values encompass deeply engrained standards that both offer direction and justify past actions (Kluckhohn, 1951). Research has shown how values are central

to an individual's cognitive network of attitudes and beliefs (Gold & Robbins, 1979; Gold & Russ, 1977; Thomsen, Lavine, & Kounios, 1996), and often evolve as societies confront basic issues or problems in regulating human activity (Schwartz, 2006). Social norms on the other hand are defined as 'rules and standards that are understood by members of a group, that guide and/or constrain social behaviour without the force of laws' (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). The power of social norms in relation to their influence on behaviour is one of the most persistent findings in the social and behavioural sciences (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939; Sherif, 1936; Thomas, 1917). When norms have been considered empirically, findings have shown they can be influential aspects of social problems (Sherif, 1936, Asch, 1955), especially in relation to violence and crime (Massey & Denton, 1993; Massey, Gross, & Eggers, 1991). Further highlighting the importance of considering social norms in the current context.

Theorists propose that the substance of a norm can be neither inherently good nor inherently valuable because the power lies outside of the norm itself, only granted if accepted within a culture (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszynski, 1991). Largely influenced by the anthropological workings of Boas and Mead, it is a long-held contention that norms are culturally specific. Norms evolve with time and though they manifest without the force of law, they often direct the development of new legislation. When an attitude or behaviour is repeatedly rewarded, either directly or vicariously, it becomes the preferred response to a situation (Opp, 1982). These preferences become established as normative attitudes and subsequent behaviour, encouraging members of the group on what they should do or ought to do. Norms may remain stable but by no means static, in history, for example the preferred response to sexuality historically was heterosexual relationships. Any sexual preference outside of this was therefore deviant, non-normative behaviour, with sanctions placed on those with such

tendencies (Seidman, Fischer, & Meeks, 2007). In recent times, in the Western world, there has been a move towards acceptance and equality. A reinforcement of attitudes and behaviours supportive of different sexual orientations has led to a shift in the norm, through many different processes that are beyond the scope of discussion here (See, Seidman et al., 2007). As these norms have been accepted and internalized by members of society, the sanctions against homosexuality have been lifted and replaced with sanctions on those who do not support gay rights by way of labelling actions based on such beliefs as hate crime.

Yet not all individuals embrace new or changing norms even when these become established to the point of influencing legislation. While support for the equal rights of LGBT individuals is on the rise (Yang, 1999; Herek, 2000; Sherrill & Yang, 2000), many still consider homosexuality to be an immoral and unacceptable lifestyle (Herek, 2000; Sherrill & Yang, 2000) and are overtly intolerant of such behaviour. Ayoub (2014) discusses the role of threat perception in the context of LGBT norm diffusion in Europe. Defining threat as ‘the anticipation of danger to a set of values that characterizes a group’ and perception as ‘the process of apprehending by means of the senses’ (p.338), Ayoub (2014) assumes threat can have a symbolic value at the collective level. Threat is socially constructed through discourse among individuals and political authorities’ (Meyer, 2009). Under a threat perception perspective, it is the social understandings that define the way in which state actors respond to international pressures (Andrews, 1975). New sexualities may be viewed as potential destabilizers to the narrative of the nation because historically, homosexuality for example has been linked to ‘conspiracy, recruitment, opposition to the nation, and ultimately threat to civilization (Stychin 1998, p.9). Such perceptions subsequently impact the way in which new norms are diffused within society. Whilst the example of sexual orientation has been used here, the idea of tolerance towards others held as a

core characteristic of Britain extends towards many other groups and issues. Eatwell (2006) discusses how citizens of Britain have taken pride in national characteristics, such characteristics that they believe are special and distinct of their homeland. These include social cohesion, respect for the political system in place and a high level of tolerance. Yet critics have been eager to challenge such a view, suggesting Britishness is constructed and a view of Britain as a model civic culture is ignorant to the less homogenous and darker features of British Society, namely class divisions and racism. Nonetheless, as highlighted in Chapter one, Theresa May has placed great focus on ‘the proud promotion of British Values’ (2015, March 23) when discussing the countering of extremism, something which has clearly influenced policy making in this area.

Some theorists suggest that national security itself can be understood as the ‘absence of threat to acquired values’ (Bajpai, 2000, p.8) and any review of the political rhetoric around national security at present would show support of this idea. Theorists have discussed how considerations of the sustainability of tradition, that is in language, culture, religion, national identity, and customs can influence beliefs about national security (Buzan, 1990), which in turn can lead to resistance and a self-defence approach from state actors and individuals within the state (Carstocea, 2006). Yet threat to values can work both for and against peace. Threat perception has been referred to as ‘the single most important predictor of intolerance’ (Gibson, 2004), and the existing body of research indicates that, indeed individuals tend to be less tolerant of groups they consider as a threat (Gibson & Gouws, 2001; Golebiowska, 2004; Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus, 1982).

Not all researchers agree that norms are substantiated by the value it has to the culture. Some researchers have argued that norms are connected to survival, either at the level of the individual (Sherif, 1936), or the group (Campbell, 1975; Pepitone, 1976) and are developed with

a function to encourage or curtail behaviour. In all known self-organised resource regimes that have survived for a notable period, participants have invested resources in the monitoring and sanctioning of actions of one another to reduce the probability of free riding (Ostrom, 1990). This functional perspective of norm formation suggests norms are neither arbitrary or trivial because the ability to develop and communicate norms among group members is an evolutionary adaptive and aids in survival (Allison, 1992; Campbell, 1975; Schaller & Latane, 1996). Schaller and Latane (1996) expand on this, stating culturally shared belief systems comprise of norms and stereotypes operating similarly to natural selection in species. Successful norms are those that are adaptive in promoting survival related actions and communicate behaviours that are useful in acquiring status, affiliating with others, and satisfying our basic human needs.

Many have argued that from a theoretical perspective it is not possible to radically change an individual's values, and is in fact a counterintuitive idea due to the importance attached to them (Bernard, Maio, & Olson, 2003). However, values may be at least somewhat vulnerable to change if counterarguments are persuasive enough. That is, because the ability to counterargue attacks to values are one of the key inhibitors of persuasion (Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly, 1989; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), especially when the issue is of personal importance (Zuwerink & Devine, 1996), then the alternative needs to put the individual in a place where they can no longer counterargue. Indeed, the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) proposes that resistance to such attacks on values is based on 'motivating or enabling people to engage in additional thought about reasons or arguments supporting their attitudes (p. 182). Moreover, research has found that elaboration of value-based attitudes is more important in relation to resistance than is their personal relevance (Haugvedt & Wegener, 1994). In addition to this, research has shown that values are primarily supported by socially conditioned feelings and

thus individuals are less likely to build cognitive support for them (Bernard, Maio, & Olson, 2003). This is key in relation to changing values-based attitudes, as findings have shown that change is more likely to occur when the attitudes have little cognitive support (Maio & Olson, 1998; Wilson, Dunn, Kraft, & Lisle, 1989).

Not only is an understanding of the individual within groups important in relation to the formation, persistence and change of attitudes, so it is for the way in which attitudes are held and the influence on and from others. The way in which individuals perceive consensus of the attitudes they hold has also been of interest to researchers for some time (Krueger, 1998; Marks & Miller, 1987). Those who hold minority attitudes have been found to overestimate the level of consensus for their attitudes than do those who hold majority opinions (Robbins & Krueger, 2005). People also tend to project their attitudes more on to those who they anticipate social interaction with than those they do not (Marks & Miller, 1982) suggesting that especially in close knit groups and communities there is a higher likelihood of attitude persuasion. Furthermore, those with a high dispositional need to belong perceive greater consensus for their opinions (Morrison & Matthes, 2011).

2.2.4 The Role of the Group and Identity

Moral convictions, and moralised attitudes not only reflect an individual's beliefs but also their collective values and concerns. Attitudes that are based on collective values and concerns are more likely to lead people to divide the world in to a strict 'us versus them' view, which in turn has deep associations with prejudice, intolerance, discrimination, and hate crimes towards those out-group members (Gerstenfeld, 2002). In fact, especially in relation to prejudice and intolerance, Zick, Kupper, and Heitmeyer (2010) argue that such attitudes are less relevant for

individuals than they are for the integration of individuals into groups, cultures, and nations. Social networks to which an individual belongs encompass strong ties, with whom individuals have frequent, intimate, and mutually supportive interactions (Granovetter, 1973). Those ties have a direct influence on individual opinions (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Liebes & Ribak, 1992). Yet, individuals are also influenced by social networks with potentially weaker ties that link people and disseminate novel ideas (Granovetter, 1973; Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1995). Research has also shown that these ties within social networks moderate other influences such as that of the media and online groups (Eveland & Scheufele, 2000; Hardy & Scheufele, 2005; Scheufele, 2002). However, more recent research has shown that if an individual already possesses extreme views and interacts with like-minded individuals online, offline ties, regardless of whether like-minded or dissimilar, may exacerbate extremism (Wojcieszak, 2009). This is done by either supporting and fuelling their extreme attitudes or by pushing them to polarise by counterarguing such. Indicating that social networks and social ties which operate in traditional convention offline do not always have the greatest influence in today's culture. Within groups, extreme attitudes are cultivated and through a process termed 'group polarisation', become more extreme (Borum, 2011). One conventional explanation is social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981). This popular theory asserts that strong in-group beliefs give rise to equally strong outgroup antipathies, arguing that the root cause of intolerance is strong group identifications and the many attitudes, values and behaviours that go alongside such attachments (Gibson, 2006). Furthering this explanation, Gibson (2006) suggests that the implication of multi-ethnic democratic societies is that people develop stronger attachments to the groups they are in. That said, researchers agree that it is only under certain circumstances which tensions arise (Brewer, 2001; Turner & Reynolds, 2004). Some classical arguments suggest instead that

the role of groups can drive tolerance as opposed to intolerance. One such argument focusses on how the moral superiority and pragmatic efficiency of the ‘marketplace of ideas’ leads groups with divergent values and norms can learn from one another by exchanging such views (Bollinger, 1986; Jelen & Wilcox, 1991). Under this perspective, multicultural societies should lead to a higher level of tolerance. That is, that interacting with others from different backgrounds and those who hold different beliefs and attitudes facilitates discussion whereby individuals have greater understanding of others’ perspectives.

2.2.4.1 Political identity

Developing a political identity is seen as an important task during adolescence (Erikson, 1950; Havighurst, 1972). Though, the relationship between political identity and ideology is far from understood. Yet research has shown that the correlation and consistency between party identification and political ideology have significantly increased over recent decades (Abramowitz & Saunders, 2006; Jacobson & Carson, 2015). Research also suggests that tolerance towards other groups is one of the core outcomes of this socialization process behind the development of a political identity (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002).

Findings have indicated that social norm attitudes are a stronger determinant of behaviour for conservatives than for liberals (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Skitka & Tetlock, 1993), suggesting political identity is related to social norm behaviour. Further, research has shown those who identify as conservative typically value social conformity more than those who identify as liberals (Altemeyer, 1996; Hibbing, Smith & Alford, 2013; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski & Sulloway, 2003). There is also a body of research systematically demonstrating the association between conservatism and conscientiousness (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008) which, in

turn, is associated with a desire to conform to social norms (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011). Strengthening support for this idea relating political identity to conformity, research has shown that liberals tend to score higher on measures of rebelliousness and reactance, whereas conservatives score higher on indicators of conformity and obedience (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008).

This role of political beliefs in intolerance towards a variety of groups has been researched for decades within both social and political psychology. Findings show that both conservatives and liberals harbour attitudes of intolerance (Morgan, Mullen, & Skitka, 2010; Skitka, Mullen, Griffin, Hutchinson, & Chamberlin, 2002). Though many have come to believe in what has been referred to as the prejudice gap (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). That is, conservatives are more likely to hold attitudes of intolerance toward other groups than liberals (Farwell & Weiner, 2000). Research has demonstrated that conservatives and those holding right-wing political beliefs are more likely to hold attitudes of intolerance, including the denial of rights, toward a variety of groups, for example ethnic minorities, and LGBT individuals (see Sibley & Duckitt, 2008, for meta-analysis). Some have attributed this difference to conservatives' being more close-minded than liberals (Hodson & Busseri, 2012; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Yet, there is a growing body of evidence that indicates the prejudice gap is overestimated, with both liberals and conservatives holding negative attitudes towards groups whose values are not consistent with their own, and will distance themselves from individuals who do not share their own moral convictions (Skitka et al., 2005) and are intolerant of those with whom they disagree (Lambert & Chasteen, 1997; McClosky & Chong, 1985; Yancey & Yancy, 2010). Further, both liberals and conservatives will engage in a variety of strategies to maintain their worldview (See for a review, Proulx, Inzlicht, & Harmon-Jones,

2012). Therefore, whilst it appears that political beliefs are at least somewhat important in understanding intolerance, a full understanding of the relationship remains unclear (Brandt, Reyna, Chambers, Crawford & Wetherell, 2014).

2.2.4.2 Religious identity

Religion itself when considered a dual function of both a social identity and a belief system, has proved an interesting and promising avenue for understanding individuals and groups (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). Religion can be viewed as a mechanism by which like-minded individuals can coalesce, share common values, and pursue collective objectives (Schillinger, 2016). Religiosity is an established factor in many individuals' self-conceptions (Freeman, 2003; Kinnvall, 2004; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Researchers have suggested that the unique characteristics of group memberships linked to a religious belief system may be key to explaining why religion is embraced with such tenacity (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Further, certain attributes of religion are particularly well suited to peoples' fundamental need to reduced uncertainty (Hogg, Adelman, & Blagg, 2010).

The question of if and how religion contributes to, or inhibits, prejudice and intolerance has been of interest for some time (Hunsberger, 1995). Allport (1966) highlighted that there was a well-established link between going to church and harbouring more racial, ethnic, and religious prejudice. Further to this, Allport (1966) stated 'there are attitudes that are unwarranted, unjust, and insensitive; and that these attitudes may all be, in varying degrees and for varying reasons, interlocked with their possessor's religious life' (p. 449). Later, it was suggested that there were two distinct forms of religious orientation, one related to prejudice and one which was not (Allport & Ross, 1967). They note a dichotomy of religious orientation, an intrinsically

motivated individual, who 'lives his religion' and an extrinsically motivated individual who 'uses his religion'. Evidence for the intrinsic orientation has been varied, with early research showing no relationship with prejudice (Donahue, 1985) and later research reporting both negative and positive relationships with prejudice (Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999). Other researchers have looked specifically at the role of the intrinsic orientation and intolerance and found positive associations (Batson, Eidelman, Higley, & Russell, 2001; Batson Floyd, Meyer, & Winner, 1999). Evidence for the link between the extrinsic orientation and prejudice on the other hand has been more consistent, showing positive correlations between the two (Fulton et al., 1999; Kirkpatrick, 1993). The dimension of religion that has been found to be most consistently and strongly correlated to prejudice however, is fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1995).

Religious fundamentalism is difficult to define, and it is suggested that its common and loose application has only added to the definitional issues (Emerson & Hartman, 2006). In one of the first main theoretical works on fundamentalism, Riesebrodt (1993 [1990], p.9) offers the following definition 'an urban movement directed primarily against dissolution of personality, patriarchal notions of order and social relations and their replacement by depersonalized principles'. Perhaps even more so than other psychological concepts, fundamentalism is a contextual phenomenon and one that cannot be understood nor exist outside of modernity (Emerson & Hartman, 2006). It is proposed that ultimately modernism has become an ideology in itself that values change over continuity, quantity over quality, and commercial efficiency over traditional values (Lawrence, 1989). Therefore, directly threatening religion by reducing it to nothing but individually held beliefs, and a violation of the meaning of roles people should hold in society (Emerson & Hartman, 2006). Put most directly in the context of modernity, Antoun

(2001, p.3) proposed that fundamentalism should be defined as ‘a religiously based cognitive and affective orientation to the world characterized by protest against change and the ideological orientation of modernism’. Aside from direct definitional issues, there are also issues with applying the term to different religions. Some scholars will only use the term to apply to conservative movements within the Abrahamic religions (Lawrence, 1989). Yet, others suggest that from a sociological perspective, many resurgent conservative religious movements have risen under similar sociological conditions, evidenced by the many common features they share (Riesebrodt, 2000). This suggests that fundamentalism is a concept that can be investigated across different religious movements and belief systems.

In the past several decades, many of those responsible for the current wave of terrorism, have done so in the name of religious convictions (Perliger & Pedahzur, 2016). Subsequently, several different disciplines have seen a growing interest in addressing the relationship between religion and political violence. With research showing relationships between religion and attitudes towards extremist activity (Pederson, Vestel & Bakken, 2017). Several theoretical approaches have developed out of various lines of exploration. One focus was the exploration of the impact of schisms between religious communities and the intensity of political violence (Avalos, 2005; Norris & Inglehart, 2002; Renard, 2012). However, critics argue that the fact communities have coexisted harmoniously for centuries casts doubt on such an explanation, added to by the increasing prevalence of violence not only between, but also within religions (Kellner, 2002; Tariq, 2002). A significant development within the literature arose in response to this criticism that explores the role of contextual factors such as globalisation, modernisation, economic disparity, territorial occupation and community humiliation, as mediating factors between religion and the increase in political violence (Stern, 2003; Toft, 2007). Therefore, any

endeavour to understand such a relationship between religion and political violence risks being reductionist without the consideration of the context in which it occurs. A second group of scholars, explored this relationship by focusing on processes by which religion is used to frame political conflicts in sacred terms and subsequently it is this that is used to lure the masses (Bloom, 2004; Enders & Sandler, 2006; Hasenclever & Rittberger, 2000; Pape, 2003). However, some argue that this approach does not address the fact that outbreaks of religious violence often lack the evidence of a top-down planning approach which would imply an instrumentalist use of religious faith (Pedahzur & Perlinger, 2006; Sageman, 2004; 2008). Instead, there may be more value in exploring the group processes such as the association between in-group cohesiveness in religious communities, threat perception (Wessinger, 2009), and animosity and violence towards out-groups (Cohen, Montoya, & Insko, 2006). Religious beliefs have also been found to be more powerful than other defining characteristics in predicting certain attitudes. For example, when investigating attitudes towards homosexuality, Schulte and Battle (2004) found that attitudes towards homosexuals may be a function of religious attendance but not ethnicity. Whilst religion can be a crucial part of an individual identity, it is also very much a collective identity in various social movements, and is mainly a shared experience (Isaacs, 1975). Moreover, bonds within religious communities are particularly strong and when another religious groups' beliefs differ it threatens this powerful cultural bond (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990).

2.2.5 Extremism

Of course, having attitudes that are intolerant of others, or having extreme attitudes, does not equate to being an extremist and does not equate to being a terrorist. Even those who hold radical ideas do not all engage in terrorism, likewise many terrorists are not deeply ideological

individuals who have followed any explicit process of radicalisation (Borum, 2011). This is represented in research that has shown support for violence as a means of furthering political issues does not mean those individuals will act themselves (Vestel & Bakken, 2015).

That said, extremism is a human universal, no period of time, society, nation, culture, or ideology is free from its existence (Hogg, Kruglanski & van den Bos, 2013). Extremism is a complex phenomenon and as such phenomena are, is subject to definitional issues (Coleman & Bartoli, 2003). Coleman and Bartoli (2003) propose extremism is the ‘activities (beliefs, attitudes, feelings, actions, strategies) of a character far removed from the ordinary’ (p.2). Such a definition indicates the presence of several constructs and factors contributing to extremism, and within such a definition attitudes are one factor which contributes to an extremist. The United Kingdom governments’ definition is ‘extremism is the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including the rule of law, individual liberty and the mutual respect and tolerance for those of different faiths and beliefs. We also regard calls for the death of members of our armed forces as extremist’ (Commission for Countering Extremism, 2018). The focus of the governmental definition focussed much more on the overt implications of extremism than the internal processes. Furthermore, the government’s definition is clearly more orientated in a culturally specific context where tolerance is a key factor. Yet, that does not mean that both definitions are distinct from one another. The goals and utility of each definition are different, yet the factors identified in Coleman and Bartoli’s (2003) definition are likely important in the understanding of extremism in a more policy focussed guise as represented in the governmental definition.

Certainly, from an academic research point of view extremism is a latent factor, and as such cannot be directly observed. Instead, researchers must try to increase the understanding by

identifying constructs and factors that may explain or predict extremism to subsequently offer recommendations to policy makers. Therefore, whilst attitudes that are intolerant of others or extreme attitudes towards the rights of others may make up only part of this understanding, the importance of such an endeavour should not be overlooked. Especially when, as previously discussed, research has shown that attitudes are changeable. Therefore, attitudes and beliefs may offer a strong grounding for intervention in relation to counter-extremism measures. With current interventions, strategy and governmental rhetoric appearing to be focussed on doing just that.

2.2.6 Radicalisation

The idea that political action and political violence is preceded by extremist attitudes and milder forms of support is supported by both the literature on social movement (Klandermans, 1997) and the political violence literature (Moghaddam, 2005; Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). There has been a well-articulated drive to understand commitment to collective actions to bring about change as a process (Horgan, 2008) and better understand the shift from sympathy and attitudes, to active support (Klandermans, 1997).

It is virtually now unanimously agreed that radicalisation is a process (Schmid, 2013), despite variation and at times a lack of precision, nearly all definitions contain reference to a 'process' (Ashour, 2009; Demant, Slootman, Buijs & Tillie, 2008; Horgan & Braddock, 2010; Olsen, 2009; Ongerling, 2007). Although most agree on this, some argue that it wrongly implies radicalisation is an orderly sequence of steps that produce an output, and instead radicalisation may be best viewed as a puzzle than a process (Hafez & Mullins, 2015). Nonetheless, the concept of radicalisation as a process is subsequently reflected in government definitions and policy documents. For example, in the UK government's PREVENT strategy radicalisation is

defined as ‘the process by which a person comes to support terrorism and forms of extremism leading to terrorism’ (HM Government, 2011, p. 108). Some researchers have argued that the production of the radicalisation discourse has underpinned the governance of communities rendered suspicious through the conceptions of risk and has been abused as a tool of power within this arena (Heath-Kelly, 2013).

The factors under which radicalisation is supported are disputed, partly due to the complexities associated with the relationship between structural factors and individual experiences (Craigin et al., 2015). Though a lot of money has been spent on research to investigate such factors, no terrorist profile has been discovered, and there is no single factor with the power to predict who will become a terrorist (Horgan, 2009; Horgan, 2014). One of the central guiding questions in the effort to identify and understand processes of radicalisation summarised by Borum (2011) is, ‘how do people come to adopt violent extremist ideologies (radicalise), translate them – or not – into justifications or imperatives to use terrorist violence and choose (or choose not) to engage in violent and subversive activity in service of those ideologies’ (p.15). Although historically the literature has been focused on profiling extremists there has been a welcomed shift instead to mapping the pathways by which an individual may become radicalised and with this a move towards a greater understanding of the factors that play a role in this process (Hafez & Mullins, 2015). Moreover, the understanding of the steps or stages within such processes offer promising avenues for directing interventions prior to an individual wanting to or physically engaging in, violent action.

Despite no single predictive factor, there are some common indicators that are present which may make an individual more vulnerable to recruitment and radicalisation which have informed to some degree identification and intervention strategies falling under Prevent. Two

main overarching types of model have been presented with the aim of better understanding this ‘process’, the majority of which have been developed in the last decade; linear – whereby individuals progress through a number of stages (Audit Commission, 2008; Borum, 2003; Moghaddam, 2006; Silber & Bhatt, 2007; Taarnby, 2005; Wiktorowicz, 2004), and non-linear – whereby the presence of a number of factors are evident as playing an important role in the radicalisation of an individual (Gill, 2007; Sageman, 2008). Though, other models have begun to emerge in considering the mechanisms that underpin radicalisation, such as the multi-level, reactive model developed by McCauley and Moskaleiko (2008) where they investigate factors across three levels; the individual level, group level, and mass level.

McGilloway, Ghosh, and Bhui (2015) carried out a systematic review of pathways and processes associated with extremism and concluded that there is no single cause or linear pathway that can solely explain an individuals’ engagement with violent extremism. Instead, radicalisation may be best realised as a process of change which varies between individuals. Furthermore, there are certain factors which may predispose an individual leaving them vulnerable to radicalisation in the first instance and keep them in a situation where the radicalisation process continues. If that is the case, then it seems logical that certain interventions may be developed to reduce this vulnerability and increase the likelihood of such individual’s rejecting an extremist rhetoric. One question which remains is how long the process may take, with some suggestions indicating months to a couple of years (Silber & Bhatt, 2007; Silke, 2008) and others indicating up to ten years prior to action (Reinares, 2006). However, the latter suggestion of up to ten years does not fit with the present wave of acts that largely involves young males (Silke, 2008). Findings do indicate that there is generally a period of rapid escalation towards the end of the radicalisation process (Bartlett et al., 2010; Silber & Bhatt,

2007). Such an understanding has important implications for the development of interventions, namely at what point is intervention necessary and how long do such interventions take to achieve positive outcomes. There are important balances to find between targeting the whole population which could be costly in terms of resource and damage to the public's perceptions of freedom and intervening too late, thus increasing risk to public safety.

2.3 THE ROLE OF RESILIENCE

Resilience theory has long been of interest to many researchers from a wide range of disciplines, having been investigated and applied by physicists, mathematicians, economists, social workers, psychologists, and educators to name a few. As a term, resilience holds multiple levels of meaning, from the metaphoric to the specific (Carpenter, Walker, Anderies, & Abel, 2001). As a concept its origins can be traced to the natural and physical sciences, that has since migrated into the social sciences, and recently integrated to a range of social policies as a policy buzzword (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2013). When applied to people, resilience varies across cultures, contexts, individuals' demographics, and other sociocultural factors related to both the individual and their environment (Weine, Henderson, Shanfield, Legha, & Post, 2013).

2.3.1 A Diverse and Broad History: Across Time and Discipline

The general concept of resilience has roots in physics and mathematics, where it refers to the capacity of a material or system to return to its equilibrium after it has been displaced (Norris et al., 2008). Despite having been developed, adapted and re-invented across a wide range of disciplines over the years, this idea reflects its general usage, underpinning its meaning within key fields where substantial work has been conducted to increase the understanding of resilience

in many different guises. In 1973, the study of resilience, under the context of ecology, was presented in the seminal work of C.S. Holling. Holling (1973) sought to conceptualise not simply an ecosystems persistence near or close to its equilibrium state, which he suggested was reflective of stability, but the amount of disturbance that ecosystem can withstand without changing state, adopting the term ‘resilience’ to describe this. During the 20th century there was a command and control ethos within resource management sectors and ecologists sought to resolve uncertainties, offering theory and research based upon the presumed predictability of complex ecological systems (Gunderson, 2000). In a comprehensive review of ecological resilience, Gunderson (2000) highlights that much of the literature frames ecological resilience as a dynamic rather than static concept. Further, researchers began to examine resilience in more depth, finding various factors may increase or decrease the resilience of an ecosystem. With findings showing that human intervention in ecosystems does not always have a positive result, with some interference instead causing a decrease in resilience (Gunderson, 2000).

Since this early resilience work, the concept has been explored under the context of different kinds of ‘disturbance’, including short term disasters (Bruneau et al., 2003; Rose, 2004) and more long-term phenomena such as climate change (Dovers & Handmer, 1992). Economic resilience has now been extensively researched, with many demonstrating the value of being able to reduce losses from disasters by incorporating resilience building into policy and interventions. This represented a shift from the focus on the ecological systems, to a focus on the economy, such as businesses, and their ability to cope in the aftermath of disturbance. Economic researchers also began to distinguish between different types of resilience. Economists suggested that resilience can be both static and dynamic, not necessarily dynamic as argued by ecologists (Gunderson, 2000). Rose (2007) describes these two contexts of ecological resilience; static –

which is the efficient allocation of resources, and dynamic – which refers to speeding up the recovery process via repair and reconstruction of the capital stock. Rose (2007) also proposed that within each of these contexts there are two types of resilience at play; inherent resilience – which refers to the ordinary ability to deal with crises, and adaptive resilience – which refers to the extra effort needed to maintain function in crisis situations. The idea of adaptive resilience indicates that resilience is not only something that is already there, but that can be built upon or developed in apprehension of a crisis or adversity. Though the focus within this body of disaster research is in relation to the response of businesses (Comfort et al., 1999), research has also demonstrated how resilience can be improved through certain activities carried out by agencies (Godschalk, 2003). It is also within this area that the idea of levels of resilience was first proposed (Rose, 2007). That is, that resilience may take place at a microeconomic level, a mesoeconomic level or a macroeconomic level, and that resilience at each level interacts with resilience at the others. The move from ecology to economics saw resilience become less about the *amount* of disturbance something can absorb, and more about the ability to *mute* the influence of a variety of external shocks. As Rose (2007) highlights, it is only the most catastrophic events that would result in such changes as described by Holling (1973), which would limit the applicability of the concept within economics as it was understood within ecology.

In the social sciences, resilience has been applied to individuals, communities, and nations. Norman Garmezy's work in developing resilience research within psychology, focusing on resistance and growth (Garmezy, 1971) signalled a move away from early research in psychopathology, poverty, and trauma (Condly, 2006). Psychological resilience has been applied to explain both acute and chronic adversities (Bonanno & Diminich, 2013). Moreover, it has

been applied across a range of populations from individual children (Masten, 2001), adults (Bonanno, 2004), families (Rolland & Walsh, 2006; Walsh, 2015), larger neighbourhoods and communities (Norris et al., 2008), and the wider society and nation (Barnett, 2004; Chemtob, 2005; Cacioppo et al., 2011). In the psychological sense discussed here, it has been applied to describe a global process in relation to the development and maintenance of successful adaptation (Egeland, Carlson, & Sroufe, 1993; Norris et al., 2008), a positive outcome post-adversity (Bonanno, 2004; Masten, 2007; Norris, Tracy, & Galea, 2009; Rutter, 2002), a trait or aspect of personality (Smith, Dalen, Wiggins, Tooley, Christopher, & Bernard, 2008), and as a more extensive cluster of capacities, characteristics, and resources (Aldrich, 2012; Norris et al., 2008). More recently, researchers have used resilience to explain and understand a community's reaction to traumatic events, with this change shifting the focus from individual resilience to the inclusion of social capital in communities which are made up of individuals (Almedom, 2005). Within such applications, resilience is largely viewed as a resistance to change (Olsson, Jerneck, Thoren, Persson & O'Byrne, 2005). This is highlighted by the following description, "The more resilient a system, the larger the disturbance it can absorb without shifting into an alternate regime" (Walker, Gunderson, Kinzig, Folke, Carpenter, & Schultz, 2006, p.2).

Masten and Obradovic (2006), who were influenced by the work of Garmezy, sought to orientate resilience research towards assessment of measurable factors and processes associated with resilience using statistical models by employing a post-positivist realism approach to the concept. Thus, making a direct effort to begin to understand the psychological aspects of resilience as applied to human beings. As resilience is a latent phenomenon, this approach holds that resilience is only observed through indirect measurement and construction of theories. Conversely, Liebenberg and Ungar (2009) adopted a constructivist-interpretivist approach, with

their research focused on the discursive negotiation and culturally specific interpretation of resilience. Liebenberg and Ungar (2009) justify their approach in that they seek to broaden discussions, suggesting it is how we use discourse to negotiate resilience and the culture and context in which it is found that will lead to a stronger, more detailed understanding. On the other hand, Masten and Obradovic's (2006) approach is reflective of the need for empirical research and scientific rigor when applying resilience to policy to ensure a strong evidence base. Their approach seeks to measure resilience in a way which leads to generalisable findings that have practical implications. Moreover, such an approach provides researchers with findings that can be compared to further discussions around contextual and cultural differences in relation to resiliency.

Resilience, when applied to people, is defined as an 'ongoing process – involving attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, and even physical functioning – that must be sustained over time and support growth' (Pfefferbaum, Reissman, Pfefferbaum, Klomp, & Gurwitch, 2006, p.349). Importantly, research has shown there are specific skills and resources associated with resilience which can be used to inform interventions (American Psychological Association, 2005; Reissman, Klomp, Kent & Pfefferbaum, 2004). Subsequently, resilience has become somewhat of a policy buzzword, having been integrated in to the contingency policies of many institutions in relation to both individuals and the wider society (Cabinet Office, 2008a; 2008b; Coaffee & Rogers, 2008; Martin, 2012; Newman, Beatley & Boyer, 2009) and since in to wider public policies (Joseph, 2013).

2.3.2 A Bridge Too Far?

The huge growth in the scope of resilience is demonstrated by the sheer number of disciplines under which resilience has now been defined, investigated, and applied in relation to understanding the interactions between people and their environment (see, for examples, Berkes & Folke, 1998; Gunderson, 2000; Holling, Gunderson & Light, 1995; Redman, 1999). As such, resilience can be viewed as a bridging concept between the natural and social sciences (Davoudi, Shaw, Haider, Quinlan, Peterson, & Wilkinson, 2012).

Though the exponential growth of resilience research, and the vastness of its application has led to much criticism (MacKinnon & Derickson, 2012; Olsson et al., 2015). This surge in popularity has in some contexts blurred and diluted the meaning of resilience (Brand & Jax, 2007; Ungar, 2005). Resilience has been taken from the hard sciences as a precise concept, to the social sciences where in some cases it has become increasingly vague and its origins lost. The numerous attempts to define and operationalise resilience have only added to the confusion among researchers and policy makers. Especially when policy recommendations are the goal, researchers and policy makers have at times neglected the importance of defining what resilience is and what it means in the context in which they are applying it. As researchers, and policy makers, we should not presume those who will be implementing such policy will be aligned with the intended definition if we have not done a good enough job in explicitly providing such.

Olsson et al., (2015) argue that even scientists whose research background is rooted in resilience have contributed to the ambiguity and inconsistency of the concept. A major debate within this area, is whether resilience is good, bad or neither. The very idea of resilience, some argue, is why some social science circles have difficulties in accepting the concept. The social sciences focus on social change over stability, therefore if resilience is largely normative, as it is

within policy (United Nations Development Program, 2014) is a resistance to change desirable as opposed to something that will lead to change. A willingness to change in an individual is often viewed as positive, whereas resistance to change usually has negative connotations (see for review, Piderit, 2000). Yet, in relation to resilience, traditionally no change, or regaining post-adversity state, has been viewed as positive. In fact, what we are looking for in relation to psychological resilience, is positive adaptation (Fraser, Galinsky, & Richman, 1999). Yet even under this conceptualisation, Kolar (2011) argues that the use of resilience requires an explicit judgement to be made on what constitutes a positive outcome and what constitutes a negative outcome. Whilst such judgements have been made, Kolar (2011) argues that they lack critical discussion, and such benchmarks may not always be reflective of the culture in which they are subsequently generalised. These conceptual and operationalisation issues have contributed to the argument that resilience, as applied within the social sciences, requires a more solid theoretical grounding (Davidson, 2010) and better conceptualisation. Nonetheless, definitions of resilience have become broader and more dynamic, a move that has been described as reflecting the need to integrate the concept across multiple levels of analysis and across disciplines (Masten, 2007; 2014). Yet when used in isolation, resilience, as a label for a single construct lacks sufficient conceptual precision to drive further investigation (Bonanno et al., 2015). Here, it is the authors contention in line with previous research that resilience operates through different but related constructs (Kimhi, 2014); individual, community, and national resilience. With each construct having important implications for policy recommendations in a counter-extremism context. Further, that resilience requires reframing to specifically relate to such a context, and that reframing should be based on an underpinning drawn from the relevant literature.

As a concept, resilience has compelling attractiveness in relation to original coherence, simplicity, and perceived completeness, yet recognition needs to be paid to the problems of using resilience as a universal concept. Further, Olsson et al., (2015) suggest that the integration of resilience may be best understood and developed under the idea of scientific pluralism. That is that scientific inquiry does not always seek to establish a single theory (Kellert, Longino, & Waters, 2006). Where no unified theories are available to understand a certain phenomenon or it can only be explained by numerous theories, pluralism offers an avenue for explanation. Such an approach makes sense, with resilience representing such a complex and multifaceted phenomenon when applied to the social sciences. In relation to the current research's aim, resilience is examined at the level of the individual, community, and nation. As such, each of these constructs is discussed individually before examining how these may relate to one another.

2.3.3 Individual Resilience

Of the three resilience constructs discussed here, individual resilience has received the most attention within psychological research (Bonanno, Galea, Bucciarelli & Vlahov, 2007). Originating from the work of Norman Garmezy, along with his students, through project competence, individual resilience began largely as an explanation for childhood development. Alongside E. James Anthony, Lois Murphy, Michael Rutter, and Emmy Werner, Garmezy began to discuss the significance of some children developing well despite having risk status or being exposed to adverse events (Masten, 2001). That is, children who went beyond just surviving, as survival does not ensure healthy functioning, and survivors may become immobilized by anger or absorbed by victimisation with a range of consequences (Wolin & Wolin, 1993). Individuals are malleable, and so resilience in this context must be distinguished from simple survival

(Fraser et al., 1999). Barton (2005) traces conceptualisations of individual resilience and highlights how it began as a move away from illness and vulnerability towards a focus on strength and assets. The development of individual resilience also began to place a heavier emphasis on the interaction of risk and protective factors that may emerge at different levels.

As such, individual resilience has been defined as an individual's ability to maintain a stable level of functioning following traumatic events and therefore represents a 'trajectory of healthy functioning across time' (Bonanno, 2005, p.136). As a concept, some argue individual resilience should only be used to refer to 'unpredicted or markedly successful adaptation to negative life events, trauma, stress, and other forms of risk' (Fraser et al., 1999, p.136). Further, Luthar (2006) argues that resilience itself as a concept is never directly measured, instead it is inferred from the evidence of two distinctive dimensions; significant adversity and positive adaptation.

Research has consistently demonstrated that resilience is a multidimensional concept that can vary with context, age, gender, and cultural origin as well as different life circumstances (Garmezy, 1985; Garmezy & Rutter, 1985; Rutter, 1985; Seligman & Csikzentmihalyi, 2000; Werner & Smith, 1992). As such, researchers have sought to determine whether in fact individual resilience can be predicted by various factors (Rutter, 1979, 1987). Intelligence has been widely studied in predicting resilience, with most findings consistently showing that higher cognitive ability acts as a protective factor (Kandel, Mednick, Kirkegaard-Sorensen, Hutchins, Knop, Rosenberg, & Schulsinger, 1988; Long & Vaillant, 1984; Werner & Smith, 1992). However, some research has shown that in high IQ children, intelligence can also be a factor indicating vulnerability (Luthar & Zigler, 1992). Despite this, the consensus remains that intelligence in most contexts is positively related to resilience (Masten, Hubbard, Gest, Tellegen, Garmezy, &

Ramirez, 1999, Masten & Obradovic, 2006), with further support coming from findings that show level of education can increase resilience (Campbell-Sills, Forde, & Stein, 2009; Khamis, 1998). Though it should be noted the relationship between level of education and resilience itself is not clear, with Bonanno et al's., (2007) findings showing those with a college degree were less likely to be resilient than those who had not completed high school. Research has also shown that gender may have important implications, with findings showing males are more resilient than females (Bonanno et al., 2007; Campbell-Sills et al., 2009; Hobfoll, Mancini, Hall, Canetti, & Bonanno, 2011; Kimhi et al., 2010). In relation to age, findings consistently show that resilience increases with age (Bonanno et al., 2007; Hobfoll et al., 2011; Khamis, 1998; Kimhi et al., 2010). Research has also shown how religion and spirituality may promote resilience within individuals (Gordon & Song, 1994). However, many of these findings come from studies within specific cultural contexts such as the Israel war with the Gaza strip (Kimhi et al., 2010). Kumpfer (2002) attempts to organise such factors under a 'resilience framework' whereby sociocultural factors and internal resiliency factors contribute to the overall process of resilience. Under this framework, Kumpfer (2002) differentiates between the stimuli, the person, and the outcome, stating that without such differentiation resilience can become a tautology, that is, something that predicts itself.

When resilience is applied to extremism at the level of the individual there are two main directions for strategies; building individual resilience to overcome a terror attack (Fredrickson, Tugade, Waugh & Larkin, 2003; Miller, 2013) and building resilience to reject an extremist rhetoric (Bonnell et al., 2011). The former is more closely related to most of the work in this area, referring to coping in the aftermath of a distinct traumatic experience. The latter, less so, and the relationship between resilience and adopting an extremist rhetoric is at present not at all

clear. Yet the increase in popularity of resilience building interventions in this vein continues (Bonnell et al., 2011), calling for a stronger evidence base in which policy recommendations can be made. Building resilience at the level of the individual is reflected in the Prevent strand of the UK Governments approach to countering extremism, CONTEST (HM Government, 2014), as outlined in Chapter one.

2.3.4 Community Resilience

In the community resilience literature, community generally refers to neighbourhoods and geographically defined areas (Aldrich, 2012). Norris et al., (2008) propose that in defining community resilience they accept that typically ‘a community is an entity that has geographic boundaries and shared fate’ (p. 128). Subsequently defining resilience as ‘a process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance’ (p.131). Especially in relation to the focus of the current research, not all communities where an understanding of community resilience may be useful can be defined as a geographical location. For example, the online communities which are a potential breeding ground for recruitment and radicalisation to take place (Koehler, 2014; O’ Rourke, 2007; Torok, 2013). In such contexts, the community members are users of a certain information system (Jormakka & Molsa, 2005). In definitions of community resilience, there are two important features that underpin the current consensus. Firstly, that community resilience is better conceptualised as an ability or process than an outcome (Pfefferbaum et al., 2005). Secondly, that resilience is better conceptualised as an adaptability than a stability (Waller, 2001).

The increased interest in resilience at the level of the community arose from a shift towards emphasis on collective processes, strengths, and assets (Richardson, 2002). That is not

to say that the importance of the individual within such is negated, but instead the added resource that may be available when the individual is part of a community can ensure a more efficient result in relation to dealing with challenges (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). Though it is important to note that not all members of a community will necessarily benefit from the processes that serve the survival of that community (Kirmayer, Sehdev, Whitley, Dandeneau, & Isaac, 2009). Further, communities exist in different contexts and have different social realities, which makes understanding community resilience and its underpinning factors an even more complex task.

Despite this, community resilience has been adopted as a valuable concept for policies and interventions with the goal of changing behaviour or preventing behaviour from occurring. Seemingly resting on the idea that the community plays an important, perhaps even vital, role in an individual's behaviour in certain contexts (Hirschi & Stark, 1969). Specifically, in relation to the current research, in attitudes of intolerance that go against social norms, potential for radicalisation and even violent extremism (Ellis & Abdi, 2017; Mirahmadi, Farooq, & Ziad, 2010; Mirahmadi, 2016). This is demonstrated in policies such as the Strategic Implementation Plan released by the White House in 2011, which seeks to build community resilience to violent extremism based on the underlying assumption that stable communities protect their members by opposing violent radicalisation and terrorist recruitment (Weine et al., 2013).

Under the Building Resilience Against Violent Extremism (BRAVE) model (WORDE, 2016), which is a community-based countering violent extremism program in the US, there are four core components. Firstly, the engagement of a wide range of stakeholders should seek to promote trust, respect, and positive social interaction. The goal of which is that those stakeholders become a cohesive community network. Secondly, those stakeholders should be educated with the information needed to fulfil a role related to public safety. Thirdly, once a

community becomes informed it should seek to connect vulnerable individuals with a variety of professionals for intervention to take place. Lastly, when those individuals have been signposted to professionals, they should receive services from multidisciplinary teams to reduce risk factors and increase protective factors. The BRAVE model has clear similarities to the UK's PREVENT strand of CONTEST, though appears to focus more on the process of preparing communities to deal and address such vulnerabilities. Ellis and Abdi (2017) also describe resilience in the context of countering violent extremism, highlighting three types of social connection that are critical to a resilient community; social bonds, social bridging, and social linking. Emphasising that it is not just the relationships within communities that are important, but also between communities that are key in this area. As such, resilient communities are those which not only promote their own values, but also establish relationships with other communities.

2.3.5 National Resilience

A more recent avenue of investigation is resilience as a wider societal phenomenon (Barnett, 2004; Chemtob, 2005). The concept of national resilience, which has sometimes been collapsed alongside community resilience as social resilience (Cacioppo et al., 2011), is broad but addresses the issue of society's sustainability and strength in several diverse realms (Obrist, Pfeiffer & Henley, 2010). Pertaining to the various ways in which a society sustains its strength in the face of adversity (Amit & Fleischer, 2005; Obrist et al., 2010). The concept emerged through an acknowledgement that it is not only military capacity that defines a nation's power, but also politico-psychological aspects (Barnett, 2004; Canetti, Waismel-Manor, Cohen & Rapaport, 2014; Kimhi & Eshel, 2009). It is however, the least understood resilience construct (Canetti et al., 2014) especially from an applied perspective (Obrist et al., 2010). Four main

social components have been attributed to national resilience (Ben-Dor, Pedahzur, Canetti-Nisim & Zaidise, 2002); patriotism, optimism, social integration, and trust in political and public institutions. Together, it is proposed that these related factors underpin national resilience and allow for it to be measured using a psychological questionnaire that includes items pertaining to each factor (Kimhi & Eshel, 2009) in the same way measures exist for both individual resilience (Connor & Davidson, 2003) and community resilience (Leykin et al., 2003). Whilst there are clear factors relating to national resilience, the factorial structure has not been entirely consistent, with other studies showing the presence of five factors (Kimhi & Eshel, 2009), albeit similar to the four components outlined by Ben-Dor et al., (2002); trust in prime minister and the government, patriotism, coping with a national crisis, social justice and trust in national institutions. Further investigation of national resilience as a concept alone, and alongside individual and community resilience within Israel has begun to explore possible predictors of resilience (Kimhi, Goroshit, & Eshel, 2013). This exploration indicated that community type, age, levels of religiosity and preparedness all significantly predicted community and national resilience. Eshel and Kimhi (2016) also found that level of religiosity was a significant predictor of national resilience, alongside gender, political attitudes, and level of exposure to war.

Much of the research has been conducted in very specific contexts, such as the Al Aqsa intifada (Elran, 2006; Gal, 2014) and the Israel-Palestinian conflict (Eshel & Kimhi, 2016). Though more recently Canetti et al., (2014) compared perceptions of national resilience among students in Israel and America, finding that the understanding of such is underpinned by similar factors to those identified by Ben-Dor et al., (2002). Whilst this shows support for national resilience being a meaningful construct cross culturally, studies have shown how context can impact national resilience, for example Moskaleiko, McCauley, and Rozin (2006) found

exposure to terrorism has led to higher levels of patriotism among Americans. Such findings indicate that national resilience is a dynamic construct which differs across contexts (Canetti et al., 2014; Fletcher & Sarkar, 2006).

2.3.6 Associations Between the Three Resilience Constructs

It seems logical to propose that as communities are made up of individuals, and nations are made up of communities and individuals, that each resilience construct would play a significant role in the other resilience constructs discussed here. Kirmayer et al., (2009) state ‘If many individuals in a community exhibit individual resilience, this can contribute to making the whole community resilient, since they work together more easily to respond to stresses and challenges’ (p.67). Further, they propose that such a relationship may work both ways, that a resilient community can also increase the resilience of its members. This would certainly have beneficial implications for countering-extremism and would appear to support policy whereby community resilience and community cohesion are applied together. However, as they highlight themselves, it is unclear whether in reality such interactions would be so simplistic. Certain aspects of resilience at each level may conflict with each other. In other words, what may be good for the individual is not always good for the community, and the interests of one or the other may not always be in harmony, especially when, as previously discussed, the modern community is such a complex entity. Kirmayer et al., (2009) highlight the need for understanding resilience at multiple levels, supporting a multifaceted approach to resilience understanding in this area.

At present, there is no empirical evidence to suggest that alone individual resilience predicts community resilience and in turn national resilience in a Western context. Nor is there

any evidence as to whether resilience at different levels has different implications with regards to counter-extremism policy and intervention. Most decision processes are informed by a complex array of interactions between individuals, the communities they are in and the environment in which they are in (Patterson, Weil, & Patel, 2010). Only recently has research begun to empirically examine the associations between all three resilience constructs (Kimhi et al., 2013; Kimhi, 2014). Kimhi (2014) found that individual, community, and national resilience were all positively correlated with each other, referring to them as ‘levels’ of resilience that build upon each other, though their low common variance also emphasised their distinctiveness. This body of research however, has primarily been conducted in Israel, the cultural context of which is very different to that of the United Kingdom. One notable difference is that immigration has led to the emergence of a multicultural society in the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom is an increasingly diverse and multifaceted society which has notably impacted manifestations of inequality, prejudice, and discrimination (Treadwell & Garland, 2011). The impact this has on national resilience is not yet known, though Parmak (2005) suggests within multicultural societies the cohesiveness of in-groups and out-groups leading to an us and them categorisation, may diminish resilience at the level of the nation. Parmak (2005) discusses how cohesive communities within a nation possess shared-identity and value-systems that may not align with that of the nation as a whole. Therefore, whilst community resilience has been found to relate positively to national resilience, outside of such a context it is not clear whether such a relationship will be present within the United Kingdom. This has important implications when theorising about building resilience. If, as the government’s rhetoric indicates, we are to counter-extremism, including the ‘vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values’ (Prime Minister’s Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism, 2013, p.1), is building

community resilience for example, going to have the desired effect. After all, many critics have argued that current counter-terrorism measures have already hugely impacted the social-identities of communities and has produced a sense of community by singling certain communities out (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009). The question is if, and how, this may have impacted resilience at the level of the nation and the implications for the governments key objectives of promoting British values.

2.3.7 Reframing Resilience

The understanding of resilience as a way of preparing for disaster, be it man made or otherwise, or explaining clinical outcome in the face of adversities has been widely embraced within research and policy circles. In defining individual resilience, the focus has been on significant adversity and positive adaptation (Luthar, 2006), and though Fraser et al's (1999) definition includes 'other forms of risk', until now it has been difficult to operationalize individual resilience from the research as it is applied to current policies (Bonnell et al., 2011; Rogers, 2008). Within the context of extremism, the risk or threat can be understood as the adoption of extremist attitudes and vulnerability to potential radicalisation. The positive adaptation therefore can be understood as an individual's rejection of such and the mediation of vulnerability to radicalisation.

The literature on attitudes shows how individual attributes, culture, and group identity have all been applied to further the understanding around intolerance. Likewise, when considering risk and protective factors to radicalisation a multifaceted approach has been applied. In relation to risk factors, the World Organisation for Resource Development and Education (WORDE, 2016) propose a cluster model which includes five potential risk factors

that may play a role in the radicalisation of an individual; ideology, beliefs, and values, political grievances, economic factors, sociological motivators, and psychological factors. Whilst some of the factors included appear to be directed towards specific ‘types’ of terrorism, the model is useful for understanding how building resilience at distinct levels of the individual, community and nation has potential value. Specifically, ideology, beliefs, and values, and other psychological factors relate to building resilience at the level of the individual. Sociological motivators on the other hand relate to building resilience at the level of the community, and economic factors and political grievances may have some relation to resilience at the level of the nation. With research showing how protective resources directed towards addressing these factors can diminish negative outcomes, such as radicalisation (Weine & Ahmed, 2012). This supports an argument for interventions to target individuals and communities *prior* to any indication of radicalisation, and at the point whereby attitudes of intolerance against the values of the majority may be held.

Ideologies, beliefs, and values includes the notion that a group or nation poses a threat to another group, in an ‘us vs. them’ world view, and the justification of using violence is to bring about change that mediates the threat. Perhaps most important to the current research is the world view factor. Violent extremists’ world view is often framed within simple binary us vs. them, right vs. wrong, good vs. evil. Unlike pluralism, which much of the western world aspires to prescribe to, and where multiple values are considered equal and respected, extremist beliefs are underpinned by value monism (Liht & Savage, 2013). Underpinning value monism is the inability to make trade-offs between values that compete with one’s own, resulting in low complexity reasoning (Liht & Savage, 2013). Such myopic reasoning often promotes intolerance of others that do not ascribe to their belief structures and is used to justify violence against such

individuals. Psychological factors include the presence of post-traumatic stress disorder, mental illness, sense of purpose, and the need for adventure. The need to provide one's life with purpose and meaning is behind the idea that some individuals become extremists as part of a quest for significance (Kruglanski, Chen, Dechesne, Fishman, & Orehek, 2009). Further support for this comes from research that experiencing circumstances that dissolve an individual's sense of self-worth and self-efficacy plays a major role in cultivating support for violent extremism (Lyons-Padilla, Gelfand, Mirahmadi, Farooq, & van Egmond, 2015).

Sociological motivators include alienation and acculturation problems, marginalisation and discrimination, and kinship ties. The role of such factors, particularly the role of kinship ties, is well documented within the literature (Davis et al., 2004; Saltman & Smith, 2015). Such ties can both act as a protective factor (Ellis & Abdi, 2017) and exert peer pressure for an individual to support extremist activities (Bakker, 2006). Research also shows that those who are socially alienated, and lack a sense of belonging are at greater risk of being recruited by violent extremists (Kruglanski et al., 2009; Sageman, 2011; Saltman & Smith, 2015).

The belief that individuals have in the policies and practices of a state are also often a major factor why individuals become radicalised. Grievances held against the government and the state, when not addressed, legitimises the use of violence to resolve those grievances in the eyes of extremists (Sprinzak, 1990). Economic factors, are among some of the most contested factors discussed here. However, research suggests that deprivation, either real or perceived, and the discrepancy between what people have and what they believe they are entitled to can be a prominent push factor towards extremism (Taspinar, 2009). Such feelings of deprivation can arise from perception of unfair allocation of resources by the government, and economic inequalities.

The idea of resilience being a useful concept to integrate into counter-extremism policy is not new, especially at the level of the individual (Bonnell et al., 2011) and the community (Ellis & Abdi, 2017; Rogers, 2008). Resilience in this vein has featured in policy documents for some time. Yet, specific conceptualisation and framing of resilience in this context is lacking, and an empirical evidence base to begin to build on such is, to the authors knowledge, absent, especially with a core focus on different resilient constructs. Such a reframing has already been proposed in a paper by Ellis and Abdi (2017), though at this stage this reframing is for community resilience only and does not extend to individual and national resilience.

Ellis and Abdi (2017) discuss in detail community resilience building as an intervention for violent extremism. They suggest ‘the challenge or threat can be understood as the potential for violent extremists to recruit individuals to their cause and potentially even engage in violence; successful adaptation to this threat would be a community that comes together in such a way that its members are no longer vulnerable to the threat’ (Ellis & Abdi, 2017, p. 291). In this vein, it is the authors contention that both individual resilience and national resilience may be operationalised under the same reframing. More specifically, in relation to individual resilience, the threat is the adoption of extremist attitudes and vulnerability to potential radicalisation. In terms of the positive adaptation that is key to existing definitions of individual resilience (Fraser et al., 1999) this can be understood as an individual’s rejection of such or a reduction of vulnerability to radicalisation. Similarly, in relation to national resilience, the threat or challenge is in the context of the wider network in which an individual and the communities to which they belong may be exposed to or recruited into extremism. Successful adaptation is therefore the nation coming together, formed by each community within and the individual which make up those communities, to reduce vulnerability of its members to the threat.

2.4 THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY

As discussed in Chapter one, the relationship between the two of the leading policy narratives is not at all clear, largely due to no substantive evaluations being conducted or facilitated on current counter-extremism and counter-terrorism interventions. Thomas (2014) discusses in detail how the separation of these two policies in the 2011 Prevent review was never practicable. Instead of a true separation, the two have continued to co-habit but have done so unequally arising in a problematic relationship (Thomas, 2014). As such, whilst the focus of the current research is on resilience and resilience building, it would be dangerous to undertake such an endeavour without also considering its once partner in crime, community cohesion. Whilst the community cohesion agenda may be continuing to take more of a back seat (Thomas, 2014), it is still very much out there and being implemented by agencies and local governing bodies. Moreover, because the relationship between the two policy narratives remains unclear to write off potential value in applying the two together would be premature. A more comprehensive understanding of the two concepts may provide better direction for how the two can work collaboratively.

2.4.1 The Community

The concept of community is one so ingrained in everyday life that it is often used without hesitation or conscious consideration of what it means. This is not only evident in everyday discourse, but also in research communities and policy circles alike. The operationalisation of community is often not at all clear. This has obvious implications for any findings that arise from such research and the comparisons that can, and have been made.

Likewise, when implementing policy on the ground, individuals need to be directed to the intended meaning of community.

After early preoccupations with the notion of community (Plant, 1974; 2009), theorising lost momentum until 1980's when the emphasis in sociology moved to an empirical approach to the study of communities and those in communities. Until then, community had largely been discussed as something in existence only outside of towns and cities (Tonnies, 1887). The consensus during this time was that the growth of capitalism, industrialisation and urbanisation was fundamentally changing society and was resulting in the loss of community. Moreover, during these early discussion's, revolution had been seen in Europe and there was a climate of fear that if individuals living in rural areas were freed from the social control of communities, they would rise and threaten the social order.

The change in perspectives in the 20th century, especially towards 1980's, saw a new focus in the way in which communities, national as well as local, were imagined (Anderson, 2006). Some researchers maintained a description of communities that referred solely to geographical place, for example an individual's neighbourhood (Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, & Wandersman, 1984). However, other researchers took a broader view, with Lee and Newby (1983) proposing a three-pronged definition. They suggested a community could be a 'geographical expression', a 'local social system', and 'identity and commonality' between a group of individuals. Researchers began to highlight the significance of modernity and how communication methods and technology were perhaps taking away the importance of the geographical boundaries. This led Keller (1968) to suggest 'there may be a shift from a neighbouring of place to a neighbouring of taste' (p. 61). Reflecting the idea that the identity and commonality of groups was not simply bound by location. The idea of communities having an

identity and its members a commonality also underpinned the thinking of Anthony Cohen. Though Cohen (2013) saw local communities as symbolic constructions, with the notion of community underpinned by two central ideas. Firstly, that the individuals in a community have something in common that distinguishes them from members of other groups, and secondly there is an opposition of one community to others. This perspective placed emphasis on the meanings people attach to communities and the way in which they define boundaries, including some and excluding others as opposed to having rootedness in local social relations as previously seen (Charles & Davies, 2005). Researchers began to focus on the symbolic constructions that linked them to ideas surrounding belongingness and personal identity or identities (Davies & Jones, 2003).

Such conceptualisations arose from the criticisms around definitions that solely referred to geographic boundaries and related assumptions between place and community (Charles & Davies, 2005). Supporting the idea that the historically rooted local community conceptualization could no longer be defended and that belonging is not always to a fixed community (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005). Instead, the differences in the way people construct community or communities should be recognised (Charles & Davies, 2005) as had previously been highlighted by Cohen (2013). That is not to say that communities cannot be geographically based, there may well still be a strong sense of place-based community among some individuals (Charles & Davies, 2005). Research has shown that especially among older individuals, a place-based conceptualisation was still held by defining their community as a village, part of the street, a housing estate, or an established residential area (Charles & Davies, 2005). Other ways in which individuals have been found to discuss community are in relation to

their memberships to organisations (Charles & Davies, 2005), engaging in collective learning (Wegner, 1999), and religious beliefs (Karner & Parker, 2014).

Some researchers have argued that the concept of community should be done away with altogether, suggesting that, even aside from the definitional disparities, the very ideal is oppressive. That is, that it requires the bounding and homogenising of social identities and relations (Young, 1990). Whilst such a move is extreme, it reflects the lack of clarity and a lack of recognition of the dynamic world in defining community. Defining community solely based on geographical location is reductionist and ignores the subjective nature of community. Yet being too broad with definitions leads to a lack of precision when driving research forward.

Studdert (2005) suggests, on the back of a substantial body of work, that we should locate all social forms including the state as communities. Further, we should locate a web of relations as fundamental to our being-ness which should underpin any investigation into community and sociality. This inter-relational approach is positioned under the assumption that all elements within sociality are identifiable only through hybridity and linkage. Moving towards an understanding whereby community is not solely defined by either objective or subjective factors but a combination of both, underpinned by the relations and networks individuals build within these.

Beyond defining community, research has for some time sought to explore the community and the individuals within such. Social psychologists have emphasised the importance of psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Sarason, 1974). Psychological sense of community builds on the idea of group cohesiveness and seeks to identify the factors at play when an individual is part of a 'community' and feels part of that 'community'. McMillan and Chavis (1986) propose four elements that underpin this sense of

community; membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and shared emotional connection. Psychological sense of community is discussed as relating to both subgroups such as religion or for example, animal rights activists, which are formed or exist based on shared characteristics, and also to larger encompassing groups for which many subgroups may belong to such as nationality. The concept of psychological sense of community has been used to inform many community-based interventions, especially in relation to crime (for example, see Aiyer, Zimmerman, Morrel-Samuels & Reischl, 2014), highlighting the view of communities as being critical to violence prevention across a spectrum of violence types (Ellis & Abdi, 2017). Community-based interventions also draw upon the importance of developing strong bonds in preventing violence. Social control theory, introduced by Hirschi (1969), proposes the presence of strong familial, community and societal bonds are fundamental in violence prevention. Such bonds not only convey the social norms and expectations but also act as a motivator for abiding by those norms. Of course, extremism itself and the attitudes underpinning such is partly defined upon the basis of a violation of social norms (Kruglanski, Gelfand, Belanger, Sheveland, Hetiarachchi & Gunaratna, 2014). It is therefore likely that the conveyance of social norms and expectations are particularly important in the countering of extremism. Moreover, there is a widely held belief that ‘communities are the long-term solution to terrorism’ (Briggs, 2010, p.981). The theory developed by psychiatrist and former CIA officer Marc Sageman (2004; 2008) which has become to be known as the ‘bunch of guys’ theory, argues informal social networks, peer groups and friendship and kinship bonds are the ‘spaces’ where radicalisation is most likely to occur particularly among the young. It is no surprise then, as shown in detail in Chapter one, that current counter-extremism and counter-terrorism strategies target such ‘spaces’ to identify vulnerable individuals within them and target them accordingly.

The National Institute of Justice (2015) conducted an analysis of the research base from the UK, USA, and Canada in relation to the risk and protective factors specific to violent extremism. They found that the main underpinning motivation for conducting such research was to improve the strategies and interventions implemented to counter extremism. One of the key findings was the context dependent nature of relevant factors, further specifying the importance of understanding the community in understanding how these risk and protective factors emerge and are maintained. Perliger and Pedahzur (2016) propose a theoretical approach focusing on the role of communities in radicalisation, including the specific characteristics that make some communities more prone to engaging in religiously motivated violence, under what conditions such groups radicalise and what leads some individuals within these communities to participate in acts of violence. They propose in response to some threat by an outgroup, it is the way in which leaders of that community frame such a threat that accelerates processes of radicalisation and increases the likelihood of members within that community engaging in acts of violence. There is some support for this idea, with some Muslim leaders for example, blaming Imams for radicalisation. Abdul Quddus, argued that in somewhat ignorance, many religious clerics ‘fail to grasp the impact of their teaching on impressionable young minds’ (ITV, 2015). Perliger and Pedahzur (2016) further argue that although a community may be radicalised, the shift to violence occurs within smaller social-networks within the broader community. It is those individuals who exhibit the strongest identification with the community’s values and extreme alienation of the outside world who are more likely to engage in violence. However, although promising, and offering heuristic value, this theory has only been tested using a case study of Jewish terrorism in Israel, which holds obvious issues when trying to generalise to extremism and terrorism in general. Especially in consideration of the criticism proposed of previous

approaches regarding contextual importance as cited by Perliger and Pedahzur (2016) themselves.

2.4.2 Community Cohesion

Many recent discussions on the role of the community highlight the positive outcomes of such. With research finding community participation increases quality of life (Nussbaum, 1999), enhances social wellbeing (Keyes, 1998), promotes social empowerment (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990), and reinforces social capital (Putnam, 2000). Given the importance of the community, and the role it may play in an individual's behaviour as previously discussed, it is not surprising that it is the focus of numerous intervention strategies directed by government's across Europe and North America (Keating & Benton, 2013). Within the literature, cohesion typically refers to shared values, solidarity, and mutual trust among members (Browning, Dietz, & Feinberg, 2004; Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001).

Cohesion is an underpinning factor of collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). According to collective efficacy theory, cohesion is a contextual precursor to control (Sampson et al., 1997) which is supported by numerous studies which have found these two to be correlated (Brisson & Altschul, 2011; Morenoff et al., 2001; Sampson et al., 1997, 1999). However, it is important to treat these two dimensions as separate factors, because factors that are related to collective efficacy are not always related to both cohesion and control (Twigg, Taylor, & Mohan, 2010). Moreover, the very perception of social cohesion alone can have important implications (Gau, 2014). Gau (2014) argues that the true value of cohesion lies in the ability to empower residents to act themselves, contributing to the safety and security of the

neighbourhood. Moreover, cohesion can bring together residents, forging strong bonds between them and supporting informal social control (Steenbeek & Hipp, 2011).

2.4.3 The Suspect Community

Discussion about ‘the suspect community’ has largely arisen from the debate as to whether anti-terror laws impact on certain minority groups more than others. Yet the debate predates the current ‘focus’ of such anti-terror laws. During the 1990’s, Paddy Hillyard’s discussed this effect in relation to the Prevention of Terrorism Acts and the impact they had upon ‘the Irish’ in Britain (Hillyard, 1993). The concept has since been applied by others to discuss the effect of current anti-terror laws (Awan, 2012; Hickman et al., 2012; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009). Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) who, among others, have applied the concept of the ‘suspect community’ to current issues in Britain define it as referring to ‘a sub-group of the population that is singled out for state attention as being “problematic”. Specifically, in terms of policing, individuals may be targeted, not necessarily because of suspected wrong doing, but simply because of their presumed membership to the group. Race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, language, accent, dress, political ideology, or any combination of these factors may serve to delineate the sub-groups characteristics’ (p.649). They argue that counter-terrorism affects social identities and in fact, produces a sense of community. A community that shares persecution, whether real or perceived, and may in fact lead to further segregation as opposed to integration.

In their comprehensive discussion of how Hillyard’s work holds new relevance, Pantzais and Pemberton (2009) suggest that since the 1990s there has been a new security environment which is a response to what has been termed ‘new terrorism’. ‘New terrorism’ is differentiated

from 20th century terrorism in that it constitutes ‘different actors, motivations, aims, tactics and actions’ (Spencer, 2006, p.93). Importantly, Pantzais and Pemberton (2009) highlight that within this new terrorism discourse, it is ‘Islamic fanaticism’ that is posed as the greatest threat to Western liberal democracies. Though, either through real or imagined labelling of Muslim communities as suspect, Pantzais and Pemberton (2009) argue that rather than an enhancement of national security, what has resulted is a corrosion of relations between those communities and agencies. Thus, giving rise to arguments as to whether community cohesion as a political discourse is an appropriate intervention at all. What such interventions may do, is further segregate communities and strengthen physical and abstract boundaries rather than build bridges.

In response to the Pantzais and Pemberton (2009) article Greer (2010) argues that the suspect community thesis should be rejected by social science and policy makers, in favour of an account pertaining to the relations between Muslims and the United Kingdom’s anti-terror laws, that is grounded in greater accuracy and that is more productive. Greer’s (2010) position appears to rest around two suggestions for the suspect community theory to be taken seriously. Firstly, credible evidence that shows the majority of Muslims in the UK have been under official suspicion. Secondly, that being a Muslim is enough to arouse suspicion on a systematic basis. Though, as highlighted in a subsequent response by Pantzais and Pemberton (2011), such suggestion somewhat ignores the complexities of social phenomena. No attempt is made by Greer (2010) to explicate what exactly he means by ‘official suspicion’ or why this should be prioritised. Whilst embarking on an in-depth discussion of the right and wrongs of the state is beyond the scope of the current thesis and does not offer a useful line of discussion in relation to the thesis aims, it is important to highlight that the idea of the ‘suspect community’ is a

contentious one. That said, it should not be ignored, at the very least it emphasises the potential implications of getting policy wrong.

Both resilience and community cohesion, to some extent, place responsibility on civilians and local actors to contribute towards combatting extremism. Counter-extremism measures are framed by the local actors implementing them (O'Toole et al., 2013). However, with the threat of radicalisation and engagement in terrorism at the level of prevention being hard to spot, in the absence of any 'terrorist profile', this responsibility may not be readily embraced as a result of a number of barriers. Yet, empowering citizens and local actors to get involved should not be dropped for this reason. Despite criticisms around the responsibility which has been placed on such individuals as teachers, nurses, and other local actors by way of statutory obligation (Lowe, 2017), it is likely such individuals who are best placed to spot such risk. Instead, policy should seek to provide a more comprehensive picture of what is meant by resilience and community cohesion, how these may operate together, and the basis for implementation rather than strict rules which overwhelm individuals with no prior experience of such issues.

2.5 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of the research is to investigate resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, political and religious factors, and how these relate to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. The research aim is sub-divided into three areas to generate data that will inform overall aim.

Firstly, the research aims to explore the three resilience constructs and the role of the community. To achieve this several objectives are proposed to guide the data collection and analyses. The first objective is to investigate the relationships between the three resilience

constructs. The second objective is to investigate demographic differences in each of the three resilience constructs. The last objective under this aim is to investigate how community factors are related to the three resilience constructs. This investigation will allow the researcher to determine how resilience operates at the level of the individual, community, and nation within the current sample. It will also allow the researcher to determine how community related factors relate to the three resilience constructs.

Secondly, the research aims to explore attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. To achieve this the following objectives are proposed. The first objective is to investigate the demographic differences in attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. The second object proposed to achieve this aim is to investigate the relationship between political and religious factors, and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. This investigation will allow the researcher to understand how such attitudes are related to not only demographics but also political and religious factors in line with previous research.

Thirdly, the research aims to investigate how resilience constructs and the role of the community relate to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. To achieve this aim, the following two objectives are proposed. Firstly, to investigate the relationship between the three resilience constructs and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. Secondly, to investigate the relationship between community factors and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. This understanding can be used to draw inferences on how such concepts may be best applied within critical social policy.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

It is not at all clear that standard methodologies, at least when applied in their standard forms, are appropriate in the study of extremism. There has been a wealth of studies published in the areas of terrorism, radicalisation, and extremism, though a persistent criticism of this body of literature is that it is based on weak methodology and is empirically poor. There are clusters of excellence meeting high scholarly standards, however many studies within the area of radicalisation are dominated by qualitative approaches and the reliance on secondary source data (Neumann & Kleinmann, 2013). Yet more than ever, there is a need to move away from purely theoretical and conceptual publications and begin to draw conclusions based on empirical data on which comparisons can be made. Even if, at this stage, this is only to explore, guide and direct the field into greater scientific study of such a phenomenon.

Moreover, counter-extremism policy within the United Kingdom currently adopts the concept of resilience and resilience building. At present it is not clear what evidence base, if any, this is based on. Nor is it adequately conceptualised what is meant by resilience in this context. It is the author's contention that this hinders the clear interpretation and the implementation of such policy blueprints at the grassroots level. Consequently, the methodologies employed are directed towards collecting data that is expected to provide unique insights into how resilience constructs operate within a sample of the United Kingdom population. Achieving a greater understanding of resilience constructs and how these may be of use within a critical social policy

context. Whilst it is recognised that such exploratory research should be followed up by more directed and detailed methodologies such as applied research focused on key concepts, in pursuit of a resolution to this practical issue is of great value in this area.

This chapter describes how the research design will support an investigation of resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, religiosity, and attitudes of intolerance. The research question aims to understand the role of resilience, at the level of the individual, community and nation, and how community cohesion has influenced extremist attitudes against social norms.

To underpin an exploration of this relationship between constructs related to existing counter-strategies and extremist attitudes with empirical analysis, the research adopted a quantitative approach. In this chapter, the main methodologies are described alongside how they will be operationalised and the logic that underpins the research process with relevance to the current thesis. The aims of this research are deliberately broad and the methodology developed reflects this scope to enable an exploration of the data in this context. The chapter is structured under three main sub-chapters; 1) an overall consideration of the project in relation to the research process, aims and objectives, 2) the methodology specific to the pilot study in terms of sample, data collection, administration method, measurement of constructs, ethical considerations, and 3) the methodology specific to the main project in terms of sample, data collection, administration method, measurement of constructs, ethical considerations and data analysis.

3.2 OVERARCHING RESEARCH DESIGN

The thesis aims are focussed towards establishing broad trends in society. As such it is necessary to treat the phenomena as measurable variables. Such a process has been criticised for simplifying ideas, as complex issues are being expressed as a discrete social reality (Oliver, 2010). This expression of something in simple, measurable terms is known as reification. However, despite criticisms, reification is necessary to try and develop a greater understanding of society and express ideas in a way that is easy to understand. Something that is even more pertinent in applied research where the impact lies with those in practice who require easily digestible and clear conclusions (Wandersman et al., 2008).

To support an investigation of resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, political, and religious factors, data was collected directly from participants constituting the sample relevant to the research aims. The problematic nature of holding information on individuals to enable contact at different points in time, especially when investigating sensitive subjects such as contentious attitudes meant that a cross-sectional design, proportionate to the nature of the research was adopted.

The survey approach to data collection is used extensively in the behavioural sciences as an efficient information gathering tool to gather large amounts of information across issues (Gravetter & Forzano, 2012). One of the main strengths of the survey approach is its flexibility. Designing a questionnaire with carefully constructed questions and psychological measures makes it possible to obtain self-reported responses about attitudes, opinions, personal characteristics, and behaviours (Baker & Foy, 2008). It is not possible to directly observe the attitudes and opinions of an individual. By utilising a survey approach to data collection, the researcher does not have to wait until a certain behaviour or response occurs. Furthermore, it

allows researchers to collect data on a range of different variables which are often difficult to describe in any other way. De Vaus (2002) highlights that the survey approach is widely regarded as being inherently related to positivism and deductive approaches. A survey approach to data collection was adopted in the present research given the aim of this thesis requires the exploration of relationships and reproduction of models based on these relationships, adopting a positivist and deductive approach.

Given that this thesis takes a deductive reasoning approach, with a core purpose of determining the applicability of diverse theoretical propositions, quantitative data collection is vital for the investigation of the proposed relationships between study variables. A questionnaire survey is therefore adopted to collect the appropriate data (Blair, Czaja & Blair, 2013). Using a questionnaire to collect survey data allows for a relatively structured process of information collection from individuals (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Whilst there are different types of questionnaire, many are designed to be completed by the respondent themselves (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, & Birstow, 2015). Both open and closed ended questions may be utilised in the questionnaire design. As many of the constructs to be measured within this thesis are already established, and the research seeks to obtain quantifiable data, close-ended questions are utilised for the core variables and the demographics. More specifically, the constructs were measured using scales already developed and validated. Such scales use Likert point scaling, where the ratings of items are combined to obtain a total score (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008).

3.3 PILOT STUDY: RESEARCH CONTEXT

A pilot test represents a small-scale study designed to test the questionnaire that is going to be used. Firstly, the pilot enables the researcher to assess the readability and ease of completion for respondents. Secondly, pilot testing allows the researcher to make an initial assessment of the questions' validity and reliability (Saunders et al., 2015). The main aim of the pilot test was to examine these factors in relation to the National Resilience Scale that had not previously been applied to a sample within the United Kingdom. The researcher wanted to ensure the items were meaningful and understandable by respondents within the United Kingdom.

3.3.1 Sample

There are a range of sampling techniques that may be applied to collect data to inform the aims of the research. Such techniques fall within two categories; probability and non-probability. Probability sampling refers to techniques which apply statistical theory and are designed to obtain samples that are highly representative of any given population (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Non-probability sampling refers to techniques that are based on personal judgement or convenience and as such the probability of any member of the population being included is unknown (Yeager, Krosnick, Chang, Javitz, Levendusky, Simpser & Wang, 2011). Of course, the systematic techniques associated with probability sampling lead to more robust methods and a greater assurance that the population is represented within any given sample. However, they can be costly both in resource and time. Within the pilot study a non-probability convenience sample was selected in which was considered proportional to the study's aims. The inclusion criteria stipulated that participants must be over the age of 18 and be resident in the United Kingdom at

the time of participation. A sample of 134 undergraduate students were recruited for the initial piloting of the three resilience scales together. Mean age of participants was 23.02 ($SD = 6.90$) and the majority of participants were female ($n = 114$).

3.3.2 Data Collection

There are various methods available for data collection. Hadre, Crowson, Xie and Ly (2007) discuss three broad methods utilised by researchers and practitioners. Paper-based administration refers to the traditional use of printed questionnaires whereby a hardcopy is given to each respondent for completion using a pen or pencil, subsequently being handed back to the researcher. Computer-based administration refers to the use of tools, generally in the form of self-contained software, which enable researchers to replicate paper-based methods. This method is generally implemented in closed-system environments where the software is run on each computer for respondents. The third broad method is web-based administration. Here, researchers produce digital versions of questionnaires that respondents can link into from any location.

As the sample for the pilot study were all in one location, a paper-based method of administration was adopted to allow students to complete the questionnaire without having to obtain the link and then log on to a computer. Data were collected between January and February 2016 at the University of Huddersfield, utilising a sample of undergraduate students who were all enrolled on a Psychology course at the University of Huddersfield. Opportunity sampling was utilised whereby the researcher asked if students would complete the questionnaire after a scheduled lecture and then hand the questionnaire back to the researcher. The questionnaire was

completed individually in a group-based setting with all students who were asked participating. Data were collected using a questionnaire consisting of 58 items (see Appendix II).

3.3.3 Measures

Self-report measures have numerous advantages, with one of the most important being their ability to assess psychological constructs in an economical way (Manstead & Semin, 2001). Three scale constructs were used to assess the associations between the three levels of resilience alongside demographics. Both the Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment Measure, CCRAM (Leykin et al., 2013) and the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC, Connor & Davidson, 2003), short version (Green et al., 2014) have previously been tested for reliability among UK samples and are established measures. The National resilience scale (Kimhi, Goroshit & Eshel, 2013) has previously been tested for reliability, validity, and dimensionality, but not on a UK sample. All participants also completed a demographics questionnaire.

Demographics Questionnaire. A demographics questionnaire was developed to gather information surrounding participants age, gender, educational attainment level, occupation, country of birth, parental country of birth, religious orientation, and religiosity. The demographics questionnaire consisted of 9 items in total.

National Resilience. The current scale utilised was the version by Kimhi et al., (2013). The scales consisted of 25 items pertaining to trust in the prime minister and the government, patriotism, coping with national crises, social justice, and trust in national institutions. The 6-point response scale ranges from 1= very strongly disagree to 6=very strongly agree. The scale's reliability was found to be highly reliable in both studies (25 items; $\alpha=.89$ & $\alpha = .92$ retrospectively).

Community resilience. Community resilience was measured by a short version of the community resilience scale, the Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment Measure (CCRAM) (Leykin et al., 2013). This scale consists of 10 items pertaining to identification with one's community, trust in municipal authorities and confidence in the community's ability to withstand adversities. As measured by the CCRAM, community resilience is underpinned by five factors; leadership, collective efficacy, preparedness, community attachment, and social trust. The 5-point scale ranges from 1 = does not agree at all to 5 = totally agree. The CCRAM is an empirically based instrument which is recognised within the literature as being a valid tool for assessing community resilience (Bonanno et al., 2015; Cutter, 2016; Cohen et al., 2013). The wording of items was adapted in line with the review of the literature on defining community. Rather than being directive to place based communities the wording was changed to refer to any community the respondent belonged to. For example, 'residents are aware of their roles in an emergency situation' became 'members are aware of their roles in an emergency situation. The scale's reliability was found to be highly reliable in both studies (10 items; both $\alpha=.88$).

Individual resilience. Individual resilience was measured by the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC, Connor & Davidson, 2003), short version (Green et al., 2014). The scale consists of 14 statements which require the respondent to indicate on a scale of 1-7 the extent to which they agree or disagree with each in relation to how they have felt in the last month. The scale's reliability was found to be highly reliable in both studies (14 items; $\alpha=.88$ & $\alpha = .91$ retrospectively).

3.3.4 Instructions to Participants

Participants were provided with a detailed information sheet (see Appendix I), which they were encouraged to read in detail. They were also told verbatim the study's aims and that they were participating in a pilot study. Specifically, participants were informed that they would be required to answer questions relating to resilience alongside their demographic profile.

Participants were notified that there was no time limit though the questionnaire should take approximately 30 minutes to complete. Clear statements regarding anonymity and the right to withdraw were provided. Due to the need to maintain anonymity of participants they were informed that the right to withdraw could only be exercised up to the point of submitting their final answers, after which it would not be possible to remove their completed responses.

Participants were then instructed to read in full the consent form and sign this as confirmation of their consent. On completion of the questionnaire participants were provided with a debriefing sheet (see Appendix III) and asked if they had any comments about the questionnaire.

Participants feedback was positive and whilst most stated there were many thought-provoking items, they understood the questions and felt comfortable answering them.

3.3.5 Ethical Considerations

Psychological researchers have a duty to remain aware of the moral and political climate and assess the possible social effects of the research they are conducting. Alongside such responsibilities there are ethical principles devised and detailed by both the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2009) and the American Psychological Association (APA, 2002) that should be adhered to. Prior to participating students were provided with a detailed information sheet and itemised consent form to ensure they were fully informed about the study prior to taking part (see

Appendix IV). Within the consent form participants were assured of their anonymity and that no personal identifying data would be recorded. Participants were also informed of their right to withdraw and the limitations of this right. That is, due to the need to ensure anonymity, and thus minimise issues around social desirability, participants were only able to withdraw by failing to complete the questionnaire and up until the point of submitting the questionnaire. A full verbal debrief was provided by the researcher to participants of study one. This included a discussion about the research and the exact aims, also allowing participants to ask any questions.

Participants were also provided with a detailed debrief form to take away which provided them with contact details in the event of any further questions arising. Prior to the commencement of study one, the proposal was subject to the scrutiny of the University of Huddersfield School of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Panel (SREP). A detailed application, adhering to all relevant ethical guidelines outlined within the British Psychological Society's (BPS) Code of Practice for Human Research (BPS, 2009) was submitted on 2nd December 2015 and subsequently approved by the SREP panel on 8th January 2016 (see Appendix V).

3.3.6 Feedback and Changes from the Pilot Study Phase

Following the piloting of the three resilience scales the feedback received and further reviewing of the literature led to a number of changes to the questionnaire. Firstly, the participant information sheet (see Appendix I) indicated to participants the research was related to emergency situations as this had previously been the focus of resilience implications in relation to extremism and terrorism. However, the researcher wanted to shift this focus and reframe resilience to understand resilience more generally, not just in emergency situations.

Consequently, the wording of the information sheet was changed to reflect this, minimising the impact of any pre-conceived beliefs about the aims of the research (see Appendix VI).

Changes to the questionnaire were also made to reflect the authors contention about the importance of the meaning of community to the respondent themselves, arising from further review of the literature and considerations of community in today’s society. That is, no longer is it appropriate to presume an individual considers the community in which they reside as the main community they identify with. Specifically, the wording of items 4, 6, 8, and 10 was amended to be applicable to a range of communities rather than solely focused on geographically based communities (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

Pilot item wording with amended version

Pilot Item	Amended Item
4. I am proud to tell others where I live	4. I am proud to tell others which community I belong to
6. I trust the local decision makers	6. I trust the main decision makers in the community
8. Residents are aware of their roles in an emergency situation	8. Members are aware of their roles in an emergency situation
10. Residents in my community trust each other	10. Members in my community trust each other

3.4 POST-PILOT STUDY PHASE: RESEARCH CONTEXT

The following section details the research context of the post-pilot study data collection phase. It is within the main data set that the constructs in question will be fully explored. Within the post-pilot study research phase, the resilience constructs were applied alongside questions

relating to community and measures of religiosity, religious fundamentalism and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm in line with the literature reviewed.

3.4.1 Sample

As discussed previously, there are various sampling techniques broadly categorised as probability and non-probability methods. A mixed methods approach to sampling was used to obtain responses from 355 individuals across the United Kingdom for the post-pilot study research phase. Participants were required to be over the age of 18 and must have been a resident of the United Kingdom at the time of completing the questionnaire. Mean age of participants was 33.35 ($SD = 13.34$), with a higher proportion of female respondents ($n = 232$) than male respondents ($n = 123$).

3.4.2 Data Collection

Even before the invention of the World Wide Web, researchers were discussing how computers could aid data collection in the social sciences (Kiesler & Sproull, 1986). Since then, the massive interconnection that has resulted from the development and uptake in use of the internet has made it possible to use the internet for all kinds of research (Fraleley, 2004; Goldberg, Ralston, Hirsch, Hoath, & Ahmed, 2003; Nosek, et al., 2002; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). Whilst there are multiple reasons why collecting data using the internet may be of interest to researchers (Buchanan & Smith, 1999; Schmidt, 1997), one of the major incentives is the provision of access to samples beyond those that would otherwise be available. Furthermore, the efficiency to which this can be done and the low resource costs of doing so are unlikely to be matched by traditional methods of data collection (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava & John, 2004; Kraut et al., 2004). Yet

not all researchers are supportive of such methods and as such they have been met with their fair share of suspicion and scrutiny (Azar, 2000; Birnbaum, 2004; Buchanan, 2000; Johnson, 2000, 2001; Reips, 2000; Smith & Leigh, 1997). There are a few challenges posed by using such a platform for the collection of data. One of the biggest considerations to be made is the impact on data quality. Numerous researchers have argued that conducting web-based research can make generalisation of findings problematic (Couper, 2000; Robinson, Neustadtl, & Kestenbaum, 2002; Smith, 2002). Though it arguably obtains a larger and more diverse sample than research conducted on students, on whom much psychological theory rests (Kraut et al., 2004). To address the criticisms of internet methods, Gosling et al., (2004) conducted comparative analyses with traditional paper-and-pencil methods. They found that internet-based methods are at least as diverse as many of the samples already utilised in psychological research and are of at least as good quality. From their in-depth analysis they concluded that internet methods are not as flawed as some researchers believe, and whilst they are not free from methodological constraints, nor are traditional paper-based methods. They do however highlight that traditional methods should not be abandoned, instead there is room for both in researchers' toolbox.

Whilst, web-based surveys have the strength of collecting data from samples quickly and with a far more minimal cost than traditional paper-based methods (Schonlau, Fricker & Elliot, 2002), it was also important that those who may not be exposed to online links were not excluded from the research. As such both web-based survey distribution and paper-based survey distribution was utilised for the post-pilot study data collection phase. Overall, mixed method administration has been found to produce the greatest response rate over any single mode of administration (Greenlaw & Brown-Welty, 2009).

In summary, data was collected utilising a mixed methods administration approach from August 2016 to May 2017. Data were collected using a questionnaire consisting of 99 questions (see Appendix VII). Paper-based administration was used to collect data from 57 individuals on various days of the week in Huddersfield town centre using an opportunity sampling method. This involved the research approaching members of the public and asking if they would be willing to take part. For the web-based administration, which was used to collect data from 298 individuals, a questionnaire was constructed in Qualtrics online survey software (Qualtrics, Provo, UT). As in the pilot study the inclusion criteria were that the respondent was residing in the United Kingdom at the time of participation and were aged 18 or over. For the online distribution of the questionnaire, this was assumed by stating clearly that respondents must be over the age of 18, though it should be noted however, there was some risk that participants under the age of 18 could have participated and stated an incorrect age.

3.4.3 Capturing the Meaning of Community

After reviewing the literature, presented in Chapter 2, it is clear that community lacks an accepted definition that is relevant to today's society within the United Kingdom. In part, this may be due to the dynamic nature of the concept of community, especially in a post-modern world. Therefore, rather than assuming the meaning of community to any of the respondents, several questions were asked within the demographics section to gain an insight into what community meant to that individual. This goes beyond previous studies that have either assumed or imposed a conceptualisation of community, generally that of community referring to the geographical location in which an individual resides.

The first question respondents were asked was ‘What is the main community you identify with?’. This was the only open-ended question asked in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to base their subsequent answers regarding community on this community they had identified rather than assuming a geographically bound community.

To explore community further, respondents were asked to identify ‘type of community’. This question required respondents to consider, out of five community types, which was the most salient to their identified community. The first type was ‘interest’, that is ‘a community of people who share the same interest or passion’. The second was ‘action’, that is ‘a community of people trying to bring about change’. The third was ‘place’, that is ‘a community of people brought together by geographical boundaries’. The fourth was ‘practice’, that is ‘a community of people in the same profession or whom undertake the same activities’. Finally, the fifth was ‘circumstance’, that is ‘a community of people brought together by external events/ situations’. Respondents were also given the option of ‘other’ in which they could subsequently chose another community type if they felt none of the options best represented the community they identified.

To assess cohesiveness of this identified community, respondents were asked ‘Do members of this community mostly help each other out or go their own way?’ with a dichotomous response selection.

Lastly, respondents were asked ‘what is the size of this community?’, for which three response options were given (*small – up to 5000, medium – 5001 – 10000, and large – 10000 or more*).

3.4.4 Capturing Attitudes of Intolerance Against the Social Norm

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, research has consistently demonstrated a link between those attitudes which are grounded in moral beliefs and behavioural consequences (Bloom, 2013; Morgan et al., 2010; Skitka & Bauman, 2008; Skitka, Bauman & Sargis, 2005; Wright et al., 2008). Consequently, the research sought to measure attitudes of intolerance by asking respondents their beliefs about equal rights as research has shown individuals use their beliefs about morality to evaluate such (Lewis & Rogers, 2002; Wilcox and Wolpert, 2000). Furthermore, attitudes which are grounded in moral beliefs have been found to be based more strongly on ideology, which some argue may render them more impactful on behaviour (Morgan et al., 2010). Empirical evidence supports the notion that Western societies, and the individuals within them, in general advocate the abstract goal of human rights (McFarland & Matthews, 2005). Researchers argue this, in part, reflects concerns in relation to social desirability, because support for equal rights is now an essential part of Western ideology. Abrams, Houston, Van de Vyver, and Vasilyevich (2015) argue that support for the human right to equality implies support for equality for everyone, regardless of race, gender, and sexual orientation among other factors. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Britain and its members take pride in these national characteristics which include a high level of tolerance for different individuals. Intolerance is typically conceptualised as ‘an unwillingness to extend expressive rights to disliked groups or individuals’ (Hurwitz & Mondak, 2002). As such, the current research sought to measure attitudes of intolerance that are no longer considered the social norm in relation to equal rights across four areas; race and ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and animal rights. Whilst a detailed review of the literature on such attitudes is provided in Chapter 2, an overview is provided in the

current section to give context to the way in which such attitudes were captured within the current research.

Race and Ethnicity. The move towards a multicultural society within Britain has, for some time, both been underpinned by and has continued to bring a change in attitudes towards the rights of different minority groups (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). Research has found explicit racial prejudice began to decline across the last few decades of the 20th century (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Various factors have contributed to such a decline, including the loss of legitimacy in arguments around white biological, economical, and cultural superiority (Ford, 2008), the loss of elite political support (Layton-Henry, 1992; Solomos, 1989), and the increased social contact with individuals of different ethnicities (Simpson, 2007). In an examination of the decline in racial prejudice in Britain, Ford (2008) found there was a significant shift in attitudes that occurred between the 1980s and 1990s. Further, Ford (2008) found that since the 1990s attitudes supporting the denial of equal rights of ethnic minorities has continued to decline, reflecting a shift in the social norm in relation to attitudes towards race. Yet there remains an undercurrent of persistent attitudes that are reflective of an intolerant mind-set towards racial diversity within Britain, often driving groups such as the British National Party (Ford & Goodwin, 2010) and the English Defence League (Treadwell & Garland, 2011). The English Defence League specifically orientating their main objective around standing up for traditional English values (Treadwell & Garland, 2011).

Gender. Historically, gender inequality has been prevalent in many areas of British society; voting, education, employment, and pay to name a few. Yet over the last fifty years women's rights have advanced enormously (Arat, 2015). At least, formal equality underpinned by legislation appears to have been achieved (Kelly, 2017). Research has found the majority of

individuals within Britain now explicitly endorse equal rights for both males and females (Abrams & Houston, 2006). Furthermore, gender equality is at the forefront of many peoples' minds, with stories of pay inequality often making headlines despite the first equal pay act being published in 1970 (Deakin, Butlin, McLaughlin & Polanski, 2015). Yet, it is well cited that equality laws are limited when it comes to implementing human rights agenda for social reform and it remains that some individuals still hold attitudes to the contrary of equal rights in relation to gender (Deakin et al., 2015).

Sexuality. Sexual prejudice has been defined as 'negative attitudes toward an individual because of her or his sexual orientation' (Herek, 2000, p.19). A greater acceptance in relation to the equal rights of individuals with different sexual orientations has led to a shift in the norm. Acceptance and support for equal rights, including change in laws such as those around marriage, have been internalized by many members of society (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1999; Herek, 2000; Sherrill & Yang, 2000; Yang, 1997). Consequently, it would be expected that in line with previous research, the majority of individuals would either respond neutrally or favourable to equal rights for LGBT individuals (Steffens, 2005).

Animal rights. Some argue that equal rights as applied to humans cannot be extended to non-human beings, for example a dog is unable to vote or make rational decisions (Singer, 1974). Yet attitudes towards animal rights constitute an important factor in today's culture, and animal rights movements are increasingly prevalent, showing significant similarities between those movements and human rights movements (Wrenn, 2014). Legislation within the United Kingdom has long held that it is in the public interest to protect animals. Further, within such legislation animals are recognised as sentient beings possessing individual characteristics (Nurse, 2016).

3.4.5 Measurement of Constructs

Self-report measures have numerous advantages, with one of the most important being their ability to assess psychological constructs in an economical way (Manstead & Semin, 2001). Several scale constructs were used to investigate resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, political and religious factors in attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

Demographics. The demographics questionnaire included age, gender, educational attainment, country of birth, parental country of birth, religious orientation, and political orientation. The demographics questionnaire consisted of 9 items in total.

Community. The community related questions consisted of 4 items. Each question as outlined in section 3.4.5 within this chapter, sought to elicit information about the respondent's community.

Individual Resilience. As in the pilot study, Individual resilience was measured by the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC, Connor & Davidson, 2003), short version (Green et al., 2014).

Community Resilience. As in the pilot study, Community resilience was measured by a short version of the community resilience scale developed by the Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment Measure (CCRAM) (Leykin et al., 2013).

National Resilience. As in the pilot study, the current National Resilience Scale was based on the earlier version by Kimhi et al., (2013).

Religiosity. Religiosity will be measured using The Centrality of Religiosity Scale (CRS) (Huber & Huber, 2012) which is a measure of the centrality, importance, or salience of religious

meanings in personality. This scale is an established measure of the centrality, importance, and salience of religiousness in a person. The interreligious version consists of 20 items across five dimensions; intellect, ideology, public practice, private practice, and experience. Respondents are asked to rate on 5-item scale. For example, ‘How often do you think about religious issues?’ (Intellect: 1 = *never*, 5 = *very often*), and ‘To what extent do you believe that God or something divine intervenes in your life?’ (Ideology: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much so*). Scores are then combined into a single reliable measure of the centrality of religiousness for each respondent.

Religious Fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism will be measured using The Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). This is a 12-item scale that requires respondents to respond, on an 8-point scale, as to how much they agree/disagree with the statements presented. For example, ‘God has given humanity a complete, unflinching guide to happiness and salvation, which must be followed’ (1 = *very strongly disagree*, 8 = *very strongly agree*). The revised scale was developed in response to a number of issues with the original Religious Fundamentalism Scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) including failure to measure all aspects of fundamentalism and its length. The revised scale was found to have greater internal consistency despite its reduction in length (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). Scores are combined into a single reliable measure, with higher scores indicating higher fundamentalism.

Attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. Measurement of attitude extremity is usually done by attitude rating scales which require respondents to place themselves on a scale in agreement or disagreement to a particular statement (Wojcieszak, 2010; 2012). The attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm questions were developed from the underpinnings of two previously used scales; the Ideological Extremity Scale (Wojcieszak, 2012)

and the Opinion Extremism Scale (Wojcieszak, 2010), and previous Likert scale measurement of equality attitudes (Abrams et al., 2015). The attitudes questions in the current study consisted of 4 items pertaining to levels of tolerance on several issues. The issues were selected from a review of the literature that were specific to the United Kingdom's current social norms; race and ethnicity, gender, LGBT, and animal rights. Respondents were required to indicate whether they supported or opposed each statement on a 10-point Likert scale (0 = *strongly oppose*, 10 = *strongly support*). Scores are then combined into a single measure, with higher scores indicating a greater extremity of attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm across the four issues.

3.4.6 Instructions to Participants

Participants were provided with a detailed information sheet (see Appendix VI). Participants were informed that they would be required to answer questions relating to resilience, community cohesion and religion alongside their attitudes towards various issues. Participants were notified that there was no time limit though the questionnaire should take approximately 30 minutes to complete. Clear statements regarding anonymity and right to withdraw were provided. Due to the need to maintain the anonymity of participants they were informed that the right to withdraw could only be exercised up to the point of submitting their final answers, after which it would not be possible to remove their completed responses. Participants were encouraged to take their time and consider carefully the questions presented to them. Further, they were reminded of the anonymity assurance to encourage honest responses. Within research, this is the most advocated method of minimising the risk of social desirability pressures (Meier, Emmons, Wallenstein, Quill, Morrison, & Cassel, 1998; Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986; Turnley &

Feldman, 2000). Participants were then instructed to read in full the consent form and were required to sign (paper-based administration) or select boxes (web-based administration) to give their consent. Only after the completion of all the questions were participants able to submit their responses which released the debriefing information sheet (see Appendix VII). If the participant chose to withdraw from the study the debriefing information sheet was released and they could not go back to the questionnaire.

3.4.7 Ethical Considerations

Prior to participating individuals were provided with either a detailed information sheet, or a digital version of the same information. Further, individuals were either provided with an itemized consent form, or a digital version which had to be physically agreed to prior to being taken to the questionnaire. This was to ensure they were fully informed about the study prior to taking part (see Appendix IX). As in the pilot data collection, participants were assured of their anonymity and that no personal identifying data would be recorded. To maintain true anonymity, not even the researcher could identify who the participants were (Polonsky, 1998). As such no issues of confidentiality arose as no confidential information was held on the participants of the study. Thus, waiving obligations under the Data Protection Act and Freedom of Information Act that may be a threat to the confidentiality and anonymity of study data. Participants were also informed of their right to withdraw and the limitations of this right. That is, due to the need to ensure anonymity, and thus minimize issues around social desirability, participants were only able to withdraw by failing to complete the questionnaire and up until the point of submitting the questionnaire. A full debrief form was provided to both those completing the paper-based questionnaire and its computerised counterpart. Due to the additional measures for the collection

of a more detailed data set to address the research aims and objectives, participants were offered specific advice and contact details should they feel they had been adversely affected by the completion of the questionnaire. Prior to the commencement of the main data collection, and subsequent studies, a second proposal was subject to the scrutiny of the University of Huddersfield School of Human and Health Sciences SREP. A detailed application, adhering to all relevant ethical guidelines outlined within the British Psychological Society's (BPS) Code of Practice for Human Research (BPS, 2014) was submitted on 13th June 2016 and subsequently approved by the SREP panel on 17th August 2016 (see Appendix X)

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis refers to the process of examining the data to address the research aims, questions and hypotheses (Creswell, 2005). The aim of this process is to determine whether the relationships between the observed variables are statistically significant. Statistical analysis can be described under two categories; descriptive statistics, the purpose of which is to organise and describe the data, and inferential statistics, the purpose of which is to draw conclusions about the conditions which exist in the population that is the study sample (King & Minimum, 2003). Another distinction within statistical analysis is that between univariate analyses, which involve the study of one variable, bivariate analyses, which investigates the association between two variables, and multivariate analyses, which investigates three or more variables or sets of variables simultaneously (Bernard, 2012). In the analytical sub-chapters that follow in Chapter 4 descriptive statistics will be presented initially to describe the data. Descriptives presented include means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum scores. Due to the non-normally

distributed data for some variables the mode and the median will be utilised to describe the data in line with convention.

Each sub-chapter then presents various bivariate and multivariate analyses to address the aims and objectives of the thesis. Table 3.2 presents an overview of the statistical analyses applied within each sub-chapter.

Table 3.2

Analytical approaches by sub-chapter

	Analysis Approaches
Study One - Analytical sub-chapter 1: <i>To explore the three resilience constructs and the role of the community</i>	Pearson’s Product-Moment Correlation Multiple Regression Multivariate Analysis of Variance
Study Two - Analytical sub-chapter 2: <i>To explore attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm</i>	Spearman’s Correlation Mann-Whitney U Kruskal-Wallis
Study Three - Analytical sub-chapter 3: <i>To investigate how resilience constructs and community factors relate to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm</i>	Spearman’s Correlation Kruskal-Wallis

3.6 SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGIES

This chapter sought to explicate in detail the methodological approaches of the current thesis, providing clear justifications grounded in methodological literature for why such approaches were selected. The research is based on a deductive approach, utilising quantitative

methods to address the aims and objectives which inform the overarching aim of the thesis. A cross-sectional survey design underpinned data collection, specifically a questionnaire that incorporates psychological scales to measure the constructs in question proportionate to the exploratory nature of the current research. The methods surrounding data collection are focussed towards collecting the necessary evidence to draw conclusions in relation to the thesis aim which is to investigate resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, political and religious factors, and how these relate to extreme attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. This Chapter also introduced the data analysis plan and outlined how the results will be presented, under three analytical sub-chapters, in the following Chapter in line with the main aims of this thesis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The overarching aim of the thesis was to investigate resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, political and religious factors, and how these relate to extreme attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. As explicated within Chapter 2, resilience has a rich history and has displayed great value as a construct. Yet within a policy context there is a serious lack of understanding of resilience constructs, especially when such policy is concerning attitudes and subsequent behaviour. Furthermore, it is not clear how resilience at the level of the individual, community and the nation is related to community factors and whether such narratives within policies are contradictory, in synergy or unrelated.

Within the following chapter the results relative to the overall aim and subsequent objectives of the thesis are reported and interpreted in line with convention. These results are reported in three consecutive sub-chapters, each addressing the three main aims of the research.

The first analytical sub-chapter sought to present the results of an exploration of the three resilience constructs and the role of community in resilience. To achieve this, analytical tests were conducted to determine the relationship between the three resilience constructs among both a preliminary student sample within the pilot study and a non-probability sample of the general population within the United Kingdom. Further, the relationship between demographics, political orientation, religiosity, and each resilience construct were examined to determine whether there were any significant differences in resilience at the level of the individual, community, and

nation. Finally, to determine the role of the community in resilience, tests of difference were conducted between each community related variable and each resilience scale.

The second analytical sub-chapter sought to explore attitudes of intolerance which are considered against the social norm. To achieve this, analytical tests were conducted to firstly determine whether the relationship between demographics and such attitudes. The relationships between such attitudes and political and religious differences, including religious fundamentalism were then investigated in line with the previous literature that indicated the importance of these factors in the formation and maintenance of such attitudes.

The final analytical sub-chapter sought to explore the role of the three resilience constructs and the role of the community in attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. To achieve this, analytical tests were conducted to determine the relationship between each resilience construct and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. Analytical tests were then conducted to determine the relationship between community variables and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

4.2 STUDY ONE: EXPLORING RESILIENCE AND THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

4.2.1 Study Aim and Objectives

Within the first analytical sub-chapter the results of the pilot study are presented which provided the researcher with an assessment of internal consistency, reliability, and an initial indication of the relationship between the three constructs. The main aim of the first analytical sub-chapter was to explore the three resilience constructs and the role of the community. To achieve this, the analyses sought to address the following objectives:

- 1) To investigate the relationships between the three resilience constructs.
- 2) To investigate the predictive ability of individual and community resilience of resilience at the level of the nation.
- 3) To investigate demographic differences in each of the three resilience constructs.
- 4) To investigate how community factors are related to the three resilience constructs.

4.2.2 Piloting of the Three Resilience Measures (Ryan, Ioannou & Parmak, 2018)

Prior to commencing the main data collection, the three resilience scales were piloted together on a sample of students in the United Kingdom (UK) to assess the questions' validity and reliability. Furthermore, this allowed the researcher to conduct an initial exploration of the associations between the three constructs. Specifically, the National Resilience Scale utilised had not previously been applied to a sample within the UK. To achieve this, firstly descriptive statistics for the three resilience scales are presented. Internal consistency was then analysed using Cronbachs α for all three scales. Finally, correlational analyses and a multiple regression were conducted to assess the relationship between each scale and every other.

4.2.2.1 Describing the sample

The majority of participants were born in the United Kingdom (84%). The age of participants ranged from 18 to 55 and mean age was 23.02 ($SD = 6.90$, see table 4.1). The gender distribution was 85.10% female respondents and 14.90% male respondents. Across the sample 9.7% reported belonging to a very small community, 24.6% to a small community, 28.4% to a small/medium community, 22.4% to a medium/large community, 7.5% to a large community and

6.7% to a very large community; 56.7% of respondents said they were secular in relation to religiosity, 16.4% traditional, 23.9% religious and .7% very religious; 50.7% stated they followed no religion, 23.9% Christianity, 18.7% Islam, and 4.5% other. The full demographic profile can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1

Age profile of the sample enlisted during the pilot study.

Variable	<i>N</i>	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	Range
Age (Continuous)	134	23.02 (6.90)	37

Table 4.2

Demographic frequencies of the sample enlisted during the pilot study.

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	20	14.90
Female	114	85.10
Highest educational attainment		
High school	3	2.20
College/ Sixth form	79	59.00
University degree	52	38.80
Country of Residence		
UK	134	100.00
Born in the UK		
Yes	112	83.60
No	22	16.40
Both parents born in the UK		
Yes	95	70.90
No	39	29.10
Religious orientation		
No religion	68	50.70
Christian	35	26.10
Muslim	25	18.70
Other	6	4.50
Political Orientation		
Strong right	1	.07
Right	9	6.70
Centre	75	56.00
Left	33	28.30
Strong Left	11	8.20

4.2.2.2 Descriptive statistics and internal consistency of resilience scales

Descriptive statistics for the three resilience scales are presented in Table 4.3. The mean score for each score, alongside standard deviations and the observed minimum and maximum scores are presented.

Table 4.3

Descriptive Statistics of the CDRS SV, CCRAM and NRS for the pilot study (N = 134)

Scale	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Observed Min	Observed Max
CDRS SV	52.31	7.20	32	70
CCRAM	31.14	6.80	10	47
NRS	82.55	19.48	36	121

Note. CDRS SV = Connor-Davidson Resilience scale – short version total score. CCRAM = Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment measure total score. NRS = National Resilience scale total score.

Internal Consistency

To measure internal consistency, of each of the three resilience scales, Cronbachs α was used, coefficients above 0.70 are agreed to reflect good internal consistency (Clark & Watson, 1995). Cronbachs α for all scales are presented in Table 4.4. Both the Connor-Davidson Resilience scale – short version (Green et al., 2014) and the Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment measure (CCRAM; Leykin et al., 2013) have previously found to have good internal consistency, which was supported here, with Cronbachs α 's of .88 for both scales. This was the first sample, to the authors knowledge, for the application of the National Resilience scale (Kimhi et al., 2013) within the UK. The scale was found to have high internal consistency.

4.2.2.3 Initial investigation of the associations between the three resilience constructs

Correlation analysis

The relationships between the three levels of resilience were investigated using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient, see Table 4.4. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity assumptions.

All three relationships were found to be significant. A strong positive correlation (Cohen, 1992) between national resilience and community resilience was found, $r = .58$, $N = 134$, $p < .01$, with high levels of national resilience associated with higher levels of community resilience. A weak positive correlation was found between community resilience and individual resilience, $r = .20$, $N = 134$, $p < .05$, with high levels of community resilience associated with high levels of individual resilience. A weak positive correlation was found between national resilience and individual resilience, $r = .30$, $N = 134$, $p < .01$, with high levels of national resilience associated with high levels of individual resilience. Showing that the associations between community resilience and national resilience are stronger than the associations between national and individual resilience, and between community and individual resilience.

Table 4.4

Alpha Cronbach and Pearson correlations among research variables

Variable	α	Community resilience	Individual resilience
National resilience	.89	.58**	.30**
Community resilience	.88		.20*
Individual resilience	.88		

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Multiple Regression

A multiple regression was performed to investigate how well individual resilience and community resilience predict national resilience, see Table 4.5.

Since a no a priori hypotheses had been made to determine the order of entry of the predictor variables, a direct method was used for the multiple linear regression analysis. The two independent variables explained 37% of variance in national resilience ($F(2, 131) = 38.44, p < .001$). In the final model both predictor variables were statistically significant, with community resilience recording a higher Beta value ($\beta = .54, p < .001$) than individual resilience ($\beta = .19, p < .01$).

Table 4.5

Multiple regression results – Associations between the three resilience constructs for the pilot study

	R^2	β	B	SE	CI 95% (B)
Model	.37***				
Community Resilience		.54***	1.52	.20	1.13/1.91
Individual Resilience		.19**	.51	.19	.14/.89

* $P < .05$ ** $P < .01$, *** $P < .001$

4.2.3 Individual, Community and National Resilience

After assessing internal consistency and an initial investigation of relationships between the three resilience constructs within a student sample the main analyses here sought to explore resilience in greater detail among a non-probability sample of the UK general population. Firstly, descriptive statistics are presented for each scale and each sub-scale of resilience. In order to then examine the associations between the three resilience constructs correlational analyses and multiple regression analysis is presented.

4.2.3.1 Describing the Sample

The majority of participants were born in the United Kingdom (83.1%). The age of participants ranged from 18 to 74. The gender distribution was 65.4% female respondents and 34.6% male respondents. Across the sample 36.3% reported belonging to a very small community, 8.7% to a small community, 6.8% to a small/ medium community, 9.3% to a medium/ large community, 3.9% to a large community and 34.9% to a very large community; 62% of respondents said they were secular in relation to religiosity, 20.3% traditional, 10.1% religious, and 7.6% very religious; 54.4% stated they followed no religion, 26.8% Christianity, 3.1% Islam, and 15.7% other. As religion formed an important part of the current project it was important to try and ensure the profile was similar to that in the United Kingdom's population on the whole. According to 2011 census in England and Wales 59.0% of the population recorded their religious orientation as Christian, 25.0% stated they followed no religion, 7.0% did not say, 5.0% stated they followed Islam and 4.0% stated other. The main disparity between the current samples' profile in relation to religion is the differences in levels of Christianity and those respondents stating they followed no religion. The United Kingdom has and continues to, undergo major changes in the nature and extent of religious identification. There has been a huge increase in levels of atheism and agnosticism, with Zuckerman, Galen, and Pasquale (2016) arguing that the United Kingdom is one of the most secular nations on earth today. Specifically, there is a significant decline in the number of individuals professing they are of Christian faith (Clements, 2014). This continuous change in the religious profile of the United Kingdom is reflected in the current sample. The full demographic profile can be seen in Table 4.7.

Table 4.6

Age profile of the sample enlisted during the main data collection.

Variable	<i>N</i>	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	Range
Age (Continuous)	355	33.35 (13.34)	56

Table 4.7

Demographic frequencies of the sample enlisted during the main data collection.

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	123	34.60
Female	232	65.40
Highest educational attainment		
High school	31	8.70
College/ Sixth form	79	22.30
University degree	148	41.70
Higher degree (MD, PhD, MSc)	97	27.30
Country of Residence		
UK	355	100.00
Born in the UK		
Yes	295	83.10
No	60	16.90
Both parents born in the UK		
Yes	278	78.30
No	77	21.70
Currently employed		
Yes	186	52.40
No	36	10.10
Full-time student	110	31.00
Retired	23	6.50
Religious orientation		
No religion	193	54.40
Christian	95	26.80
Muslim	11	3.10
Other	56	15.80
Political Orientation		
Strong right	12	3.40
Right	33	9.30
Centre	179	50.40
Left	108	30.40
Strong Left	23	6.50

4.2.3.2 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics, including the mean (M), standard deviation (SD), minimum and maximum, for the three resilience scales with sub scales are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Descriptive statistics of the three resilience scales with sub-scales (N = 355)

Scales and Sub-Scales	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Individual Resilience				
Adaptability	29.76	5.65	12	40
Self-Efficacy	22.95	4.18	7	30
Total Score	52.71	9.11	20	70
Community Resilience				
Leadership	6.23	1.75	2	10
Collective Efficacy	5.36	1.81	2	10
Preparedness	5.89	1.80	2	10
Attachment	4.73	2.12	2	10
Social Trust	5.24	1.80	2	10
Total Score	27.45	7.35	11	50
National Resilience				
Optimism	13.79	4.94	4	24
Patriotism	11.22	4.01	3	18
Trust in Country	14.94	5.83	5	30
Social Integration	15.59	4.75	5	28
Trust in Institutions	24.25	7.12	8	64
Total Score	79.76	21.40	30	140

4.2.3.3 Associations between the three resilience constructs (Ryan, Ioannou & Parmak, 2018)

Correlations

To determine how each of the three resilience constructs relate to one another the relationships were investigated using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient, see Table 4.9. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. All three relationships were found to be significant. Individual resilience showed a weak positive correlation (Cohen, 1992) with national resilience, $r = .173$, $N = 355$, $p < .001$. Community resilience showed a weak negative correlation with

national resilience, $r = -.244$, $N = 355$, $p < .001$. Community resilience showed a medium negative correlation with individual resilience, $r = -.341$, $N = 355$, $p < .001$. Showing that an increase in community resilience is associated with a decrease in individual resilience and national resilience. Increases in individual resilience however is associated with an increase in national resilience.

Table 4.9

Alpha Cronbach and Pearson correlations among research variables

Variable	α	Community resilience	Individual resilience
National resilience	.92	-.244**	.173**
Community resilience	.87		-.341**
Individual resilience	.91		

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Multiple regression

To determine whether individual and community resilience can predict resilience at the overall level of the nation a multiple regression was performed with individual and community resilience regressed onto national resilience, see Table 4.10.

Since a no a priori hypotheses had been made to determine the order of entry of the predictor variables, a direct method was used for the multiple linear regression analysis. The two independent variables explained 6.1% of the variance in national resilience $F(2, 352) = 11.37$, $p < .001$. In the final model both predictors were statistically significant, with community resilience recording a higher Beta value ($\beta = -.19$, $p < .001$) than individual resilience ($\beta = .11$, $p < .01$).

Table 4.10

Multiple regression results – Associations between the three resilience constructs

	<i>R</i> ²	<i>β</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	CI 95% (B)
Model	.06**				
Community Resilience		-.19**	-.52	.15	-.83/-.22
Individual Resilience		.11*	.25	.12	.01/.49

P*<.05 *P*<.01

4.2.3.4 Demographic, political, and religious differences in resilience at the level of the individual, community, and nation

4.2.3.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for each scale by demographic, religious and political variable are presented in Table 4.11. The mean scores on the three resilience constructs suggest males had higher individual, community, and national resilience. In relation to educational attainment those who recorded their highest attainment as a higher degree had the highest individual resilience average score, yet for both community and national resilience average scores those who recorded their highest educational attainment as high school scored highest. For employment status groups, those who recorded their status as retired scored highest on individual and national resilience, with those who recorded their status as unemployed scored highest on community resilience. Those who recorded their religious orientation as other scored highest on individual resilience, with those who recorded their religious orientation as Islam scoring highest on community and national resilience. In relation to political orientation those who responded right scored higher on individual and national resilience with those who responded strong left scoring highest on community resilience.

Table 4.11

Descriptives for all three resilience constructs by demographics, religious and political variables.

	Individual Resilience			Community Resilience		National Resilience	
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Gender							
Male	123	54.11	8.32	28.19	7.45	81.51	22.54
Female	232	51.97	9.43	27.06	7.29	78.83	20.75
Education							
High school	31	51.39	8.05	28.87	7.88	82.58	23.84
College/ sixth form	79	53.82	8.35	25.25	6.13	82.06	21.53
Undergraduate degree	148	51.05	9.88	28.33	8.04	79.89	20.95
Higher degree	97	54.76	8.32	27.43	6.68	76.77	21.12
Employment							
In full time employment	186	53.30	9.17	27.67	7.13	78.98	21.38
Unemployed	36	54.33	9.35	27.58	7.88	79.72	21.83
Full time student	110	50.42	8.51	27.03	7.74	79.85	21.86
Retired	23	56.35	9.14	27.48	6.77	85.61	18.84
Birth place							
United Kingdom	295	52.68	8.93	27.39	7.02	79.98	20.71
Outside of the United Kingdom	60	52.83	10.01	27.75	8.87	78.67	24.65
Parental place of birth							
United Kingdom	278	52.85	9.03	27.38	7.02	79.73	20.29
Outside of the United Kingdom	77	52.21	9.44	27.69	8.50	79.84	25.13
Religious Orientation							
No religion	193	52.36	8.73	27.47	7.34	78.32	20.45
Christianity	95	52.71	10.06	28.03	7.36	81.15	21.07
Islam	11	50.73	8.27	28.64	7.47	85.00	21.08
Other	56	54.30	8.84	26.14	7.40	81.32	25.07
Political Orientation							
Strong Left	23	48.30	10.12	31.78	7.84	60.17	17.72
Left	108	52.46	8.65	27.10	6.32	74.86	20.01
Middle	179	52.92	9.05	27.51	7.61	82.45	20.37
Right	33	55.18	7.88	26.48	7.68	93.12	20.61
Strong Right	12	53.42	13.05	24.00	7.95	84.42	23.35

4.2.3.4.2 Inferential Statistics

To determine whether there are significant differences between demographic variables and individual, community and national resilience a series of MANOVAs and subsequent ANOVAs with post-hoc tests were performed. In accordance with Cramer and Bock (1966), MANOVAs were first performed on the means of each demographic variable, with the exception of age due to the data level, to help protect against inflating Type 1 error rate in the follow-up ANOVA's and post-hoc comparisons. Prior to conducting the MANOVAs, a series of Pearson correlations were also performed between all dependent variables to test the MANOVA assumption that the dependent variables would be appropriately correlated with one another (Meyers, Gampst, & Guarino, 2006). As can be seen in Table 4.9, a meaningful pattern of correlations was observed amongst the dependent variables suggesting the appropriateness of a MANOVA.

Age

Pearson's correlation was used to investigate the relationship between age and the three resilience constructs. There was a moderate, positive correlation between age and individual resilience, $r = .30$, $n = 355$, $p < .001$, with older age being associated with higher levels of individual resilience. No significant correlations were found between age and community resilience, and age and national resilience.

Gender

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be a difference between gender and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 7.62 was associated with a p value of .274, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Wilks' Lambda = .97, $F(3, 351) = 3.84, p < .05$. The multivariate effect size (partial η^2) was estimated at .03, which implies that 3% of the variance in the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by gender.

Prior to conducting a follow up independent samples t-test the homogeneity of variance assumption was tested for each of the three resilience scales. Based on a series of Levene's F tests, the homogeneity of variance assumption was satisfied, with all three Levene's F results non-significant.

Independent samples t-test found a significant difference between the two groups on individual resilience, $t(353) = 2.21, p < .05$, with males scoring higher ($M = 54.11, SD = 8.32$) than females ($M = 51.97, SD = 9.43$), see Table 4.11. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = 2.15, 95% CI: .16 to 4.14) was moderate (eta squared = .12) according to Cohen (1988). There were no significant differences in mean scores between the two groups for community and national resilience scores.

Educational Attainment

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be one or more differences between educational attainment levels (high school; college/sixth form; undergraduate degree; higher degree) and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 25.63 was associated with a p value of .123, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Wilks' Lambda = .94, $F(9, 850) = 2.65$, $p < .05$. The multivariate effect size was estimated at .02, which implies that 2% of the variance in the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by educational attainment.

Prior to conducting a series of follow-up ANOVAs, the homogeneity of variance assumption was tested for each of the three resilience scales. Based on a series of Levene's F tests, the homogeneity of variance assumption was satisfied, even though the Levene's F test for community resilience was significant ($p > .05$). Specifically, although the Levene's F test suggested community resilience scores were not homogenous, an examination of the standard deviations revealed that the largest standard deviation was not more than four times the size of the corresponding smallest, suggesting the ANOVA would be robust in this case (Howell, 2009). A series of one-way ANOVAs on each of the three dependent variables was conducted as a follow-up test to the MANOVA. Two of the ANOVAs were significant, both with effect sizes (partial η^2) of .03, showing a small effect.

There was a statistically significant difference at the $p < .01$ level in individual resilience scores for the four groups $F(3, 351) = 4.00$, $p < .01$. Post-hoc analyses indicated that the mean

score for undergraduate degree holders ($M = 51.05$, $SD = 9.88$) was significantly different from higher degree holders ($M = 54.76$, $SD = 8.32$), see Table 4.11. The effect size, measured by Cohens d , was .41, which is a moderate effect according to Cohen's (1992) guidelines.

There was also a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level in community resilience scores for the four groups $F(3, 351) = 3.52$, $p < .05$. Post-hoc analyses indicated the mean score for those who had attained college/ sixth form education ($M = 25.25$, $SD = 6.13$) was significantly different from those who had attained high school education ($M = 28.87$, $SD = 7.88$) and undergraduate degree holders ($M = 28.33$, $SD = 8.05$), see Table 4.11. With effect sizes, measured by Cohens d , of .94 and .43, showing a large effect and a moderate effect respectively, according to Cohen's (1992) guidelines.

Employment Status

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be one or more differences between employment status (In full time employment; unemployed, full time student; retired) and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 28.05 was associated with a p value of .076, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Wilks' Lambda = .95, $F(9, 850) = 2.06$, $p < .05$. The multivariate effect size (partial η^2) was estimated at .02, which implies that 2% of the variance in the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by employment status.

A series of one-way ANOVAs on each of the three dependent variables was conducted as a follow-up test to the MANOVA. There was a statistically significant difference at the $p < .01$ level in individual resilience scores for the four groups, $F(3, 351) = 3.52, p < .05$. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between groups was small. The effect size (partial η^2) was .03. No significant differences between the four groups in community resilience and national resilience were found.

Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for those in full time employment ($M = 53.30, SD = 9.16$) was significantly different from those who were full time students ($M = 50.42, SD = 8.51$), see Table 4.11. The effect size, measured by Cohens d , was .03 which is a moderate effect according to Cohen's (1992) guidelines. There were no further statistically significant differences between the groups on individual resilience.

United Kingdom as respondents' birthplace

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be a difference between whether United Kingdom was respondents' birthplace and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 11.94 was associated with a p value of .069, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA. The MANOVA showed a non-significant effect of whether United Kingdom was respondents' birthplace on resilience scores.

United Kingdom as both respondents' parent's birthplace

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be a difference between whether United Kingdom was respondents' parent's birthplace and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 17.19 was associated with a p value of .010, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA. The MANOVA showed a non-significant effect of whether United Kingdom was respondents' parent's birthplace on resilience scores.

Religious orientation and resilience

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be a difference between religious orientation and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 24.45 was associated with a p value of .183, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA. The MANOVA showed a non-significant effect of religious orientation on resilience scores.

Political orientation and resilience

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be one or more differences between political orientation (strong left; left; middle; right; strong right) and resilience scores, see Table 4.12. The Box's M value of 36.20 was associated with a p value of .079, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000)

guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Wilks' Lambda = .86, $F(12, 921) = 4.61, p < .05$. The multivariate effect size (partial η^2) was estimated at .05, which implies that 5% of the variance in the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by political orientation.

A series of one-way ANOVAs on each of the three dependent variables were conducted as a follow-up test to the MANOVA. There was a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level in community resilience scores for the five groups, $F(4, 350) = 2.92, p < .05$. The effect size (partial η^2) was .32 showing a large effect. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the strong left group ($M = 31.78, SD = 7.84$) was statistically different from the left group ($M = 27.10, SD = 6.32$) and the strong right group ($M = 24.00, SD = 7.95$), see Table 4.11. There were no further statistically significant differences between the groups on community resilience.

There was a statistically significant difference at the $p < .001$ level in national resilience scores for the five groups, $F(4, 350) = 11.53, p < .001$. The effect size (partial η^2) was .12, showing a moderate effect. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the strong left group ($M = 60.17, SD = 17.72$) was statistically different from the left group ($M = 74.86, SD = 20.01$), the middle group ($M = 82.45, SD = 20.37$), the right group ($M = 93.12, SD = 20.61$), and the strong right group ($M = 84.42, SD = 24.11$). The left group was also statistically different from the middle group and the right group. The middle group was also statistically different from the right group, see Table 4.11.

Table 4.12

Summary of multivariate analyses on demographic variables and individual, community, and national resilience scores.

Variable	Wilks's Lambada	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>partial</i> η^2
Gender	.97	3.84	3, 351	.010*	.03
Male					
Female					
Educational Attainment	.94	2.65	9, 850	.005**	.02
High School					
College/ sixth form					
Undergraduate degree					
Higher degree					
Employment Status	.95	2.06	9, 850	.030*	.02
In full time employment					
Unemployed					
Full Time student					
Retired					
Birthplace	.99	.11	3, 351	.955	
United Kingdom					
Outside of the United Kingdom					
Parental place of birth	.99	.11	3, 350	.952	
United Kingdom					
Outside of the United Kingdom					
Religious Orientation	.98	.75	9, 850	.668	
No religion					
Christianity					
Islam					
Other					
Political Orientation	.86	4.61	12, 921	.000**	.05
Strong left					
Left					
Middle					
Right					
Strong right					

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

4.2.4 The Meaning of Community

Responses to this question varied enormously from respondent to respondent. A graphical representation of the data, produced using word cloud imagery techniques, is shown to enable the visualisation of the data, see figure 4.1. Word cloud imagery is a data visualisation technique which provides an effective means of assimilating information, allowing for such information to be presented in a comprehensive way that may not be otherwise achievable (Ahearn, 2014; Bletzer, 2015; Cidell, 2010). Word clouds reinforce word recognition with the mathematical principle of proportions and are a method of exploratory qualitative data analysis (Cidell, 2010). The rationale for constructing this word cloud was to illustrate the variation in responses for the ‘main community’ question. An open source, free online generator was utilised, which weights each word based on frequency of occurrence, with larger words in the output reflecting a higher frequency within the data. Figure 4.1 shows how varied the responses were and supports a view of community that is not restricted to geographical location. This supported giving the direction to respondents to focus their subsequent answers relating to community on their main community and not to assume this was their geographical location.

4.2.5 Relationships Between Community and Resilience Constructs

4.2.5.1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics for each scale by community variable are presented in Table 4.13. The descriptives show place ($n = 104$), practice ($n = 78$), and interest ($n = 74$) were the most identified community types. A large percentage of the sample identified their main community was either small ($n = 160$) or large ($n = 138$). In relation to community cohesiveness, the majority of the sample said members mostly went their own way ($n = 238$).

Table. 4.13

Descriptives for all three resilience constructs by community variables.

	<i>N</i>	Individual Resilience		Community Resilience		National Resilience	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Community Type							
Interest	74	52.08	9.70	27.14	8.34	76.85	20.01
Action	30	57.20	7.46	23.90	6.57	74.37	21.20
Place	104	52.83	7.48	27.86	7.20	83.73	22.63
Practice	78	51.33	9.73	27.51	7.30	80.78	19.55
Circumstance	39	53.03	10.63	29.44	5.81	80.10	21.52
Other	30	52.53	9.72	27.60	7.25	75.43	23.67
Community Size							
Small	160	52.58	9.52	27.14	7.02	78.37	19.82
Medium	57	51.21	9.88	28.04	7.97	79.21	21.46
Large	138	53.48	8.23	27.57	7.51	81.59	23.08
Community Cohesiveness							
Mostly help each other out	117	52.65	8.85	30.74	6.20	76.50	22.28
Mostly go their own way	238	52.74	9.25	25.83	7.35	81.36	20.81

4.2.5.2 Inferential statistics

To determine how community factors are related to three resilience constructs a series of MANOVAs and subsequent ANOVAs with post-hoc tests were performed. In accordance with Cramer and Bock (1966), MANOVAs were first performed on the means of each community related variable, to help protect against inflating Type 1 error rate in the follow-up ANOVA's and post-hoc comparisons. Prior to conducting the MANOVAs, a series of Pearson correlations were also performed between all dependent variables to test the MANOVA assumption that the dependent variables would be appropriately correlated with one another (Meyer et al., 2006). As can be seen in Table 4.9, a meaningful pattern of correlations was observed amongst the dependent variables suggesting the appropriateness of a MANOVA.

Community type

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be one or more differences between community type (interest; action; place; practice; circumstance; other) and resilience scores, see Table 4.14. The Box's M value of 46.67 was associated with a p value of .036, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Wilks' Lambada = .92, $F(15, 958) = 2.01$, $p < .05$. The multivariate effect size (partial η^2) was estimated at .03, which implies that 3% of the variance in the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by community type.

A series of one-way ANOVAs on each of the three dependent variables were conducted as a follow-up test to the MANOVA. Whilst the MANOVA showed multivariate differences none of the ANOVA results reached significance.

Community size

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be one or more differences between community size (small, medium, large) and resilience scores, see Table 4.14. The Box's M value of 12.53 was associated with a p value of .419, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA. The MANOVA result was non-significant.

Community cohesiveness

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to test the hypothesis that there would be a difference between community cohesiveness and resilience scores, see Table 4.14. The Box's M value of 13.94 was associated with a p value of .032, which was interpreted as non-significant based on Huberty and Petoskey's (2000) guideline ($p < .005$). Thus, the covariance matrices between the groups were assumed to be equal for the purposes of the MANOVA.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was obtained, Wilks' Lambda = .89, $F(3, 351) = 14.85, p < .001$. The multivariate effect size (partial η^2) was estimated at .11, which implies that 11% of the variance in the canonically derived dependent variable was accounted for by community cohesiveness.

Prior to conducting a follow up independent samples t-test the homogeneity of variance assumption was tested for each of the three resilience scales. Based on a series of Levene's F tests, the homogeneity of variance assumption was satisfied, with all three Levene's F results non-significant.

Independent samples t-test found a significant difference between the two groups on community resilience, $t(353) = 6.23, p < .001$, with those who said community members mostly help each other out ($M = 30.74, SD = 6.20$) scoring higher than those who said community members mostly went their own way ($M = 25.83, SD = 7.35$), see Table 4.13. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = 4.92, 95% CI: 3.36 to 6.47) was moderate (eta squared = .09) according to Cohen (1988).

Independent samples t-test found a significant difference between the two groups on national resilience, $t(353) = -2.02, p < .05$, with those who said community members mostly went their own way ($M = 81.36, SD = 20.81$) scoring higher than those who said community members mostly help each other out ($M = 76.50, SD = 22.28$), see Table 4.13. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = - 4.87, 95% CI: -9.59 to -.14) was small (eta squared = .01) according to Cohen (1988).

There were no significant differences in mean scores between the two groups for individual resilience.

Table 4.14

Summary of multivariate analyses on community variables and individual, community, and national resilience.

Variable	Wilks's Lambada	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>partial</i> η^2
Community Type	.92	2.01	15, 958	.012*	.03
Interest					
Action					
Place					
Practice					
Circumstance					
Other					
Community Size	.98	.87	6, 700	.514	
Small					
Medium					
Large					
Community Cohesiveness	.89	14.85	3, 351	.000**	.11
Mostly help each other out					
Mostly go their own way					

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

4.2.6 Summary of Study One Results: Explorations of Resilience and the Role of the Community

Firstly, within this analytical sub-chapter the relationship between the three resilience constructs was assessed as part of the piloting of the three resilience scales together. Pearson's product-moment correlation showed a significant positive correlation between all three resilience constructs. The relationship was further tested using multiple regression where individual resilience and community resilience were regressed onto national resilience. This showed community resilience to be the better predictor of national resilience, though both predictors were significant in the final model. However, when the relationship between the three resilience constructs was re-tested on a non-probability sample of the general population, community resilience was negatively correlated with both individual and national resilience. Showing within

this sample, as individual and national resilience increased, community resilience decreased. Again, the relationship was further tested using multiple regression which showed community resilience remained the better predictor, and both individual and community resilience remained significant in the final model.

Secondly, within this analytical sub-chapter the relationship between demographics, political orientation, religiosity, and each resilience construct was assessed. In relation to individual resilience significant differences were found for age, gender, educational attainment, and employment status. In relation to community resilience significant differences were found for educational attainment and political orientation. Finally, in relation to national resilience, significant differences were found for political orientation.

Finally, the results of analyses that sought to determine the role of the community in resilience were presented. Differences were found in relation to community cohesiveness, measured by whether respondents perceived members of their community to mostly help each other out or mostly go their own way. The differences were significant for both community and national resilience.

4.3 STUDY TWO: EXPLORING ATTITUDES OF INTOLERANCE CONSIDERED AGAINST THE SOCIAL NORM

4.3.1 Study Aims and Objectives

The main aim of the second analytical sub-chapter was to explore attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm within the current sample. To achieve this, the analyses sought to address the following objectives:

- 5) To investigate the demographic differences in attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.
- 6) To investigate the relationship between political and religious factors, and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

4.3.2 Demographic differences in attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm

4.3.2.1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics for attitudes against the social norm by demographic variables are presented in Table 4.15. It was expected that the majority of respondents would hold mainly tolerant and pro-social norm attitudes and therefore the data would be positively skewed around zero. Examination of the data found this to be true and reflects only a minority of respondents held extreme attitudes of intolerance against the social norm. Specifically, scores showed zero inflation, with fewer respondents showing high extremity of attitudes against the social norm. Due to the distribution of data the median and range are presented for attitudes against the social norm by each demographic variable.

Table. 4.15

Descriptives for attitudes against the social norm by demographic variables

	Attitudes against the social norm		
	<i>N</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Range</i>
Gender			
Male	123	4.00	40
Female	232	2.00	40
Education			
High school	31	6.00	37
College/ sixth form	79	3.00	40
Undergraduate degree	148	3.00	40
Higher degree	97	2.00	38
Employment			
In full time employment	186	3.00	40
Unemployed	36	3.00	37
Full time student	110	2.00	40
Retired	23	6.00	35
Birth place			
United Kingdom	295	3.00	40
Outside of the United Kingdom	60	3.00	40
Parental place of birth			
United Kingdom	278	3.00	40
Outside of the United Kingdom	77	3.00	40

4.3.2.2 Inferential statistics

To determine whether there are significant differences between demographic variables and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm a series of tests of difference were conducted. The scores on attitudes against the social norm were anticipated to be highly skewed. As already stated it was expected that a much larger proportion of the sample would hold attitudes reflective of the social norm within the UK. As such the researcher turned to non-parametric tests of difference that could cope with this violation of the normality assumption and control for experiment wise inflation of Type 1 error.

Age

The relationship between age and extreme attitudes against the social norm was investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. The relationship was found to be significant, with a weak positive correlation (Cohen, 1988) between age and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .115$, $N = 355$, $p < .05$. Showing that as age increased so did the score on attitudes against the social norm.

Gender

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to compare the attitudes against the social norm scores of males and females. Descriptive statistics showed that males (median = 4.00; mean rank = 202.30) scored higher in attitudes against the social norm than females (median = 2.00; mean rank = 165.12). Mann-Whitney U-value was found to be statistically significant, $U = 11279.00$ ($Z = -3.36$), $p < .001$, and the difference between males and females was small ($r = -.18$) according to Cohen (1992).

Educational attainment

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to explore the impact of educational attainment on attitudes against the social norm. Participants were divided into four groups according to their educational attainment (high school; college/sixth form; undergraduate degree; higher degree). There were no statistical differences between educational attainment and attitudes against the social norm found.

Employment status

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to explore the impact of employment status on attitudes against the social norm. Participants were divided into four groups according to their employment status (In full time employment; unemployed, full time student; retired). There were no statistical differences between employment status and attitudes against the social norm found.

United Kingdom as respondents' birthplace and their parent's birthplace

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to compare the attitudes against the social norm scores of those born in the UK and those born outside of the UK. As indicated by the descriptive statistics there were no statistical differences between the scores of the two groups. A further Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to compare the attitudes against the social norm scores of those with both parents born in the UK and those with at least one parent born outside of the UK. Again, as indicated by the descriptive statistics there were no statistically differences between the scores of the two groups.

4.3.3 Political and Religious Differences

4.3.3.1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics for attitudes against the social norm by political and religion related variables are presented in Table 4.16. Due to the distribution of data the median and range are presented for attitudes against the social norm by each political and religion related variable.

Table 4.16

Descriptives for attitudes against the social norm by political and religious related variables

		Extreme attitudes against the social norm		
		<i>N</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Range</i>
Religious Orientation				
	No religion	193	2.00	40
	Christianity	95	4.00	38
	Islam	11	0.00	5
	Other	56	4.00	40
Religiosity				
	Secular	220	2.00	40
	Traditional Practice	108	5.00	38
	Orthodox	27	3.00	38
Political Orientation				
	Strong left	23	3.00	32
	Left	108	2.00	35
	Middle	179	3.00	40
	Right	33	8.00	40
	Strong Right	12	8.50	40

4.3.3.2 Inferential statistics

To answer the question ‘are there significant differences between political and religious related variables and attitudes against the social norm a series of tests of difference and correlation were conducted.

Political orientation and attitudes

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to explore the impact of political orientation on attitudes against the social norm. Participants were divided into five groups according to their political orientation (strong left; left; middle; right; strong right). There was a statistically significant difference between political orientation groups on attitudes against the social norm $\chi^2(2) = 22.37, p < .001$, with a mean rank of 161.13 (median = 2.00) for the left group, 170.63 (median = 3.00) for the strong left group, 173.41 (median = 3.00) for the middle group, 218.13 (median = 8.50) for the strong right group, and 248.67 (median = 8.00) for the right group.

A series of Mann-Whitney U tests were run to investigate which groups significantly differed. A manually calculated Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = .05 / 5 = .010$) was used to interpret the results to control for inflation of type 1 error.

Mann-Whitney U-value was found to be statistically significant, with the right group scoring higher than the strong left group, $U = 219.00 (Z = -2.701), p < .010$, the difference between the groups was small ($r = -.14$) according to Cohen (1992).

Mann-Whitney U-value was found to be statistically significant, with the right group scoring higher than the left group, $U = 848.00 (Z = -4.647), p < .010$, the difference between the groups was small ($r = -.25$) according to Cohen (1992).

Lastly, Mann-Whitney U-value for the difference between the middle group and the right group was found to be statistically significant, with the right group scoring higher than the middle group, $U = 1740.00$ ($Z = -3.883$), $p < .010$, the difference between the groups was small ($r = -.21$) according to Cohen (1992).

Religious orientation and attitudes

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to explore the impact of religious orientation on attitudes against the social norm. Participants were divided into four groups according to their religious orientation (no religion; Christianity; Islam; other). There was a statistically significant difference between religious orientation groups on attitudes against the social norm, $\chi^2(2) = 13.25$, $p < .005$, with a mean rank of 112.95 (median = 0.00) for Islam, 166.41 (median = 2.00) for no religion, 197.82 (median = 4.00) for Christianity and 197.11 (median = 4.00) for the other religion group.

A series of Mann-Whitney U tests were run to investigate which groups significantly differed. A manually calculated Bonferroni correction ($\alpha = .05/4 = .013$) was used to interpret the results to control for inflation of type 1 error.

Mann-Whitney U-value was found to be statistically significant, with the no religion group scoring higher than the Christianity group, $U = 7560.00$ ($Z = -2.511$), $p < .013$, the difference between the groups was small ($r = -.13$) according to Cohen (1992).

Mann-Whitney U-value was found to be statistically significant, with the Christianity group scoring higher than the Islam group, $U = 274.00$ ($Z = -2.639$), $p < .013$, the difference between the groups was small ($r = -.14$) according to Cohen (1992).

Lastly, the Mann-Whitney U-value for the difference between Islam and other religion was found to be statistically significant, with the other religion group scoring higher than the Islam group, $U = 157.50$ ($Z = -2.613$), $p < .013$, the difference between the groups was small ($r = .13$) according to Cohen (1992).

Centrality of religiosity and attitudes

The relationship between centrality of religiosity and attitudes against the social norm was investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. The relationship was found to be significant, with a weak positive correlation (Cohen, 1988) between centrality of religiosity and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .128$, $N = 355$, $p < .05$. Showing that as centrality of religiosity score increased so did the score on extreme attitudes against the social norm.

Religious fundamentalism and attitudes

The relationship between religious fundamentalism and attitudes against the social norm was investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. The relationship was found to be significant, with a moderate positive correlation (Cohen, 1988) between religious fundamentalism and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .212$, $N = 355$, $p < .001$. Showing that as religious fundamentalism increased so did scores on attitudes against the social norm.

4.3.4 Summary of Study Two Results: An Exploration of Attitudes

Firstly, within this analytical sub-chapter the relationship between demographics and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm were assessed. Significant differences were found for age, with an increase in age associated with higher extremity of attitudes of

intolerance considered against the social norm, and for gender, with males in this sample having higher extremity of attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. There were no other significant differences between the demographics recorded in the current research and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

The relationships between political and religious variables and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm were then assessed. Significant differences were found for political orientation, religious orientation, centrality of religiosity and religious fundamentalism. Notably, an increase in centrality of religiosity and religious fundamentalism was associated with higher extremity of attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

4.4 STUDY THREE: EXPLORATION OF RESILIENCE AND COMMUNITY IN THE CONTEXT OF ATTITUDES OF INTOLERANCE CONSIDERED AGAINST THE SOCIAL NORM

4.4.1 Study Aims and Objectives

Lastly, the main aim of the third analytical sub-chapter was to investigate how resilience constructs and the role of the community relate to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. To achieve this, the analyses sought to address the following objectives:

- 7) To investigate the relationship between the three resilience constructs and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.
- 8) To investigate the relationship between community factors and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

4.4.2 Resilience and Attitudes of Intolerance Considered Against the Social Norm

To determine whether there are significant differences between the three resilience constructs and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm a series of Spearman's correlations were conducted.

Individual resilience

The relationship between individual resilience and attitudes considered against the social norm was investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. There were no significant differences found between mean total score on individual resilience and extreme attitudes against the social norm.

To explore the relationship between individual resilience and attitudes against the social norm further, the relationships between each subscale of individual resilience (adaptability; self-efficacy) and attitudes against the social norm were investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. There were no significant differences found between the individual resilience subscales and attitudes against the social norm.

Community resilience

The relationship between community resilience and attitudes against the social norm was investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. There was a significant weak positive correlation between total score on community resilience and extreme attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .14$, $N = 355$, $p < .001$, with higher levels of community resilience associated with higher scores on attitudes against the social norm.

To explore the relationship between community resilience and attitudes against the social norm further, the relationships between each subscale of community resilience (leadership; collective efficacy; preparedness; community attachment; social trust) and attitudes against the social norm were investigated using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a significant weak positive correlation between collective efficacy and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .11$, $N = 355$, $p < .01$, with higher levels of collective efficacy associate with higher scores on attitudes against the social norm. There was also a significant weak positive correlation between community attachment and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .12$, $N = 355$, $p < .05$, and between social trust and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .19$, $N = 355$, $p < .01$, with higher levels of community attachment and social trust being associated with higher extremity of attitudes against the social norm.

National resilience

The relationship between national resilience and attitudes against the social norm was investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. There was a significant weak positive correlation between total score on national resilience and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .11$, $N = 355$, $p < .001$, with higher levels of national resilience associated with higher scores on attitudes against the social norm.

To explore the relationship between national resilience and attitudes against the social norm further, the relationships between each subscale of national resilience (optimism; patriotism; trust in country; social integration; trust in national institutions) and attitudes against the social norm were investigated using Spearman's correlation coefficient. There was a significant weak positive correlation between patriotism and attitudes against the social norm, r_s

= .15, $N = 355$, $p < .01$, with higher scores on patriotism associated with an increase in extremity of attitudes against the social norm. There was also a significant weak positive correlation between trust in country and attitudes against the social norm, $r_s = .13$, $N = 355$, $p < .05$, with higher scores on trust in country associated with an increase in extremity of attitudes against the social norm.

4.4.3 Community Factors and Attitudes Against the Social Norm

To determine whether there are significant differences between community related variables and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm a series of tests of difference were conducted.

Community type

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to explore the impact of community type on attitudes against the social norm. Participants were divided into six groups according to community type that best reflected their main community (interest; action; place; practice; circumstance; other). No statistically significant differences were found.

Community size

A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to explore the impact of community size on attitudes against the social norm. Participants were divided into three groups according to community type that best reflected their main community (small; medium; large). No statistically significant differences were found.

Community Cohesiveness

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to compare the attitudes against the social norm scores of those who felt they were part of a community that mostly helped each other out and those who felt members mostly went their own way. No statistically significant differences were found between these two groups.

4.4.4 Summary of Study Three Results: Resilience and Community Factors in the Context of Attitudes Against the Social Norm

Firstly, within this analytical sub-chapter the relationship between each resilience construct and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm were assessed. There were significant relationships for both community and national resilience in such attitudes. Findings revealed that an increase in community resilience was associated with higher extremity of such attitudes. Specifically, significant relationships were found between both community resilience sub-scales (collective efficacy and community attachment), with higher scores on each associated with a higher extremity of attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. In relation to national resilience, significant relationships were found between two of the five sub-scales (patriotism and trust in country), with higher scores on each associated with a higher extremity of attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

The relationship between community variables and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm were then assessed. No significant relationships were found directly between each community related variable and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As highlighted in the first two chapters of this thesis, an evidence base for the integration of resilience constructs and community cohesion as key concepts within counter extremism policy has been lacking. Yet application of these by local agencies continues in a variety of different guises only adding to an already problematic policy area. The main goal of the policies in question is to dissuade individuals ‘from adopting extremist ideologies’ (Berger, 2016, p.3) and both counter-radicalisation and deradicalise individuals (Berger, 2016). From a risk management perspective, it makes sense to try and target individuals prior to radicalisation. The use of policy buzz-words within to achieve or contribute towards this has at times been done without an empirical evidence base. However, resilience has been a particularly valuable concept applied in a variety of interventions. By increasing the understanding of resilience in the context of counter-extremism it is likely that the social sciences can have real impact in contributing towards policy making in counter-radicalisation and counter-extremism. As such the current research sought to offer an original contribution to the existing body of knowledge and situate this in implications for countering extremism.

Within the current chapter the results relative to each aim of the thesis are discussed, showing how they contribute towards the advancement of understanding resilience in the context of intolerance, and the implications for counter-extremism policy and intervention. Firstly, findings showing demographic differences in each resilience construct, the relationship between the three resilience constructs and between the resilience constructs and community variables are

accounted for in terms of previous research. The same is done for the demographic differences in attitudes of intolerance and the relationship between these and political and religious factors. As are the findings in relation to how resilience constructs and the role of the community are related to attitudes of intolerance. The chapter then presents the conclusions drawn from the empirical explorations and findings that were obtained from the current research, before drawing these together in relation to implications for countering extremism. The limitations of the research are then outlined before presenting the practical, theoretical, methodological, and research implications that can be drawn from this body of research, and then suggestions for future research directions are proposed. Finally, the conclusions drawn from the current research are presented.

5.2 EXPLORING RESILIENCE AND THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

With resilience being the key concept of which the current thesis is focussed, it was necessary to provide a full empirical exploration of this within the context of the United Kingdom. To achieve a greater understanding of resilience constructs alongside the role of the community, the research firstly investigated the relationships between the three resilience constructs, secondly demographic differences were investigated in each of the three resilience constructs, and lastly the research investigated how community factors are related to the three resilience constructs.

5.2.1 Relationships Between Resilience Constructs

With no prior application of the three resilience scales used within the current research in a UK context, the current exploration constitutes the first study to map the relationships between the three constructs in this specific context. As such, the three scales together were initially piloted among a student sample. Findings revealed each resilience construct was positively correlated with the other, replicating the findings of previous studies in different cultures (Kimhi, 2014). Findings also showed among this student sample, community resilience was the better predictor of resilience at the level of the nation when placed in a regression model alongside individual resilience. These findings support the idea that resilient individuals make up resilient communities (Kirmayer et al., 2009). Yet, the findings go beyond this and suggest that this is also true of the relationship between community resilience and national resilience. Showing how resilience at each of these levels predicts resilience at the next. Previous researchers have investigated community and national resilience together, as social resilience (Cacioppo, Reis & Zautra, 2011), yet the findings here support an investigation whereby these are treated as separate constructs (Ben-Dor et al., 2002; Kimhi, 2014) with distinct relationships.

Interestingly, investigation of the same constructs on a general population sample showed that whilst the three resilience constructs were still related, these relationships operated differently. Findings showed that community resilience was negatively correlated with both individual and national resilience. One key explanation of the disparity in findings here is the impact immigration has had on the UK, and as such the emergence of a multinational society (Parmak, 2015). It may be within a small sample of university students the impact of the multinational society, the effect of group cohesiveness and associated group categorisations was lessened. When a larger sample of the general population was examined, what we may be

observing is the effect detailed by Parmak (2015) in that these factors may diminish the overall resilience at the national level. Likewise, when explaining the differences between these findings and those found by Kimhi (2014), where Israel is not an emerging multinational society. Furthermore, individual resilience remained positively correlated with national resilience, yet not with community resilience indicating that resilient individuals alone are not enough to make a resilient community. Importantly, community resilience remained the better predictor of national resilience, though in both the pilot and the main sample the strength of the overall regression model was low. This highlights that there are likely important factors beyond the individual, and beyond the community in predicting resilience at the level of the nation. The findings suggest that building resilient individuals alone, or even building resilient communities does not complete the picture in building national resilience, highlighting the complexity of interactions between individuals, communities, and their environment (Patterson et al., 2010). These findings also indicate that referring to the three resilience constructs as levels which has previously been the case (Kimhi et al., 2013; Kimhi, 2014; Rose, 2007) may be misleading and over simplify the relationship between different resilience constructs. Referring to levels of resilience implies a linear progressive relationship which appears not to always be the case. Instead, to maintain a clearer conceptualisation individual, community and national resilience are perhaps best referred to only as constructs at the level of, rather than levels of resilience.

The findings from both samples do however, highlight the importance of continuing to investigate resilience using a pluralistic approach (Olsson et al., 2015). Bonanno et al., (2015) suggested that when resilience is used to refer to a single construct it lacks enough precision to drive further investigation. Overall, the findings here demonstrate that resilience does indeed operate through different but related constructs, emphasising the importance of specificity in any

resilience building rhetoric around the level at which it is intended to operate and the level/s at which it aims to have impact. A better understanding of these relationships in a variety of contexts has the potential to develop an evidence base that can be drawn upon to design future interventions targeting all three resilience constructs operating in cohesion with one another. However, when doing so each resilience construct should be considered individually as well as how they interact together rather than under resilience as a single construct.

5.2.2 Demographic Differences

To conduct a full investigation of the three resilience constructs demographic, political and religious differences were investigated. In terms of the relationships between demographics and individual resilience many of the current findings were consistent with previous research; older age was associated with increased individual resilience (Bonanno et al., 2007; Hobfoll et al., 2011; Khamis, 1998; Kimhi et al., 2010), males showed higher individual resilience than females (Bonanno et al., 2007; Campbell-Sills et al., 2009; Hobfoll et al., 2011; Kimhi et al., 2010), and higher educational attainment was associated with higher individual resilience (Campbell-Sills et al., 2009; Khamis, 1998). Previous research has also demonstrated how religion and spirituality may promote resilience within individuals (Dunn, 1994; Gordon & Song, 1994), however the current study did not find evidence for such. Interestingly, there were fewer demographic differences revealed in relation to community and national resilience. One explanation for these findings is the role of groups and the collective, in that they can change the behaviour of individuals in certain contexts (Hirschi & Stark, 1969). Therefore, when part of a group it may be that the demographics which are related to individual resilience are less important or are diminished by the influence of the collective. Another explanation lies in the

communities to which individuals belong. As discussed in detail in Chapter two, no longer are communities simply bound by location (Savage et al., 2005). As proposed by Cohen (2013) individuals in a community have something in common which distinguishes them from members of other groups. Historically, this may have been the geographical location in which an individual resided, and within that commonalities including certain demographic characteristics. There is now an endless list of attributes that individuals may draw upon in defining the communities to which they belong. The findings refute previous research, which indicated age and religiosity were predictors of both community and national resilience (Kimhi et al., 2013). However, it is important to reiterate that this previous investigation of the three resilience constructs was conducted in an Israeli context, in which the conceptualisations of community and the nation are different to that in the United Kingdom. The current findings did show some differences in relation to demographics, namely those whose highest attainment was high school showed the highest level of community resilience. It is not clear from the data collected why this would be the case, though certainly warrants further investigation.

There were also differences between political orientation and community resilience, with those in the strong left group showing the highest level of community resilience in the current study, and those in the strong right group showing the lowest level of community resilience. In relation to national resilience, the current study's findings showed demographic differences were only found in relation to political orientation, with those in the strong right group showing the highest level of national resilience and those in the strong left group showing the lowest level of national resilience. Interestingly, when examined together these findings show that whilst those who indicated their political orientation as 'strong right' had the lowest level of community resilience, they had the highest level of national resilience, and the opposite was true for those

who indicated their political orientation as ‘strong left’. Previous research has repeatedly shown the importance of political identity, and how developing such is an important task for individuals during adolescence (Erikson, 1950; Havighurst, 1972). Of interest, are findings that have shown liberals, more commonly associated with the political left, tend to score higher on measures of rebelliousness and reactance, whereas conservatives, more commonly associated with the political right, tend to score higher on measures of conformity and obedience (Jost et al., 2008). So then, the current findings may reflect a situation whereby those describing their orientation as ‘strong left’ are more likely to be in communities that hold similar views to themselves and as such are more resilient, but when it comes to the wider nation they are less likely to conform thus scoring lower on measures of national resilience. Conversely, those who describe their orientation as ‘strong right’ are more likely to conform to the nation’s expectations on the whole, scoring higher on measures of national resilience. This in turn, may mediate the influence of the smaller groups and communities to which they identify resulting in lower levels of community resilience.

5.2.3 Relationships Between Resilience and Community Factors

The current research then sought to explore how resilience and community factors are related, though something that to the authors knowledge has rarely been explored, some previous research has indicated that community type is related to resilience (Kimhi et al., 2013). More importantly, this sought to inform an understanding of the relationships between the two policy narratives. Interestingly, there were no significant differences between community type and community size with each of the three resilience constructs, refuting early findings by Kimhi et al., (2013). However, the current research placed great focus on the meaning of community to the

respondent. Specifically, respondents were asked to identify their main community using an open-ended question and to use this community to base their subsequent answers upon, rather than assuming the meaning of community to them. Community type in the Kimhi et al (2013) study explicitly referred to certain settlements within Israeli society. Therefore, it is likely, as expected, that the conceptualisation of community has important implications for the understanding of community resilience, especially in consideration of the impact of modernity and how communities are now realised in Western society. Moreover, the findings that there are no significant differences between community resilience, and community type and community size indicate it is factors beyond these that are playing a role in increased or decreased resilience.

Of particular importance to the current research, findings showed community cohesiveness on the other hand was related to both community and national resilience. Here, community cohesion was associated with higher levels of community resilience. Cohesion generally refers to the shared values, solidarity, and mutual trust of a community's members (Browning et al., 2004; Morenoff et al., 2001). Cohesion is also argued to be an underpinning of collective efficacy (Sampson et al., 1997) which in turn is one of the factors which underpins community resilience (Leykin et al., 2013). Therefore, it is likely there are underpinning factors driving the current findings which have potential value for interventions, especially when trying to build a synergic relationship between resilience and community cohesion narratives. Moreover, the findings indicate that despite critique of the two narratives in policy, namely the suggestion that Prevent has undone much of the work achieved through the community cohesion agenda (Thomas, 2014), a loss of either may be premature. Instead efforts may be best directed to determine under which conditions the two can complement one another to achieve positive outcomes.

Notably however, the relationship with national resilience showed higher levels of community cohesion were associated with lower levels of national resilience. This, similarly to the relationship between community resilience and national resilience among the general population, may reflect the impact of a multinational society where group cohesiveness and associated group categorisations have diminished resilience at the level of the nation as proposed by Parmak (2015). Whilst causation cannot be determined here, such findings do indicate that community cohesiveness does impact resilience at the level of the nation. That is, strategies and interventions designed to improve community cohesion may not always be positive in relation to promoting British values. These findings further support a framework where the three resilience constructs are treated as distinct from one another as it appears clear that each construct has different implications in different contexts.

5.3 EXPLORATION OF ATTITUDES OF INTOLERANCE CONSIDERED AGAINST THE SOCIAL NORM

To obtain a better understanding of the context in which the current thesis is situated, the research sought to explore attitudes of intolerance which are considered against the social norm. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is Bonnell et al's (2011) contention that 'extremism is more than simply stubbornness in one's views or general intolerance to others. It involves holding views which are considered by equals, peers and society as being at odds with the core beliefs of the whole' (p.9). This idea of attitudes against the social norm, alongside the belief that tolerance is a key feature of democratic societies (Dewey, 1916; Gabardi, 2001; Bowlin, 2016) and specifically beliefs about equality (McClosky & Zaller, 1984), drove this current exploration. The research firstly sought to investigate demographic differences in attitudes of intolerance considered

against the social norm, and secondly investigate the relationship between political and religious factors and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm.

5.3.1 Demographic Differences

The current findings revealed demographic differences in attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. Firstly, analyses revealed that increased age was associated with higher levels of intolerance. This supports previous literature which indicates younger individuals are more tolerant and older age is associated with higher levels of intolerance (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Keeter & Kohut, 2003; Stouffer, 1955; Weil, 1985). Secondly, findings revealed that being male was associated with higher levels of intolerance. Whilst previous research investigating the link between gender and tolerance is limited and the relationship appears unclear, these findings refute the earlier findings of Golebiowska (2004) who found females to be less tolerant than males. However, Golebiowska (2004) indicated women were only less tolerant of certain groups, therefore it may be that on the whole men are less tolerant than women. Further, Golebiowska's (2004) study was conducted in Poland and so it is likely there are also cultural differences at play. Interestingly, in the current research no significant differences were found in relation to educational attainment or employment status. These findings refute previous findings which suggest low levels of education are associated with higher levels of intolerance (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Gibson & Dutch, 1992; Moore & Ovadia, 2006). One explanation for the difference in findings is in the way in which intolerance was measured. Based on previous research (Wojcieszak, 2010; 2012), and the assertion that strong attitudes matter, intolerance was measured as a feature of attitude extremity, therefore those who

strongly disagreed with extending equal rights to other groups scored higher than those who disagreed.

5.3.2 Political and Religious Differences

Research has indicated that attitudes of intolerance are one of the core outcomes of developing a political identity (Sherrod, Flanagan, Youniss, 2002). In the current study, findings showed political orientation was related to attitudes of intolerance, with those reporting their political orientation as ‘right’ scoring highest on attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. These findings support previous research suggesting conservatives are more likely to hold attitudes of intolerance (Farwell & Weiner, 2000; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). What is also pertinent about these findings when considered in line with previous research, is that research has shown social norm attitudes are a stronger determinant of behaviour for conservatives than for liberals (Fernandes & Mandel, 2014; Skitka & Tetlock, 1993), which may indicate that not only are conservatives, or those defining their political orientation as leaning to the right more likely to hold attitudes of intolerance, but that their behaviour is more likely to be a reflection of such. The current findings refute the body of research that suggests conservatism is more closely linked with a desire to conform to social norms (Gerber et al., 2011; Jost et al., 2008). Though the current study was far from comprehensive with regards attitudes, and it may be reflective of the general debate within the literature about the prejudice gap (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), and whether this is in fact inflated. It is also likely that there is a complex array of factors at play, beyond the scope of the current thesis, that influence attitudes of intolerance against the social norm. Another explanation is that those respondents recording their political orientation as strong right may be more likely to see equal rights as a threat to traditional standards and as such, using

their beliefs about morality, are more likely to be intolerant towards such (Lewis & Rogers, 2002; Wilcox & Wolpert, 2000). The theory of threat perception argues that people are more likely to be less tolerant of other groups which they consider a threat to their own values and norms (Gibson & Gouws, 2001; Golebiowska, 2004; Sullivan et al., 1982). Here, it may be that the threat is to the values and norms of the nation to which the respondents belong and as such they are less likely to believe equal rights should be extended in ways which go against the traditional values and norms. Furthermore, theorists have discussed how beliefs about sustainability of tradition can also influence beliefs about national security (Buzan, 1990), and in turn lead to resistance from individuals within a nation (Carstocea, 2006).

The current study also found that religiosity was associated with attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm, with higher levels of religiosity associated with higher levels of intolerance. These findings support a large body of research that has previously shown a link between higher levels of religiosity and higher levels of intolerance (Allport, 1966; Batson et al., 2001; Batson et al., 1999; Beatty & Walter, 1984; Falwell, 1980; Fulton et al., 1999; Kirkpatrick, 1993). One explanation for these findings, in a similar vein to the theory of threat perception applied to the findings that strong right political orientation is associated with higher levels of intolerance, is the idea that modernity has brought about a threat to traditional values, that is the traditional values that religions are so often based upon (Lawrence, 1989). Furthermore, the very idea of equal rights may, to a religious individual, violate the very meaning they hold for the roles people should hold in society (Emerson & Hartman, 2006). In addition to the relationship between religiosity and intolerance, the current study also found religious fundamentalism was also positively associated with attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. Religious fundamentalism is the dimension of religion which has most consistently been found

to be strongly associated with prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1995) and intolerance (Bolton & Ledbetter, 1983; Morgan & Meier, 1980). The current research focussed specifically on attitudes of intolerance, finding support for previous research which has shown religion has a powerful impact on predicting attitudes such as those towards homosexuality (Schulte & Battle, 2004). The findings in the current study were as expected in line with proposed definitions of fundamentalism. For example, Antoun (2001) defines fundamentalism as ‘a religiously based cognitive and affective orientation to the world characterized by protest against change and the ideological orientation of modernism’ (p.3). Equal rights are a relatively new and ongoing endeavour, even in the western world, and certainly represent a change in society, protest against this in the form of intolerance against those groups may explain why such relationships between attitudes of intolerance and fundamentalism exist.

5.4 EXPLORATION OF RESILIENCE AND COMMUNITY IN THE CONTEXT OF ATTITUDES OF INTOLERANCE CONSIDERED AGAINST THE SOCIAL NORM

To bring together the findings in accordance with the overarching thesis aim of exploring the role of resilience and community cohesion the research firstly investigated the relationship between the three resilience constructs and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm, and secondly, investigated the relationship between community factors and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. In Chapter two, the author made an argument for the reframing of individual and national resilience as had previously been done for community resilience (Ellis & Abdi, 2017), and for the first time to investigate all three constructs under this framework. To the authors knowledge, the current research constitutes the first examination of the three resilience constructs under this framework whereby resilience relates to the risk of

adopting an extremist rhetoric and vulnerability to potential radicalisation with positive adaptation and outcome being the rejection of such. Yet such an endeavour has key implications for current and future counter-extremism and counter-terrorism interventions and policies that draw on resilience narratives.

5.4.1 Resilience and Attitudes of Intolerance Against the Social Norm

Findings revealed that higher community resilience was associated with holding attitudes of intolerance against the social norm. National resilience was also associated with holding attitudes of intolerance against the social norm, with further explorations indicating that patriotism and trust in country were of specific importance in this relationship. We would expect, on the basis that resilience is currently used in counter-extremism and counter-terrorism strategies, and that such strategies seek to counter ‘vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values’ including ‘tolerance’ (Prime Minister’s Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism, 2013, p.1), to see the opposite relationship emerge. Yet the findings indicate that the relationships are far more complex.

In relation to community resilience, one of the original elements of the current study was the way in which community itself was conceptualised. Respondents were asked to stipulate their own main community, rather than, as already stated assuming this to be geographical location. To the authors knowledge this has not been done in relation to community resilience previously. In a geographically based community it may be that there is a greater variety of individuals and this diversity of individuals coming together in turn drives tolerance rather than intolerance in a ‘market place of ideas’ (Bollinger, 1986; Jelen & Wilcox, 1991). When specifically asked to focus on what their main communities were and thus made to think more about that community

they may have felt a stronger group attachment and a greater division of ‘us versus them’ which has been shown to have deep associations with intolerance (Gerstenfeld, 2002). However, this explanation assumes that the communities identified were all unsupportive of equal rights or saw the groups and issues in question as out-groups, which is unlikely the case. Therefore, there is likely further factors implicated in such relationships which warrant further investigation.

In relation to national resilience, specifically the underlying relationship between patriotism and attitudes of intolerance, one explanation for these findings is around the way in which individuals perceive or accept social norms. Patriotism refers to a devotion to one’s nation and an alliance with others who share the traditional values of that country. It may be that those who score high in national resilience see issues such as equal rights as a direct threat to the traditional values of Britain. Previous research has found how new values or new norms may be viewed as potential destabilisers to the narrative of the nation (Stychin, 1998) which may be what is being observed in the current findings. Moreover, values are often deeply engrained standards and whilst offer direction they are also used to justify past actions (Kluckhohn, 1951). Whilst these values often evolve as societies confront basic issues (Schwartz, 2006) such as equal rights for all research has shown how it can take a long period of time for new norms and attitudes to become accepted within a culture (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszynski, 1991). Furthermore, whilst some have argued that a high level of tolerance is a key characteristic of Britain (Eatwell, 2006), others have been quick to point out continued class divisions and racism. More importantly here, threat perception has been referred to as ‘the single most important predictor of intolerance’ (Gibson, 2004). Therefore, if individuals feel that extending equal rights, regardless of this now generally being considered the norm (Eatwell,

2006), poses a threat to traditional values they are more likely to hold attitudes of intolerance against them.

The current findings failed to find any significant relationship between individual resilience and attitudes of intolerance. These findings support previous suggestions that attitudes of intolerance are less relevant for individuals than they are for the integration of individuals into groups, cultures, and nations (Zick et al., 2010). Whilst it is too early in the current explorations to draw conclusions from this, these initial indications may suggest individual resilience is less important in the holding of such attitudes than resilience at the level of the community and of the nation. That is not to say individual resilience has no value in such interventions, individual resilience was related to both community resilience and national resilience, therefore whilst a direct effect was not observed it is likely that building individual resilience is still beneficial when looking at the bigger picture. However, the findings together, show support for the idea that often the individual within wider social settings such as in communities and society can provide a more pertinent context for dealing with challenges (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). The current findings emphasise the importance of the group on attitudes held, supporting previous theorising that the social networks and communities to which an individual belongs have a direct influence on individual opinions (Berelson et al., 1954; Liebes & Ribak, 1992).

5.4.2 Community Factors and Attitudes of Intolerance Against the Social Norm

Interestingly the current study's findings are inconsistent with what would be expected in line with previous research with regards community cohesiveness and attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm, especially when considered alongside the findings around community resilience and attitudes of intolerance. Social identity theory asserts that strong in-

group sympathies give rise to strong outgroup antipathies (Gibson, 2006). Therefore, it would be expected that higher levels of community cohesiveness would be associated with intolerance towards others which was not observed here. That said, it is beyond the scope of the current research to make specific assertions between specific group identities, for example those who consider their main community as LGBT, and attitudes of intolerance. As previous researchers have highlighted it is only under certain circumstances which antipathies against outgroups may emerge (Brewer, 2001; Turner & Reynolds, 2004). What these findings do however indicate is that community cohesiveness is important for increasing the resilience of communities but when looking at interventions to bring about change in attitudes there are more factors than just cohesiveness that play an important role.

5.5 REFRAMING, REIMAGINING AND REAPPLYING RESILIENCE: THE VALUE OF RESILIENCE IN COUNTERING-EXTREMISM IN BRITAIN

Resilience in the current research was conceptualised as the threat being extremism or adopting extremist attitudes and the adaptation as individuals, communities, and the nation contributing in such a way that the vulnerability of their members to the threat is reduced as previously done for community resilience alone (Ellis & Abdi, 2017). Together, the findings inform a framework by which all three resilience constructs relate to each other, with the predictive ability of one predicting the next stronger at each level. Whilst the findings indicate resilience at one level alone is not enough to predict resilience at the others the relationships found support a need to understand and consider the three distinct resilience constructs together and how they interact in any policy making arena.

Furthermore, important relationships between resilience and community size, religiosity, sex, and age are also likely to play a significant role in the prediction of resilience. Especially in relation to factors such as community size, such findings have particular importance for the local implementing agencies of counter-extremism policy. Specifically, such findings indicate that whilst policy blueprints should be specific in defining their constructs there should also be scope to adapt interventions to meet the needs of different communities. That is, rather than entirely managing the implementation of Prevent, the government should coordinate activities giving communities, and the local agencies within, the empowerment to apply well operationalised constructs with consideration of the community that they likely know better than someone outside. Giving local agencies the tools to do so by first and foremost ensuring they fully understand concepts such as resilience and community cohesion is likely to contribute to an improvement in implementation which has been a well-documented issue in relation to CONTEST (Bartlett & Birdwell, 2010; Innes, Roberts, & Lowe, 2017; Khan, 2009; Kudnani, 2009; Lakhani, 2012; Mythen, Walklate, & Peatfield, 2016; Thomas, 2010). An issue which was largely blamed on confusion and misinterpretations of key concepts and ideas within the policy (Lakhani, 2012).

The findings also demonstrated how the context and population may impact the direction of prediction, highlighting the importance of understanding resilience as a dynamic construct. It is likely that the dynamic nature of resilience is also evident in response to certain events, such as a terror attack or even Brexit. It is likely that such events impact resilience at all three levels in different ways, both in the short term and the long term. At least in the short term, critical events have a significant impact on the way outgroups are categorised (Skitka et al., 2004) and as previously highlighted by Parmak (2015) polarization of attitudes can escalate in a very short

timeframe after such events occur. Therefore, not only should attention be given to how the three levels of resilience operate within multinational societies at times of ‘normality’ as done here but also as to how events such as terror attacks influence this both in the immediate post event period, but also longitudinally (Coaffee, 2013). It may be that the interventions themselves need to be dynamic enough to withstand such events as well as building the resilience in individuals to continue to reject extremist rhetoric in the aftermath of critical events.

Since the 2011 revision of Prevent, the two policy narratives of resilience and community cohesion have been independently dealt with. Yet there was evidence that at a grass-roots level, implementation of the two together continued (Thomas, 2014). Something which is argued to have only fuelled confusion and led to the inharmonious relationship between the two. The current findings illustrate how community cohesiveness is most closely related to community and national resilience, and how in turn it is these two resilience constructs which appear to be most closely related to attitudes of intolerance. However, the relationship is not progressive linear, with community cohesiveness relating positively to community resilience, and both constructs relating negatively to national resilience when examined in the general population. Whilst there is a need for further research to fully understand the complex relationships between resilience and community cohesion, the findings support a remarriage of the two concepts in that community resilience and community cohesion have clear relationships that may increase the likelihood of achieving a common goal in relation to reducing the vulnerability of communities and their members. Such recommendations also consider the views of those implementing counter-extremism policies, who have been reluctant to separate the two through a concern around the effect it would have on the hard work already put in to the community cohesion agenda in previous years (O’Toole et al., 2013). From the findings here, and previous discussions

of the two policy narratives, it is the authors contention that the two narratives can be applied together to contribute towards the reduction of extremism.

Whilst the relationship between intolerance and extremism is assumed in the current research, the key here was to examine resilience in the context of attitudes to determine possibilities for policy around attitude change. That said, previous research consistently demonstrates a close link between attitudes that are grounded in moral beliefs, such as attitudes of intolerance, and behavioural consequences (Bloom, 2013; Morgan et al., 2010; Skitka & Bauman, 2008; Skitka, Bauman & Sargis, 2005; Wright et al., 2008). Research has also shown how such attitudes often precede radicalisation, and whilst only a few individuals will go on to commit resulting acts of violence, it may be at the point of holding such attitudes where interventions may be of particular benefit. One key criticism of current counter extremism policy is its apparent focus on specific communities, namely the Muslim community. By targeting a wider pool of individuals, and directing intervention somewhere between Tier 1 (All members of the community) and Tier 2 (The vulnerable) of the Prevent pyramid (Audit Commission, 2008) individuals and specific communities may feel less singled out. Research has consistently shown how important communities are in both facilitating and combatting extremism and radicalisation (Perlinger & Pedahzur, 2016). To get all, or the majority, of community members on board and involved is likely to not only increase agency legitimacy by facilitating relationships but is also likely to have a greater impact in relation to reducing vulnerability. Moreover, when thinking about the bigger picture, though the focus here is in countering extremism, building resilient and cohesive communities can empower residents to act themselves (Gau, 2014) and support informal social control (2011). Therefore, a more informed implementation of such policies is likely to have impact beyond reducing vulnerability to extremism. The argument here however,

is that at the policy making stage the key concepts should be based on empirical findings to maximise their potential and increase their usability among implementors. The findings support early intervention in countering extremism showing that at the stage when attitudes of intolerance are held resilience at the level of the community has important implications which can be drawn upon to inform such interventions.

Further support for the need to understand resilience as three separate constructs in policy making comes from the finding that increased resilience at the level of the nation was associated with higher levels of intolerance as measured by attitudes towards equal rights. If interventions are aimed at building resilience overall rather than more directed approaches at each level there may be a risk of increasing intolerance. These relationships between resilience and attitudes of intolerance showing resilience does impact attitudes which go against the social norm are of further interest in and of themselves. Moreover, such findings indicate that if resilience is applied as a single construct, the concerns of local agencies around resilience building undoing the hard-work already put into the community cohesion agenda (O'Toole et al., 2013) could be well founded.

Under the understanding of policy as a diagnosis and interpretation of society, community resilience and community cohesion together can be applied as responses to the need to both increase social interactions which facilitate greater discussion between individuals and reduce vulnerability to the threat of extremism and radicalisation. The current findings indicate building resilience at the level of the individual is less likely to be as directly beneficial in relation to reducing intolerance and national resilience may increase intolerance. Though each of these constructs may play an important role in the resilience of a community itself.

5.6 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

As with all research, especially that which is exploratory in nature, there are limitations. Before considering the implications and conclusions of the current research it is important to firstly consider these limitations. Firstly, the current research had a small sample size in comparison to the whole population in the United Kingdom, which may have minimised the power in certain relationships investigated. To obtain a wider sample, the current study made use of self-report measures. Such measures are often subject to criticism around their reliance on respondent honesty. The veracity of responses has importance within psychological research that seeks to gain an insight into the attitudes and beliefs of those responding (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Of course, the use of self-report measures may then introduce an element of response bias which may result in skewed findings. That said the use of self-report measures was justified in the numerous advantages they possess, with one of the most important being their ability to assess psychological constructs in an economical way (Manstead & Semin, 2001). Participants were explicitly informed and assured that their responses would be completely anonymous and encouraged to give answers which truly reflected their honest insight to reduce the impact of any response bias effects. Especially when measuring attitudes, researchers have argued that the instructions given to participants are key to motivate the respondent to answer fully and honestly by reinforcing the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity (Kelman, 1961) as was done in the current research. It should be noted that there are a number of social desirability measures which can be applied to offer further assurance of veracity of responses. However, in the current research, the questionnaire was already very large and took respondents a minimum of 30 minutes to complete in most cases. Especially when data was collected using paper based administration in Huddersfield Town Centre, it would have

likely limited the response rate of the questionnaire. Therefore, the researcher took the decision to not add further scales. Nonetheless the absence of experimental methods is a limitation. This also gives rise to a further limitation. Whilst mixed-method administration has been shown to produce the greatest response rate over any single mode of administration (Greenlaw & Brown-Welty, 2009), using the internet to administer psychological questionnaires has been subject to criticism (Couper, 2000; Robinson et al., 2002; Smith, 2002).

Though there is much agreement that such methods are an improvement on the often narrower student samples, on which much psychological theory rests (Kraut et al., 2004), there is an argument for conducting comparative analyses on the data collected using paper-based administration and data collected using web-based administration. When considering generalisation of findings and further research, the absence of this comparative analyses in the current research should be taken into account.

Secondly, following the pilot study and further reviewing of the literature, changes were made to the wording of items within the Conjoint Community Resilience Assessment Measure (CCRAM; Leykin et al., 2013). Great emphasis was placed on the meaning of community to respondents, with the diversity of this being highlighted by the analysis of responses to the question ‘what is your main community?’. Some of the communities identified, for example fitness and holistic, meant that the community size boundaries taken from previous research may not have adequately reflected the communities identified, where a smaller number of members were likely than would be expected in geographically based communities. On reflection the community size boundaries (small – < 5000, medium – 5001 – 10000, and large - >10000) should have been adjusted. This may have impacted the power of any relationships found in relation to this variable and underpinned the lack of significant results where expected. Further

research where community is an important factor should seek to consider community size in light of this.

Lastly, the cross-sectional nature of the findings is a limitation. Due to the study constituting the first exploration of the three resilience constructs as applied here a cross-sectional design was adopted as it was considered proportionate to the nature of the research, as already discussed. However, in doing so it is not possible to make inferences about direction of causality and prospective research is necessary to resolve this issue. The sheer enormity of the area of extremism, and the policy and interventions seeking to counter it, gives rise to the most substantial limitation of the current research. The current research does not have the power to become a policy blueprint in relation to making specific links between resilience building and extremism. There are methodological weaknesses commonly associated with research in this area that were beyond the scope of the current research to address. Namely, having access to specific groups for which such policy and interventions may be most readily applied. The current study is not, nor pretends to be a direct investigation of those who are in the radicalisation process. Further, as highlighted in the introduction, extremism within the United Kingdom takes many forms, which again was beyond the scope of the current research to fully explore. As such, it is important that the findings are taken to inform future directions.

5.8 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Only recently have psychological researchers begun to explore resilience as three separate constructs, with some referring to these as three levels of resilience (Kimhi et al., 2013; Kimhi, 2014). Namely, resilience at the level of the individual, the community, and the nation. Initial findings showed the three constructs to be positively correlated, though their low common

variance emphasised their distinctiveness. Yet, the current research has demonstrated that whilst indeed the three constructs appear to remain related to one another when examined in a United Kingdom context, the direction of relationship may differ. Showing that these 'levels' of resilience may not always build upon each other as suggested previously (Kimhi, 2014). The current findings support a continued effort to understand resilience as a multidimensional concept (Garmezy, 1985; Garmezy & Rutter, 1985; Rutter, 1985; Seligman & Csikzentmihalyi, 2000; Werner & Smith, 1992) which should be investigated through a multifaceted approach (Kirmayer et al., 2009). As proposed by Olsson et al., (2015) resilience appears to be best understood and developed under the idea of scientific pluralism. Especially here in the context of critical social policy directed towards countering extremism. It is likely that from a theoretical perspective resilience, in this context has greatest value to policy makers when research is not directed towards establishing a single theory but instead recognises the need to develop multiple theories reflective of this complex and multifaceted phenomenon.

These new empirical findings support previous theorising regarding the implications of multinational societies on resilience (Parmak, 2015). The current exploration of resilience in the United Kingdom and thus a multicultural society shows that a high level of community resilience does not always coincide with a high level of national resilience. These findings support suggestions that within multicultural societies the cohesiveness of a group and subsequent us and them categorisations may diminish resilience at the level of the nation.

Although much work has been done across various disciplines to understand resilience, little work has been conducted thus far to situate such an understanding within the area of intolerance and extremism. Theorising and reframing in this area have started to be directed towards this, evident in papers such as that by Ellis and Abdi (2017). Though none, to the authors

knowledge, have done this for all three resilience constructs as done in the current research. The explorations in the current research offer a new avenue for researchers to investigate the role of resilience in attitudes of extremism and how this may be progressed to further our understanding of radicalisation and the role of the individual, community, and nation in such processes.

5.9 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND POLICY DIRECTIONS

With regards to determining what works in relation to social policy and specific strategies, a greater understanding of the concepts on which they are based also allows for greater transparency and increased direction for conducting evaluations. This is not being ignorant to the need for, at times, developing and publishing certain policies and strategies despite the lack of an evidence base. Such times when the public look for something to be done, quickly. But, where possible this should encourage the uptake of primary empirical research and those creating such policies should be open to continuous development of such strategies on the back of such evidence bases. There should be a greater focus on moving away from myopic policies and towards long-term strategies that are based on evidence, clear for practitioners to apply and subject to evaluation to determine validity upon different populations.

In Chapter one the full background context of the current research was provided, within which it was highlighted how local councils were applying resilience under the reframing proposed in the current study without explicitly saying so, yet within policy documentation itself the concept remained poorly defined, and poorly operationalised. Moreover, resilience and community resilience appeared to be used interchangeably with little distinction as to what implementers should be drawing upon. The findings that the three levels of resilience are independent structures, which supports the previous literature (Kimhi, 2014) also has important

implications. The understanding of each of the three constructs of resilience alongside how they are associated and interact with each other has the potential to inform more specific strategies of ‘resilience building’ that can draw on evidence around which level of resilience may be most effective to target for the intended outcome. Whilst research shows there is some evidence of building resilience at different levels in countering-extremism and terrorism (Bonnell et al., 2011; Coaffee & Rogers, 2008; Coaffee & Wood, 2006; Fredrickson et al., 2003; Haines et al., 2008; Hardy, 2015; Miller, 2013) the current thesis gives direction for further investigation as to how the three levels of resilience can be best used to both inform and evaluate interventions in this area. This is not limited only to current directions in building individual resilience to reject extremist rhetoric’s (Bonnell et al., 2011), but also, it is the authors contention that, especially when related to a wider understanding of resilience, it may also be applied to various stages within pathways to violent action such as attempts to recruit individuals. The power that an in-depth understanding of resilience may hold when applied to policies aimed to counter certain rhetoric’s and behaviours should not be underestimated. The reframing of resilience to refer explicitly to the threat of adopting an extremist rhetoric also allows for more direct implications to be discussed and a clearer understanding of what is being modelled.

It was also outlined in Chapter one how the relationship between the two policy narratives of resilience and community cohesion had become blurred and misunderstood, especially since the formal separation within policy documentation (Thomas, 2014). Critics suggest this has had serious implications at the level of implementation pushing local agencies to go their own way in countering-extremism. The development of understanding of these concepts, as examined together, achieved by the current study offers an empirical basis for which to begin to view these concepts together and explore how they may be best implemented to complement

one another rather than working against each other which has been noted as a key concern (Kudnani, 2009)

5.8 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

One pertinent area for future research development surrounds the three resilience constructs both singularly and together under the reframing as proposed in the current thesis. Future research should seek to further the understanding of how resilience should be best applied and to investigate the best avenues for resilience building under each of the three constructs. The difference in direction of relationships found in the pilot study and the general population data warrants further exploration to determine why community resilience in one situation positively correlates with national resilience and in another is negatively correlated. It is an interesting finding showing the importance of recognising the potential implications of using narrow samples in researching societal issues. It also indicates there are some factors not examined in the current research that have important implications for the three resilience constructs. Therefore, future research examining the three resilience constructs among different groups and communities would be of value.

The current study also indicates how differently community may be understood by an individual, and the huge range of communities identified gives strong evidence for a complete move away from assuming communities are geographically based. A greater focus on the meaning of community and the role of the community to an individual offers an avenue of exploration to further develop the understanding of resilience here and these differences. Specifically, one interesting avenue for exploration is how community resilience may operate among online communities and the implications this may have for potential vulnerability to radicalisation through such online communities.

The current study focussed on attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm, it is not clear as to whether the relationships between religion and these attitudes would persist when investigating other extreme attitudes. Future research should be conducted to investigate this relationship across a variety of extreme attitudes. Moreover, it was beyond the scope of the current endeavour to separate different forms of extremism and potential ideological underpinnings, it is therefore not discernible as to whether the three resilience constructs would relate differently to different forms of extremism.

Unexpected real-world events and the continually changing security climate within the United Kingdom are likely to have an impact on the constructs investigated in the current research. A number of pertinent events have happened during the time the current research was conducted and the write up of the thesis took place, namely Brexit, the Manchester Arena attack, and the Terror attacks in London. Due to the cross-sectional design adopted by the current research, whilst resilience has been examined in relation to different factors, the dynamic nature of resilience across time was not examined. This was mainly because of the difficulties already discussed in relation to anonymity and was not determined proportionate given the exploratory nature of the current research. However, research has shown that resilience is impacted by external factors (Canetti, et al., 2014; Gunderson, 2000, Seligman & Czikzentmihalyi, 2000) as is intolerance (Wilson, 1994), and an individual's decision processes are informed by a complex array of interactions that take place in the environment they are in (Patterson, et al., 2010). This indicates that not only resilience constructs and intolerance be impacted by such events, but so may the resulting behaviour. Such an impact is also indicated by Home Office figures which show a surge in hate crimes following both Brexit and the 2017 terror attacks (Home Office,

2017; 2018). It was beyond the scope of the current research to examine, longitudinally, the impact of such events on resilience, yet it is an important direction for future research.

Finally, the current study explores these concepts within the general population. As highlighted in many models of radicalisation including the Prevent pyramid, there are various 'levels' of involvement. Future research should seek to determine whether the benefits of the three resilience constructs are universal across the different levels of involvement indicated in many radicalisation models (Audit Commission, 2008; Borum, 2003; Gill, 2007; Moghaddam, 2006; Sageman, 2008; Silber & Bhatt, 2007; Taarnby, 2005; Wiktorowicz, 2004), or if one may be more beneficial than another to target at a specific level of involvement. Further, despite findings that all three constructs may not necessarily build upon the other, McCauley and Moskaleiko investigate radicalisation factors across three levels; the individual level, group level, and mass level, further research to determine whether resilience could be focussed in to a model such as this for the purposes of intervention.

5.10 CONCLUSIONS

The current thesis was based on a reframing of both individual resilience and national resilience, as had previously been done for community resilience (Ellis & Abdi, 2017) and sought to explore all three constructs under this framework. Theoretically, the current thesis has made a number of important advancements in the understanding of resilience as three constructs and how these relate to one another in a multicultural society. Cross-sectional evidence from both a student sample and a general populations sample presented suggests resilience should be considered an overarching concept under which different constructs fall, namely individual, community and national resilience. Whilst these are related, the relationship is not always so that

it can be assumed they are levels which build upon one another. Findings showed resilience at the level of the individual, community, and nation represented distinct constructs consistent with previous research (Kimhi, 2014). However, the relationship between national and community resilience was stronger among a United Kingdom sample and the direction of the relationship varied dependent on population highlighting the importance for understanding the context in which resilience is measured and understood. As a concept applied to policy, resilience has the potential to have wide-ranging implications. The findings of the current study indicate that it should not be haphazardly applied to social policy as a single construct as individual, community, and national resilience may interact in different ways with varying outcomes in relation to social issues such as extremism. Furthermore, there are different factors predicting each resilience construct which have important implications for building resilience at the level of the individual, community, and nation. Ultimately, any strategy or intervention, where resilience is a factor, should not fail to distinguish between the three constructs. The current thesis also encourages an increased interest in examining resilience within the UK with consideration of the three constructs and how such an understanding can inform policy aimed to counter-extremism. That is to take the learnings from the current thesis and use them to develop theory and more focused research around each construct and how they relate to the social world, especially in relation to extremism. Whilst the focus here has been on current counter-extremism policy within the United Kingdom, largely that of Prevent, the practical implications of such an understanding have a much wider reach both within policy circles and beyond.

Beyond the exploration of the three resilience constructs, the current research found community cohesion to be related with high levels of community resilience, but low levels of national resilience. Findings also showed both community and national resilience were

associated with holding attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm, yet no significant direct relationship between community cohesiveness and attitudes of intolerance was found suggesting community cohesion may be an important underpinning of community resilience, but building resilience at the level of the community is more closely related to attitudes of intolerance and therefore offers the most promising direction for strategies aimed at changing such attitudes and reducing vulnerability to radicalisation. Findings also revealed several demographic differences both in relation to the three resilience constructs and attitudes of intolerance which should also be taken in to consideration when discussing risk and vulnerability in this area and of course when developing policy and interventions. Additionally, both political orientation and religion were found to be related to attitudes of intolerance consistent with previous research, though more research is needed to explore how these findings can be of utility to counter-extremism measures from a psychological perspective.

Overall, the community appears to be key in the relationships observed in the current research. In turn, recommendations for policy have been made indicating under a diagnosis of individuals within communities and society being vulnerable to the threat of extremism and radicalisation, community resilience and community cohesion can be applied together as responses. These constructs have the potential to contribute to the reduction of vulnerability and subsequent rejection of extremist rhetoric.

In conclusion, resilience has widely been applied across disciplines, framed in a variety of ways, and having many different implications. Even within psychology itself, resilience has held a place for some time and research pertaining to such in general is well-developed. The current research is the first attempt to conduct an empirical exploration of resilience as three distinct constructs under a reframing in the context of countering extremism. The main aim of

this thesis has been to investigate resilience constructs alongside the role of community, political and religious factors, and determine the relationship of these to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm. This thesis concludes that (1) the three resilience constructs, whilst related, represent distinct concepts whose relationship to one another differs among context; (2) community cohesion is related to both community and national resilience; (3) both community resilience and national resilience are related to attitudes of intolerance considered against the social norm within the United Kingdom.

APPENDICES

Appendix I – Participant Information Sheet – Pilot Study



Participant Information Sheet

Dear Participant,

The following questionnaire focuses on various characteristics associated with yourself, your community and your nation. Your willingness to participate and respond honestly will assist us to better prepare for and respond to the needs of the population in emergency situations.

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part your consent will be taken, should you wish to withdraw at any point during the survey you will be free to do this. A decision to withdraw or a decision not to take part will in no way affect you and no further action will be taken.

The questionnaire is anonymous and your answers will be used for research purposes only.

Any information disclosed in the questionnaire will be kept confidential, except where legal obligations would necessitate disclosure by the researchers to appropriate personnel.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

If you have any questions or issues at any point, please feel free to contact the following researcher:

Saskia Ryan

PhD Researcher, *The University of Huddersfield*

Saskia.Ryan@hud.ac.uk

(If you would like to be contacted via telephone, please leave your name and number and I will endeavour to contact you within 24 hours)

Supervisor details:

Dr. Maria Ioannou

International Research Centre for
Investigative Psychology

M.Ioannou@hud.ac.uk

Dr. Merle Parmak

School of Human and Health Sciences

M.Parmak@hud.ac.uk

Appendix II – Questionnaire – Pilot Study

Demographics and Initial questions

Age:

Gender:

- Female
- Male

Religious orientation

- No religion
- Sikhism
- Christianity
- Islam
- Judaism
- Buddhism
- Other

Please state.....

How would you define yourself regarding religiosity?

- Secular
- Traditional
- Religious
- Very religious (Orthodox)

What is your highest educational achievement at present?

- Lower than high school
- High School
- College/ Sixth form
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- PhD

Country of residence?

.....

In what country were you born?

.....

In what country/'s were your parents born?

.....

Current Occupation

.....

Based on how you felt over the last month, to what extent do you agree with the following statements

	0 Not true at any time	1 Rarely true	2 Sometimes true	3 Often true	4 True nearly of the time
1. Able to adapt to change	0	0	0	0	0
2. Can deal with whatever comes	0	0	0	0	0
3. Past success gives confidence for new challenges	0	0	0	0	0
4. See the humorous side of things	0	0	0	0	0
5. Coping with stress strengths	0	0	0	0	0
6. Tend to bounce back after illness or hardship	0	0	0	0	0
7. Best effort no matter what	0	0	0	0	0
8. You can achieve your goals	0	0	0	0	0
9. When things look hopeless, I don't give up	0	0	0	0	0
10. Make unpopular or difficult decisions	0	0	0	0	0
11. Can handle unpleasant feelings	0	0	0	0	0
12. I like challenges	0	0	0	0	0
13. You work to attain your goals	0	0	0	0	0
14. Take pride in your achievements	0	0	0	0	0

In relation to community, please indicate to what extent you agree with each of the following sentences.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. The municipal authority function well	0	0	0	0	0
2. There is mutual assistance and people care for one another	0	0	0	0	0
3. My community is prepared for an emergency situation	0	0	0	0	0
4. I am proud to tell others where I live	0	0	0	0	0
5. Good relationships exist between various groups	0	0	0	0	0

6. I trust the local decision makers	0	0	0	0	0
7. I can count on people in my community to help in a crisis situation	0	0	0	0	0
8. Residents are aware of their roles in an emergency situation	0	0	0	0	0
9. I have a sense of belonging to my community	0	0	0	0	0
10. Residents in my community trust each other	0	0	0	0	0

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Do not agree at all	2	3	4	5	6 Completely agree
1.The Prime Minister and the government show high leadership ability during this time of uncertainty	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.I believe that my government will make the right decisions in a time of crisis	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.During a national crisis society in my country will back up government decisions and those of the Prime Minister	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. I have full confidence in the fighting ability of my country's army	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.I have full confidence in the ability of the security forces of my country to protect our population	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. I love my country and I am proud of it	0	0	0	0	0	0
7. My country is my home and I don't intend to leave it	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. I believe that in my country there is a good future for me and my children	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.My society has coped well with past crises and will cope well with future crises	0	0	0	0	0	0

10. Despite controversies in peacetime, society in my country always unites during a time of crisis	0	0	0	0	0	0
11. Although we have had many wars in the past, society in my country has the ability to cope, if necessary, with another war	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. I am optimistic about the future of my country	0	0	0	0	0	0
13. Social relations between the different groups in my country are good	0	0	0	0	0	0
14. In my society there is a high level of social solidarity (mutual assistance and concern for one another)	0	0	0	0	0	0
15. The expression 'dog eat dog world' is characteristic of my society	0	0	0	0	0	0
16. Social tension within my society is low	0	0	0	0	0	0
17. In my society there is a reasonable level of social justice	0	0	0	0	0	0

Rate the degree of confidence you have in the following institutions in your country

	1 No confidence	2	3	4	5	6 Full Confidence
The media	0	0	0	0	0	0
The justice system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The police	0	0	0	0	0	0
The social security system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The parliament	0	0	0	0	0	0
The education system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The health system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The welfare system	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix III – Debrief Sheet – Pilot Study



Debriefing Information

Dear participant,

Thank you for your participation in this study.

It is hoped that you have not be negatively affected by your taking part. However, if you do feel that you require psychological support this is freely available and we would encourage you to contact the following

University of Huddersfield Counselling Services

Level 4, Student Central

University of Huddersfield

wellbeingdisabilityadmin@hud.ac.uk

Telephone: 01484 472227

More information on this service can be found at <https://www.hud.ac.uk/wellbeing-disability-services/wellbeing/counselling/> .

Victim support: Services are free and available to everyone, whether or not the crime has been reported and regardless of when it happened.

Telephone: 08 08 16 89 111

Samaritans: Help available 24 hours a day, 365 days a year

Telephone: 116 123

If you have any other queries please contact the following:

Saskia Ryan, PhD Researcher, *The University of Huddersfield*

Saskia.Ryan@hud.ac.uk

Supervisor details:

Dr. Maria Ioannou

International Research Centre for
Investigative Psychology

M.Ioannou@hud.ac.uk

Dr. Merle Parmak

School of Human and Health Sciences

M.Parmak@hud.ac.uk

Appendix IV – Consent Form – Pilot Study



Consent Form

Individual, Community, and National Resilience: An International Comparison

It is important that you read, understand and sign the consent form. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact your researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research

I consent to taking part in it

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without giving any reason

I give permission for my words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym)

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions for a period of five years at the University of Huddersfield

I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s will have access to the information provided.

I understand that my identity will be protected and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will be included in any report.

Please ensure you answer yes to all the above statements before proceeding with answering the questionnaire.

Appendix V – Ethical Approval – Pilot Study

Saturday, September 1, 2018 at 3:42:06 PM British Summer Time

Subject: Your SREP Application - Saskia Ryan (PhD) - APPROVED - Individual, Community, and National Resilience: An International Comparison - SREP/2015/109
Date: Friday, 8 January 2016 at 14:26:56 Greenwich Mean Time
From: Kirsty Thomson
To: Saskia Ryan U1160306
CC: Merle Parmak, Maria Ioannou, Dawn Leeming, Rachel Armitage
Attachments: image001.png, image002.png, image003.png

Dear Saskia,

Dr Dawn Leeming, SREP Deputy Chair, has asked me to confirm that you have addressed the issues raised to her satisfaction and full ethical approval has now been given for your research project as detailed above.

With best wishes for the success of your research project.

Regards,

Kirsty
(on behalf of Dr Dawn Leeming, SREP Deputy Chair)

Kirsty Thomson
Research Administrator

☎: 01484 471156

✉: K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk

🌐: www.hud.ac.uk

School of Human and Health Sciences Research Office (HHRG/11)
University of Huddersfield | Queensgate | Huddersfield | HD1 3DH

Appendix VI – Participant Information Sheet – Main Study



Study of Resilience, Community and Attitudes.

Participant information sheet

Dear Participant,

This questionnaire you are being invited to complete seeks your responses on various matters. It is part of a project aiming to investigate how resilience and community cohesion relate to attitudes towards various issues. You have been asked to participate because it is important to include as many people across the general population to avoid any research bias.

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you chose to take part you will be required to give your consent, you will be then asked to provide responses for all questions. The questionnaire should take approximately 20 minutes of your time.

Your responses will remain completely anonymous with no link between your responses and your identification, this is both for your protection and also to encourage you to answer openly and honestly. Due to the need to keep responses anonymous it will not be possible to remove your responses once these have been submitted, however, if whilst taking part you wish to no longer do so then incompleting will be taken as a wish to withdraw.

The current study is part of a PhD project and so the results will be published within the final thesis alongside the potential for dissemination through academic journals, articles and conference presentations. Again, any responses will remain completely anonymous.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

If you have any questions or issues at any point, please feel free to contact the following researcher:

Saskia Ryan

PhD Researcher, *The University of Huddersfield*

Saskia.Ryan@hud.ac.uk

Supervisor details:

Dr. Maria Ioannou

International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology

Dr. Merle Parmak

School of Human and Health Sciences

Appendix VII – Questionnaire – Main Research

Demographics and Initial questions

Age:

Gender:

- Female
- Male

Religious orientation

- No religion
- Sikhism
- Christianity
- Islam
- Judaism
- Buddhism
- Other

Please state.....

How would you define yourself regarding religiosity?

- Secular
- Traditional
- Religious
- Very religious (Orthodox)

What is your highest educational achievement at present?

- Lower than high school
- High School
- College/ Sixth form
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- PhD

Country of residence?

.....

In what country were you born?

.....

In what country/'s were your parents born?

.....

Current Occupation

.....

What is the MAIN community you identify yourself as belonging to?

.....
.....
.....

Type of community?

Please select ONE which you view as the most salient.

Interest – It is a community of people who share the same interest or passion

Action – It is a community of people trying to bring about change

Place – It is a community of people brought together by geographic boundaries

Practice – It is a community of people in the same profession or undertake the same activities

Circumstance – It is a community of people brought together by external events/ situation

Other -

.....
.....
.....

Do members in this community mostly help each other out or go their own way?

- mostly help each other out
- go their own way

What is the size of this community?

- Small (< 5000)
- Medium (5001 – 10000)
- Large (>10000 or more)

Do you identify with any additional communities? Please list

.....
.....
.....

Based on how you felt over the last month, to what extent do you agree with the following statements

	0 Not true at any time	1 Rarely true	2 Sometimes true	3 Often true	4 True nearly of the time
1. Able to adapt to change	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Can deal with whatever comes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Past success gives confidence for new challenges	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. See the humorous side of things	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Coping with stress strengths	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Tend to bounce back after illness or hardship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Best effort no matter what	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. You can achieve your goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. When things look hopeless, I don't give up	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Make unpopular or difficult decisions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Can handle unpleasant feelings	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. I like challenges	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. You work to attain your goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Take pride in your achievements	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The following questions refer to the MAIN community as identified in the initial questions. Please indicate to what extent you agree with each of the following sentences.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1.The municipal authority function well	0	0	0	0	0
2.There is mutual assistance and people care for one another	0	0	0	0	0
3.My community is prepared for an emergency situation	0	0	0	0	0
4. I am proud to tell others which community I belong to	0	0	0	0	0
5.Good relationships exist between various groups	0	0	0	0	0
6. I trust the main decision makers in the community	0	0	0	0	0
7. I can count on people in my community to help in a crisis situation	0	0	0	0	0
8. Members are aware of their roles in an emergency situation	0	0	0	0	0
9. I have a sense of belonging to my community	0	0	0	0	0
10. Members in my community trust each other	0	0	0	0	0

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Do not agree at all	2	3	4	5	6 Completely agree
1.The Prime Minister and the government show high leadership ability during this time of uncertainty	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.I believe that my government will make the right decisions in a time of crisis	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.During a national crisis society in my country will back up government decisions and those of the Prime Minister	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. I have full confidence in the fighting ability of my country's army	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.I have full confidence in the ability of the security forces of my country to protect our population	0	0	0	0	0	0

6. I love my country and I am proud of it	0	0	0	0	0	0
7. My country is my home and I don't intend to leave it	0	0	0	0	0	0
8. I believe that in my country there is a good future for me and my children	0	0	0	0	0	0
9. My society has coped well with past crises and will cope well with future crises	0	0	0	0	0	0
10. Despite controversies in peacetime, society in my country always unites during a time of crisis	0	0	0	0	0	0
11. Although we have had many wars in the past, society in my country has the ability to cope, if necessary, with another war	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. I am optimistic about the future of my country	0	0	0	0	0	0
13. Social relations between the different groups in my country are good	0	0	0	0	0	0
14. In my society there is a high level of social solidarity (mutual assistance and concern for one another)	0	0	0	0	0	0
15. The expression 'dog eat dog world' is characteristic of my society	0	0	0	0	0	0
16. Social tension within my society is low	0	0	0	0	0	0
17. In my society there is a reasonable level of social justice	0	0	0	0	0	0

Rate the degree of confidence you have in the following institutions in your country

	1 No confidence	2	3	4	5	6 Full Confidence
The media	0	0	0	0	0	0
The justice system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The police	0	0	0	0	0	0
The social security system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The parliament	0	0	0	0	0	0
The education system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The health system	0	0	0	0	0	0
The welfare system	0	0	0	0	0	0

Please indicate your response to the following questions.

1. How often do you think about religious issues

Very Often Often Occasionally Rarely Never
O O O O O

2. To what extent do you believe that God or something divine exists?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all
O O O O O

3. How often do you take part in religious services?

More than once Once a week One or three A few times a Less Often Never
a week O times a month year O O
O O O O

4. How often do you pray?

Several Once a day More than Once a One or A few Less often Never
times a day O once a week three times times a O O
O O week O a month year O

4b. How often do you meditate

Several Once a day More than Once a One or A few Less often Never
times a day O once a week three times times a O O
O O week O a month year O

5. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine intervenes in your life?

Very Often Often Occasionally Rarely Never
O O O O O

5b. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that you are in one with all?

Very Often Often Occasionally Rarely Never
O O O O O

6. How interested are you in learning more about religious topics?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all
O O O O O

7. To what extent do you believe in an afterlife – e.g. immortality of the soul, resurrection of the dead or reincarnation?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all

8. How important is it to take part in religious services?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all

9. How important is personal prayer for you?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all

10. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that God or something divine wants to communicate or reveal something to you?

Very Often Often Occasionally Rarely Never

10b. How often do you experience situations in which you have the feeling that you are touched by a divine power?

Very Often Often Occasionally Rarely Never

11. How often do you keep yourself informed about religious questions through radio, television, internet, newspapers, or books?

Very Often Often Occasionally Rarely Never

12. In your opinion, how probable is it that a higher power really exists?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all

13. How important is it for you to be connected to a religious community?

Very much so Quite a bit Moderately Not very much Not at all

14. How often do you pray spontaneously when inspired by daily situations?

Several times a day O	Once a day O	More than once a week O	Once a week O	One or three times a month O	A few times a year O	Less often O	Never O
-----------------------------	-----------------	----------------------------------	---------------------	---------------------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------	------------

14b. How often do you try to connect to the divine spontaneously when inspired by daily situations?

Several times a day O	Once a day O	More than once a week O	Once a week O	One or three times a month O	A few times a year O	Less often O	Never O
-----------------------------	-----------------	----------------------------------	---------------------	---------------------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------	------------

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Very strongly disagree	Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree	Very strongly agree
1. God has given humanity a complete, unyielding guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
2. No single book of religious teachings contains all the intrinsic, fundamental truths about life	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
3. The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is constantly and ferociously fighting against God	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
4. It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
5. There is a particular set of religious teachings in the world that are so true, you can't go any deeper because they are the basic, bedrock message that God has given humanity	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
6. When you get right down to it, there are basically only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God, and the rest, who will not	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

7. Scriptures may contain general truths, but they should NOT, be considered completely, literally true from beginning to end	<input type="radio"/>								
8. To lead the best, most meaningful life. One must belong to, fundamentally true religion	<input type="radio"/>								
9. 'Satan' is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is no such thing as a diabolical 'Prince of Darkness' who tempts us	<input type="radio"/>								
10. Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, science is probably right	<input type="radio"/>								
11. The fundamentals of God's religion should never be tampered with, or compromised with other's beliefs	<input type="radio"/>								
12. All of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings. There is no perfectly true, right religion.	<input type="radio"/>								

In politics, people sometimes talk of the political 'left' and 'right'. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where **0 means the far-left** and **10 means the far-right**?

<input type="radio"/>										
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="radio"/>										

In relation to equality for all races and ethnicities, where would you place yourself on this scale where **0 means strongly support** and **10 means strongly oppose** full equal rights for all races and ethnicities?

<input type="radio"/>										
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="radio"/>										

In relation to equal rights for both males and females, where would you place yourself on this scale where **0 means strongly support** and **10 mean strongly oppose** full equal rights for males and females?

<input type="radio"/>										
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="radio"/>										

In relation to equal rights for LGBT individuals, where would you place yourself on this scale where **0 means strongly support** and **10 means strongly oppose** equal rights for LGBT individuals?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

In relation to the debate on animal rights, where would you place yourself on this scale where **0 means strongly oppose** and **10 means strongly support** animal rights?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

Appendix VIII – Participant Debrief Form – Main Research



Study of Resilience, Community and Attitudes.

Debriefing Information

Dear participant,

Thank you for your participation in this study, your time has been greatly appreciated and is vital to the integrity of the project.

It is hoped that you have not be negatively affected by your taking part. However, if you do feel that you require psychological support this is freely available and we would encourage you to contact the following

Samaritans: Help available 24 hours a day, 365 days a year

Telephone: **116 123**

Tell MAMA: supports victims of anti-Muslim hate.

Telephone: 0800 456 1226

If you have any other queries please contact the following:

Saskia Ryan, PhD Researcher, *The University of Huddersfield*

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Appendix IX – Consent Form – Main Research

Study of Resilience, Community and Attitudes.

Consent Form

I have been fully informed of the nature of the research and what I will be expected to do in the Information sheet provided

I consent to taking part in the research

I understand that during the questionnaire if I feel I no longer want to take part I can leave the questionnaire incomplete and this will be taken to mean I have withdrawn

I understand that once my completed questionnaire is submitted I will be unable to withdraw my responses due to the need to ensure anonymity

I understand that I will remain anonymous and that I will be in no way linked to any responses given

I understand that data collected will be stored securely for a period of ten years after the end date of the project

I consent to my responses to be published, anonymously, as part of the final report and any subsequent publications

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project then please proceed to the questionnaire, your completing of the questionnaire will be taken as consent.

Appendix X – Ethical Approval – Main research

Saturday, September 1, 2018 at 3:45:03 PM British Summer Time

Subject: Your SREP Application - Saskia Ryan (PhD) - APPROVED - Examining individual, community and national resilience in relation to extremist attitudes among communities with varying levels of cohesiveness (SREP/2016/061)
Date: Wednesday, 17 August 2016 at 13:19:01 British Summer Time
From: Kirsty Thomson
To: Saskia Ryan U1160306
CC: Maria Ioannou, Merle Parmak, Andrew Newton, Warren Gillibrand, Dawn Leeming, Rachel Armitage
Attachments: image004.png, image005.png, image006.png

Dear Saskia,

Andrew has confirmed that you have addressed the issues raised to his satisfaction and full ethical approval has now been granted.

However, Andrew has made the following recommendation:

As per the link on SREP website:

http://www.hud.ac.uk/media/universityofhuddersfield/content2013/schools/humanandhealthsciences/document/research/srep/SREP_Appn_Explanatory_RevApril16.pdf

Andrew suggests that you follow the guidance below:

"Please state whether or not your research involves accessing data or visiting websites that could constitute a legal or reputational risk to you or the University if misconstrued. Examples of this include accessing information or visiting websites that include images of child abuse or even adult pornography. It is essential that you minimise this risk by informing your Supervisor or Line Manager of the intended research and, if this includes online data, ensuring that you inform IT services of this anticipated risk".

Andrew suggests that you keep a log, but also inform IT Support (it.support@hud.ac.uk) and your Main Supervisor.

With best wishes for the success of your research project.

Regards,

Kirsty
(on behalf of Dr Andrew Newton, Acting SREP Chair)

Kirsty Thomson
Research Administrator

☎: 01484 471156

✉: K.Thomson@hud.ac.uk

🌐: www.hud.ac.uk

School of Human and Health Sciences Research Office
Edith Key Building – EKG/11 (formerly Human and Health Research Building)
University of Huddersfield | Queensgate | Huddersfield | HD1 3DH

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