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Stocktake Research Project

A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE AND SELECTED PROGRAM REVIEW ON SOCIAL COHESION,
COMMUNITY RESILIENCE AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM 2011-2015

MICHELE GROSSMAN, MARIO PEUCKER AND DEBRA SMITH

CENTRE FOR CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND WELLBEING, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, AND

HASS DELLAL AO

AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURAL FOUNDATION

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COMMISSIONED BY THE SOCIAL COHESION AND COMMUNITY RESILIENCE MINISTERIAL TASKFORCE, STATE OF VICTORIA

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Executive Summary

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The Victorian Government has a strong and demonstrated commitment to strengthening social cohesion and resilient communities by seeking to promote community safety and wellbeing and mitigate anti-social behaviours, including any form of racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism.

Driven by this commitment, the Social Cohesion and Community Resilience Ministerial Taskforce commissioned the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing (CCDW) at Victoria University, in partnership with the Australia Multicultural Foundation (AMF), to undertake a systematic stocktake review and analysis of (a) recent research and (b) program initiatives (2011-2015) on the role of social cohesion and community resilience in redressing the risk of socially harmful forms of exclusivism, including violent extremism and racism.

The Stocktake Report identifies key themes and findings from the literature and selected programs reviewed, as well as critical knowledge gaps and practical recommendations that can guide Victoria's policymaking, research and program investment and direction.

The Report is divided into two main parts: a systematic literature review and a selected program review, as well as sections on methodology, knowledge gaps and recommendations.

The **systematic research literature review** examines research conducted 2011-2015 in order to answer two key questions:

1. *What factors influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism?*
2. *How do social cohesion and community resilience address these factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?*

Following a rigorous seven-phase systematic literature search methodology (Petticrew and Roberts, 2006; Gough et al., 2013), the review synthesises evidence from (1) scholarly peer reviewed literature published in academic journals, and (2) 'grey literature' such as reports and policy briefs from government departments, think tanks and research institutes. The systematic search of peer-reviewed literature returned 10,484 results. After a multiple-stage elimination process assessing relevance to the key research questions, this pool was reduced to 284 highly relevant articles. These data were supplemented by 86 grey literature results, 45 articles from a further manual journal search, and a number of identified books and book chapters based on the research team's expert knowledge of the research fields.

The **selected program review** involved a combination of electronic database and manual search strategies to identify relevant national and overseas programs designed to redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion, and counter violent extremism (CVE). The identified programs were critically reviewed using two criteria: (1) program effectiveness (deliverables, evaluation, sustainability, transferability and impact), and (2) applicability to the Victorian context. Twenty-five national and overseas programs were selected for closer analysis and discussion.

KEY TERMS

Several key terms and concepts govern the Stocktake exercise, including **social cohesion**, **community resilience**, **exclusivism** and **violent extremism**.

Social cohesion

This work uses Jenson's (1998: 15) five dimensions of *social cohesion*, which also inform the Scanlon Foundatio Social Cohesion Survey in Australia (Markus, 2015):

- Belonging: shared values, collective identities, community belonging
- Inclusion: equal opportunities and access to labour market and other key institutions
- Participation: involvement and civic/political engagement
- Recognition: acceptance and recognition of diversity
- Legitimacy: legitimacy of institutions that mediate conflicts in a pluralistic society

Community resilience

The *social-ecological framework of community resilience* (Ungar 2011; Ungar et al. 2007; Liebenberg et al. 2012; Masten et al. 2010) sees resilience as a dynamic, interdependent, multi-system and multi-level process, rather than a fixed set of features or attributes for individuals or groups. It analyses resilience risks and protections through assessing communities' adaptability and transformative capacity in response to changes, challenges and adversities, which is highly relevant for understanding community resilience strengths and vulnerabilities in Victoria.

Violent extremism

Given its relevance for the Australian context and grounding in the international literature since 2005 (Nasser-Eddine et al. 2011), we use the following definition of *violent extremism*: 'Violent extremism is the beliefs and actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological, religious or political goals. This includes terrorism and other forms of politically motivated and communal violence' (Attorney-General's Department, 2015b).

Exclusivism

Exclusivism is used as an umbrella term for a set of attitudes and actions informed by the assumption of inequality between groups and especially the superiority one's own group. Exclusivist viewpoints tend to define group boundaries in rigid terms based on assumed fixed sets of values, traits and 'in/out' criteria. The Stocktake Report recognises that exclusivism *per se* is not necessarily harmful and therefore has focused specifically on *socially harmful* manifestations of exclusivism, for example racism and violent extremism, that aim to humiliate, denigrate and/or harm others based on their actual or perceived membership of or identification with a particular ethnic, racial, cultural or religious group.

FACTORS INFLUENCING OR PROTECTING AGAINST EXCLUSIVISM

The Stocktake Report focuses on socially harmful elements and impacts of exclusivism. Racism and Islamist-based violent extremism have emerged as the most prominent themes arising from the literature search. Beyond Australian scholarship, the search yielded research evidence and perspectives from the United Kingdom, European and North American scholarly sources. Many valuable insights and findings from these sources also apply directly to or resonate in the Victorian context.

UNDERSTANDING 'NEW' OR CULTURAL RACISM, INCLUDING ISLAMOPHOBIA

The systematic search of literature 2011-2015 suggests that racism, including an increasing focus on 'new' or cultural racism, continues to occupy a prominent position in recent social science research. This prominence has been driven by increased scholarly interest in Islamophobia as a specific manifestation of 'new' racism, in which claims of superiority are based on cultural or religious rather than traditionally racial/ethnic or physical/biological markers. This is not to say that biologically based racism against minorities has disappeared, and various facets of 'old' racism are still explored in contemporary research. However, scholarly attention has shifted towards culturally grounded forms of social exclusivism that define various ethnic, cultural and religious groups as 'other', seen as outside of or threatening to a given society's norms and values.

Distinguishing between Islamophobia and racism

Islamophobia is often uncritically equated with racism, downplaying the importance of analytically delineating Islamophobia from other forms of racism. Ekman (2015: 1988) argues that Islamophobia is 'a distinct discourse that continuously interacts with racism, but that, simultaneously, is irreducible to racism'. Islamophobia draws on discourses of racialisation and securitisation about Muslims as the 'other', combined with hostility towards Islam as a belief system, which then creates Muslims as a suspect group. A related theme revolves around the concept of 'liberal intolerance' (Lindekilde, 2014). This refers to using liberal values (e.g. freedom of speech, gender equality) and cultural assimilation as the ultimate yardsticks for acceptance of cultural 'others', especially Muslims (Ekman, 2015; Keskinen, 2012; Kundnani, 2012b). These exclusionary mechanisms of 'new' racism have led in some instances to the mainstreaming of anti-Muslim sentiments across the political spectrum.

Denial of racism

The denial of racism in Western societies, including Australia, is another key theme. One dimension of this is how the dominant celebration of diversity

and multiculturalism diminishes the space for the articulation of racism. Other facets of denial are related to the narrow focus on racism as a personal expression of prejudice, which ignores or downplays institutionalised or systemic racism, including racialised public discourse (Harman and Sinha, 2014).

The influence of right-wing extremist political parties

A number of international articles and reports examine the institutionalisation and expression of racist, anti-Muslim and nationalist-exclusivist attitudes by right-wing extremist political parties or movements. Yet despite mounting evidence of the growth of right-wing exclusivist political groups in Australia, including Victoria (King, 2015), this area has remained markedly under-researched in the Australian context. Research suggests right-wing extremist political movements are regarded as increasingly important amplifiers of racist or anti-Muslim prejudice with the potential to shift the boundaries of social norms and control and to mainstream, normalise and legitimise intolerance and exclusivist sentiments, especially towards Muslims (Bail, 2012; Lindekilde, 2014; Green, 2012). This is despite their marginal political position and limited electoral success in most countries.

Symbolic and realistic threat scenarios

The perception of both symbolic and realistic 'threat' emerges as a key explanatory factor at the micro-level for racist and exclusivist views (Ciftci, 2012; Alam and Husband, 2013; Peucker and Akbarzadeh, 2014; Ceballos and Yakushko, 2014). Empirical evidence suggests that people are more likely to be prejudiced if they feel they compete with cultural or ethnic others over limited resources (e.g. housing, jobs); that their safety and security is under 'realistic' threat (regardless of whether the threat is real), or if they feel their cultural dominance or way of life, values and beliefs are symbolically threatened by those perceived as 'outsiders'. The 'symbolic threat' scenario resonates in particular with new forms of anti-Muslim racism based on liberal intolerance, whereas the 'realistic threat' scenario is often linked to prevalent securitisation discourses in response to the perceived threat of terrorism.

Amplifying exclusivism

Studies measuring racist, xenophobic or Islamophobic attitudes have consistently demonstrated that socioeconomic and educational factors at both macro- and structural levels are significantly associated with these attitudes. This also applies to survey findings from Australia (International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding, 2015; Markus, 2015). Various policies, political rhetoric and public discourse, including mass media, can play a key role in amplifying or fuelling racist or exclusivist views of various minority groups (Gilroy, 2012; Cesari, 2012; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Sinno, 2012; O'Loughlin and Gillespie, 2012; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014). This has been particularly the case in relation to constructing Muslims and Islam as security threats with implications for the reduced threshold for expressing anti-Muslim racism (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012).

Protecting against or mitigating exclusivism

The vast majority of articles on protective factors discuss the importance of positive intergroup contacts as the main approach to promote mutual respect and prevent or reduce intolerance and anti-minority prejudice (Ceballos and Yakushko, 2014; Halafoff, 2011; Shaw, 2012; Sanderson and Thomas, 2014; Legewie, 2013). Effective intergroup interaction and exchange can take place in various public and social spaces, including workplaces, recreation areas and activities, local neighbourhoods and schools. Educational settings have been particularly highlighted as sites for facilitating positive intergroup contact as well as 'fostering a respect for the presence of Others, which can coexist with tension and conflict' (Ho 2011: 603). Formal education can serve as a proxy for other protective factors, such as increased opportunities for intergroup interaction or higher levels of knowledge about and familiarity with minority groups (Michael 2013; Lentini et al. 2011).

Policy contexts for enhancing or reducing exclusivism

Policy-related factors, including policymaking, political leadership and rhetoric, have been identified in the literature as contributing to reducing (or fuelling) levels of prejudice or racist behaviour, including by setting standards of social

norms and legitimacy (Ho, 2011; Janmaat and Mons, 2011). In the Australian context, Dunn and Nelson (2011: 599), for example, call for recalibrated multicultural policies with a strengthened focus on anti-racism policy and practice and re-invigorated public commitment to the values and strengths associated with the cultural diversity of Australian society.

VIOLENT EXTREMISM: CAUSES, INFLUENCES AND PROTECTIONS

Our review of literature 2011-2015 on the causes of, influences on and protections against violent extremism builds on an earlier literature review conducted by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) that surveyed scholarship and concepts in this field up to 2010. The current review focuses primarily on new or persisting themes since 2010.

Unstable terminology on terrorism and radicalisation

Debate continues to focus on definitional and conceptual issues surrounding the terms 'radicalisation', 'extremist' and 'violent extremist'. There is a renewed focus on the implications such distinctions have in making and implementing policy. In practice, the tensions inherent in these terms have ultimately, if inadvertently, resulted in the securitisation of Muslims (Bonino, 2012; Brown and Saeed, 2015) and the creation of suspect communities (Awan, 2012; Murphy et al., 2015; Spalek, 2011), with negative impacts for securing community trust and cooperation and building broad-based social cohesion and resilience.

Continued debate over causal factors

The causes of violent extremism remain deeply contentious. A variety of themes continue to frame the literature including the role of foreign policy and political grievance (Akbarzadeh, 2013), disadvantage and socio-economic frustration (Deckard and Jacobson, 2015), alienation, social exclusion, identity and belonging (Tahiri and Grossman, 2013), discrimination (Murphy et al., 2015) and the role of religion and ideology (Aly and Striegheer, 2012; Borum, 2014).

New global movements and challenges

New areas of research that have emerged since the Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) review are closely linked to two pivotal events. Firstly, the 2011 Breivik attacks in Norway have led to a renewed focus on the dangers of right-wing extremism and the issue of lone wolf attacks (Spaaij, 2012; McCauley and Moskalenko, 2014). Secondly, the rise of the so-called Islamic State (IS) has led to a surge of interest in the role of social media within radicalisation processes (Aly et al., 2014b; Richardson, 2013) and the issue of foreign fighters (Lister, 2015; Zammit, 2015).

Cultural and psychological lenses on violent extremism

The literature has now strengthened its focus on perspectives that explore violent extremism through the lens of sub-cultures, counter-cultures or gangs (Pisoiu, 2015; Cottee, 2011; Crone, 2014). Increasing attention is also being paid to the emotional needs that can be exploited by violent extremist groups that offer a narrative or redemption, thrill and purpose (Bartlett and Miller, 2012; Cottee and Hayward, 2011; Smith, 2016). Closely related to this is a renewed focus on experiential factors such as the desire for excitement, ultimate meaning, and glory (Cottee and Hayward, 2011) and how this plays out in the area of foreign fighters (Lister, 2015; Briggs and Silverman, 2014) and social media (Fernandez, 2015; Crone, 2014).

Social, religious and ideological lenses on violent extremism

Social factors such as sense of being discriminated against, alienation, social exclusion, and anger or frustration with foreign and domestic policy can be exploited by violent extremists to justify the use of violence and can influence violent extremist trajectories. However, an explicitly causal relationship between such factors and the take-up of violent extremism is empirically weak (Bartlett and Miller, 2012: 6-8). Similarly, a causal link between the role of religion, ideology and narratives has not been empirically established (Aly and Striegheer, 2012). While the cherry-picking of religious concepts in the formation of a violent ideology certainly contribute to the framing of narratives that justify violence, the degree to which this is an intellectual process remains contentious. New directions in research situate the delineation

between 'extremist' and 'violent extremist' more within a subcultural/experiential rather intellectual/ideological framework.

Protecting against violent extremism

Research regarding protective factors remains rare, with 'very little research...conducted on the question of why individuals do not join terrorist or insurgent groups' (Cragin, 2014: 337). Involvement in violent extremism represents a unique alignment of situational, socio-cultural and individual factors that help to make violence a behaviourally inclining, as opposed to behaviourally prescriptive, option and therefore any discussion of protective factors will be coloured by the lack of definitive agreement about what leads to violent extremism. Some important (but not wholly determining) factors that may protect against a person engaging in violent extremism include: the logistics and costs of trying to get to a conflict zone; fear of the repercussions (as an antidote to excitement); the absence of reinforcing social ties; being re-directed towards non-violent activities (such as working for non government organisations (NGO); a belief that violence wouldn't work, and the failure to dehumanise the enemy and family obligations (Cragin, 2014: 342). The voices of both victims and 'formers' (those who have previously embraced but now renounce violent extremism) can be utilised in order to build resistance to violent extremism (Schmid, 2012; McDonald, 2011; Briggs and Silverman, 2014).

Countering violent extremism (CVE) policy and programs

Reinforcing findings by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011: 59-67), the risk of poorly implemented CVE policy being counter-productive remains an issue, particularly when CVE work becomes too closely associated with social cohesion policies (Lakhani, 2012; McDonald, 2011; Spalek, 2014; Kassimeris and Jackson, 2012; Romaniuk, 2015). Evidence also suggests that to protect against violent extremism, preventative work should avoid top-down processes and focus instead on work at grassroots level by credible and respected community members, especially when working with young people (Spalek, 2014; Vermeulen, 2014; Williams et al., 2016; O'Toole et al., 2012; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013). Finally, individually targeted interventions that provide tailored support aimed at behavioural

change for a person at high risk of engaging in violence are likely to be more effective than those that aim at changing beliefs within broader groups or communities (Romaniuk, 2015).

Countering violent extremist narratives

The literature suggests that countering violent extremist narrative efforts will succeed only if they address the underlying factors that drive violent extremist narratives to resonate both individually and socially. For this to occur, strengthening the protective factors that help build resistance to violent extremist ideology and action needs to concentrate on addressing the existential desire for a life with meaning and purpose; the development of healthy peer bonds and social networks, and the need for respect and dignity, all of which are also linked to features of social cohesion and community resilience.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL COHESION IN ADDRESSING EXCLUSIVISM

Acknowledging and managing social conflict and tension

An emergent theme is that social cohesion alone may not be optimally effective a policy or governance tool that prevents or protects against exclusivism. This is linked in the literature to the conceptualisation of social cohesion as a 'continuous and never-ending process of achieving social harmony' (Markus and Kirpitchenko, 2007: 25), which does not provide sufficient scope to effectively address and manage conflicts and tensions. As Ho (2011: 614) argues, while social harmony is 'a laudable goal, it is not always realistic in a highly diverse society in which different groups of people inevitably have conflicting interests and worldviews'.

Despite these limitations, specific sub-dimensions of social cohesion frameworks remain relevant for addressing socially harmful exclusivism and violent extremism, as detailed below.

Recognition and respect for socio-cultural others

Promoting recognition and respect for socio-cultural diversity, and redressing any racist or

other aggressively exclusivist ideologies and their manifestations are an essential way in which social cohesion policy can address harmful forms of exclusivism (Dunn and Nelson, 2011: 599).

Sense of belonging and cultural security

Individuals' sense of belonging, collective identities and shared visions or values can be a prominent protective outcome of social cohesion, not only in countering the damaging effects of exclusionary and stigmatising discourses, but also in the context of 'liberal intolerance' discourses around cultural assimilation (Lindekilde, 2014; Kundnani, 2012b; Hervik, 2012). These discourses, especially when they are critical of diversity, have created high hurdles for certain groups to develop a sense of belonging to the political community and society, and can lead to alienation and exclusion from the national narrative (Bonino, 2015; Jarvis and Lister, 2013; Cesari, 2012; Thomas and Sanderson, 2013; Ahmed, 2011).

Socio-economic inclusion and economic opportunity

In a related vein, studies suggest that reducing discriminatory barriers and promoting equal opportunities and socioeconomic inclusion can help address pessimism and frustration surrounding limited economic prospects and precarious financial situations, or the sense of not having equal access to resources and opportunities (Abbas and Siddique, 2012; Dunn and Nelson, 2011).

Active citizenship: civic and political participation

Promoting civic and political participation, another dimension of social cohesion, can make people, especially youth, less receptive to racism and extremism, helping reduce a sense of social exclusion, isolation or alienation and, by extension, vulnerability to exclusivist groups or ideologies (Abbas and Siddique, 2012: 122). Others focus on how civic engagement and alternative political participation by young Muslims empowers them to 'transcend feelings of being negatively perceived by others' and develop 'deep affection and attachment' to the political community and society (Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking, 2013: 201; O'Loughlin and Gillespie, 2012).

Trust in others and in the state

Trust towards other people and institutions of the state (Markus, 2015) is key to social inclusion, and building trust through policy and programs essential for mitigating social harms. Levels of general trust are negatively associated with the tendency to hold or express racist or other prejudiced views towards other groups (Zick et al., 2011). Right-wing extremist parties are significantly more distrustful of others and also of political institutions (Bartlett and Littler, 2011; Ramalingam et al., 2012). Policies and discourses that undermine trust between people and fuel a sense of alienation and disenfranchisement may increase the risk of racism, violent extremism or other forms of exclusivism (Miah, 2012; Cao, 2014; Murphy et al., 2015; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014; Parmar, 2011).

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN ADDRESSING EXCLUSIVISM

Connection to and pride in cultural and religious heritage

Connection to and pride in cultural and religious heritage has been shown to be a resilience protective factor that can help individuals and communities negotiate challenges, adversities and inequities (Grossman et al., 2014; Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011; Law et al., 2014; Theron and Liebenberg, 2015). The resilience protections afforded by close cultural, ethnic or religious identification do not limit or preclude the formation of strong multi-level ties and identification either with countries of resettlement or with those from different ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds (Dunn et al., 2015; Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking, 2013). Nevertheless, higher levels of prejudice and profiling at community level may erode resilience linked to sense of cultural security when this questions or damages the normative status of minority ethnic and religious affiliations (Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011).

Meaningful relationships with socio-cultural others

Meaningful engagement and interaction with socio-culturally different others offers rich opportunities for promoting social and community resilience (Grossman et al., 2014). However, repeated

encounters with socio-cultural difference in modern urban life can also create uncertainty that can lead to profound anxiety about and antipathy towards cultural others by seeing socio-cultural difference as inherently anti-social and threatening (Bannister and Kearns, 2013). Resources to combat these trends include: rejecting the spatialisation of socio-cultural boundaries; enhancing interpersonal and community connections through shared sense of attachment to place across ethnic, religious and racial lines; territorial and institutional affiliations (community centres, schools, sports teams, religious organisations); and drawing on religious or cultural heritage values that sustain resilient responses to exclusion and discrimination (Clayton, 2012; Mauro, 2013; Grossman et al., 2014; Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011; Law et al., 2014; Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking, 2013).

Sense of voice and efficacy through activism for social change

While individual-level coping strategies such as self-discipline and denial (Mauro, 2013) or 'self-healing' may be mobilised when people experience pervasive social exclusivism or discrimination as a social norm (Kubiliene et al., 2015; Law et al., 2014), they do little to address the broader structural or systemic conditions that perpetuate these social harms. Instead, empowering forms of peaceful civic participation, contestation and dissent can help re-assert a sense of efficacy, voice and control, providing hope for improved social conditions rather than feeling that change is impossible. This can be achieved by building community resilience through developing meaningful local links via 'support groups, networks, organisations and social enterprises', including social media-driven community connections (Mikola and Mansouri, 2015: 509; Clayton, 2012; Bannister and Kearns, 2013; Mauro, 2013).

Flexible, multi-sited identities

Flexible, multi-sited identities that balance pride in cultural heritage and belonging along with valuing multiculturalism and diversity can strengthen individual and community level resilience to both exclusivism and violent extremism (Dunn et al., 2015; Grossman et al., 2014; Theron and Liebenberg, 2015). In Australia, Dunn et al. (2015: 39) note that 'high levels of Muslim experience of

racism together with a view on Islam's compatibility with Australian norms and Muslims' support for diversity' strengthens 'the resilience needed for dealing with the pressures of Islamophobia and racism', while Grossman et al.'s (2014) study found that culturally based forms of resilience are linked to those individuals and groups able to draw on *multiple* cultural resources and affiliations, choosing strengths and discarding weaknesses or liabilities associated with different cultural values and practices in particular contexts. Cultural *flexibility* and *adaptiveness* combined with cultural *robustness* and *continuity* are key features of community resilience.

Community resilience as protection against violent extremism

Recent literature highlights the severe tensions posed by government messaging that promotes the value of social inclusion and tolerance for cultural diversity, on the one hand, and the construction of suspect communities held increasingly responsible for ensuring the safety of society more generally on the other. The linking of security-driven agendas with community cohesion initiatives and programs has resulted in the securitisation of resilience strategies and models that arguably damage, rather than strengthen, community resilience to exclusivism and violent extremism (Hardy, 2015; Walklate et al., 2012). More generalised strengthening of community resilience is protective for coping with a range of harms and adversities, including violent extremism (Grossman et al., 2014).

The role of education in building resilience to violent extremism

Educational considerations of how to build resilience against violent extremism for young people remain under-researched. The United Kingdom's (UK) efforts to connect education and schools to broader CVE initiatives have been the subject of extended critique which argues that this approach has failed to deliver on building youth resilience to violent extremism. Instead, they have constructed young British Muslims as 'both "risky" and "at risk"' (Heath-Kelly 2013, cited in Thomas, 2016, forthcoming), in part by imposing new legislative monitoring and reporting requirements that render educators agents of

government security agendas. The result has been a breakdown in trust, enhanced stigmatisation, and the elimination of the critical role of schools as safe spaces for young people (Thomas, 2016, forthcoming). A more effective approach within the educational setting is to focus on programs that undermine youth attraction towards violent extremism such as community-led political education programs (Barclay, 2011) and citizenship education informed by human rights values and frameworks that highlight opportunities for tackling rather than avoiding complexity and debate (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming).

Indicators and measures of community resilience to violent extremism

There are significant research gaps in the development of indicators or measures of community resilience relating to violent extremism, especially those that can create understanding of *why* people *don't* turn to violent extremism, rather than on *why* they *do*. More work is needed in particular on identifying the preventive and protective factors at work in community resilience contexts, with detailed assessment of their multi-level systemic processes.

KEY FINDINGS: PROGRAM REVIEW

The Stocktake project's program review identified twenty-five (25) programs designed to redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion, and counter violent extremism (CVE). Twelve (12) Australian and thirteen (13) international programs were selected within four thematic categories: Women, Young People, Community-Based, and Individuals at Risk and their Families. Collectively, they offer insights and gaps for consideration, revealing the diverse range of approaches that can be taken through designing holistic and multi-faceted programs. While each project is shaped by country-specific political, cultural and legal aspects, these initiatives collectively provide relevant models that have potential to be adapted in Victoria.

The series of 25 programs represent a wide spectrum of preventative actions and approaches aimed at promoting social cohesion and strengthening national security against the threat of violent extremism. Twenty-three (23) key lessons derived from these programs are detailed in Section 5 of the full report and provide important insights into approaches, methods and practices that can improve or add value to program outcomes. However, significant challenges continue to exist in program design and delivery, and CVE programs in Europe, North America and Australia face a number of common challenges.

Trustworthiness and transparency

A major challenge in designing and implementing CVE programs is ensuring that trust and transparency are developed from the outset with all communities. A number of recent international programs have engendered widespread backlash because the perception is that CVE is focused exclusively on Muslim populations with stigmatising consequences.

Program responsiveness to community and stakeholder diversity

One-size-fits all CVE programs do not cater for significant intra- and inter-community diversity. Effective programs avoid law enforcement initiatives and focus instead on community safety initiatives using public health, psychosocial and educational approaches that avoid program 'taint' through association with CVE.

Effective CVE community partnerships

The process of identifying, establishing, and sustaining local partnerships can result in exclusion or marginalisation of relevant groups and stakeholders. Rather than relying on large national organisations, a more effective approach establishes relations with many different local partners with roots in specific communities. Such partnerships are more likely to harness the full potential of community stakeholders, and can also provide credibility and legitimacy in terms of mobilising a range of community voices to deliver successful programs.

Evaluating CVE program effectiveness

An intrinsic challenge with CVE programs is providing clear metrics that empirically measure their effectiveness. This is particularly problematic for preventative programs as it involves proving a negative: that is, the number of individuals who did not radicalise because of the program. De-radicalisation measures are equally difficult to assess because determining when an individual has become "rehabilitated" is not always straightforward. Alternative indicators of program success and quality constitute a gap in current processes.

Integrated CVE program approaches

All forms of extremism have become globalised; consequently, extremist actions are becoming harder to detect and predict by authorities. Traditional law enforcement techniques alone are not sufficient to deal with these evolving trends. There is a need to provide a broader approach to the issue that incorporates earlier intervention and prevention while engaging with a wide spectrum of players in society.

RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE GAPS

1. Lack of knowledge and analysis on the mobilisation, expression and impact of racist, anti-Muslim and/or nationalist-exclusivist attitudes by right-wing extremist political parties or movements. Despite mounting evidence of right-wing exclusivist political groups in Victoria, they remain under-researched in the Australian context.
2. There is no validated measure that explicitly addresses resilience to violent extremism. The ability to assess and measure both resistance to violent extremism and key resilience features that may protect against this is critical in providing an evidence base to inform government policy and programs.
3. Specific educational curriculum and models that can help strengthen critical thinking, reasoned analysis and the deconstruction of propaganda and anti-social narratives remain largely absent.
4. Analyses of community resilience do not sufficiently engage with issues around culture, gender and intergenerational relationships and nuances, despite strong evidence from the program section of the review that practice on the ground recognises and works intensively with these issues in mind.
5. While the literature on factors that may help counter violent extremism refers consistently to empowering communities to drive strategies and solutions, little is said about the best mechanisms or approaches to achieve this. More research through academic and practitioner collaboration is needed in this area to develop a clear understanding of what works, what doesn't, and why in specific settings and contexts.
6. The negative impacts of civilianising security and conflating resilience and security agendas remain an under-researched theoretical, policy and program area in the Australian context. More work on how *positive* dimensions of community resilience can be harnessed to counter socially harmful manifestations of exclusivism is required.

7. The utility of public health approaches to countering violent extremism remains under-researched. Further work on how public health information and communication strategies aimed at shifting behaviour and attitude towards cultural others, and towards the use of violence as a solution for problems and grievances, is needed.

FUTURE ISSUES FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Promote positive and meaningful social interaction and intergroup relationships with sustained opportunities to learn from and with each other at community level. This can be done through a range of policies and programs, including education and urban planning.
2. Accelerate research on how right-wing extremist groups and movements can exert influence on public discourse and its implications for social cohesion and community resilience.
3. Develop policies and programs that recognise and address dimensions of 'new' or cultural racism in society to help counter arguments that 'racism' is no longer a feature of Victorian or Australian communities.
4. Recognise and further explore the potentially damaging impacts of policymaking, political discourse and media reporting in Australia and Victoria on social cohesion and community resilience when they contribute to promoting scenarios of community threat, anxiety and fear in relation to social and cultural diversity. Consider how political rhetoric can exercise *positive power* to delegitimise anti-egalitarian narratives and ideologies.
5. Strengthen young people's open-mindedness, empathy and capacity for critical thinking at school. Combine this with innovative educational approaches that directly tackle issues around violent extremism in culturally and context-sensitive ways, creating opportunities for dialogue and understanding rather than fear and disengagement.

6. Break down social cohesion policies into specific policy fields, agendas and strategies in order to focus on policies and programs that help:
 - a. create an inclusive government narrative that avoids marginalising minority groups based on ethnicity, race or religion;
 - b. promote multiple identities as a source of strength and resilience;
 - c. strengthen knowledge that strong cultural identity and heritage is compatible with national affiliation;
 - d. tackle interpersonal and structural forms of exclusion, while promoting equal opportunity and access to key institutions (e.g. labour market, education, housing, health and welfare services);
 - e. empower especially young people to civic and political participation, including the capacity for dissenting citizenship; and
 - f. enhance general mutual trust and trust in government, including police.
7. Support further research inquiry that systematically and robustly addresses and builds knowledge relating to the seven key gaps identified above emerging from the review of the literature.
8. Use a multi-level, multi-disciplinary program approach that incorporates health, educational, police and other experts in a holistic model.
9. Incorporate experiential learning in education and training programs by promoting the link between 'thinking' and 'doing'.
10. Provide education and support to family members to increase their awareness and knowledge of reducing risks for violent extremism.
11. Build peer interventions into CVE programs.
12. Ensure that training programs use a diverse range of examples to demonstrate that terrorists and terrorist acts span ethnicity, race, gender and religion.
13. Design dedicated programs for women that promote leadership, empowerment, networks and skills in recognising and addressing the warning signs of radicalisation.
14. Incorporate youth in the planning and development of leadership training and prevention initiatives particularly focusing on marginalised and vulnerable youth.
15. Strengthen interfaith programs that promote leadership and foster cooperative action.
16. Promote social cohesion and resilience in youth through community programs focused on sports, the arts, music and other creative pursuits.
17. Foster successful community-led program approaches that encourage communities and their youth to organise their own activities.
18. Incorporate social media capacity, especially in youth programs, to train young people to use social media and the Internet to challenge and disrupt extremist messaging.
19. Strengthen the message that terrorism is not exclusive to a single cultural group or faith system by avoiding programs that stigmatise and alienate through exclusively targeting Muslims.
20. Foster activities that address underlying social problems, such as feelings of alienation, frustration and exclusion, while providing intensive exposure to counter-extremist narratives.
21. Foster approaches that develop and encourage trust between authorities and communities, particularly in social circles where extremists move.
22. Foster interventions that are directed at supporting parents.
23. Alternative narratives to extremist propaganda both online or offline must take into account different types of narrative for different audiences.

1 Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The Victorian Government has demonstrated a strong commitment to strengthening social cohesion and resilient communities by seeking to promote community safety and wellbeing and mitigate anti-social behaviours, including any form of racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism. This commitment has led the Social Cohesion and Community Resilience Ministerial Taskforce to commission a systematic stocktake of recent research and program initiatives (2011-2015) on the role of social cohesion and community resilience in redressing the risk of socially harmful forms of exclusivism, including violent extremism and racism.

The systematic stocktake review synthesises evidence from three main bodies of information: (1) scholarly peer reviewed literature published in academic journals; (2) 'grey literature' such as reports and policy briefs from government departments, think tanks and research institutes, and (3) community projects and initiatives that seek to mitigate risk factors and vulnerability to exclusivism and violent extremism. Beyond this, the research team has drawn on their expert field-based knowledge to identify selected books and book chapters relevant to the research questions.

The systematic analysis of the existing body of knowledge since 2011 identifies key themes as well as critical knowledge gaps that can guide policymaking, research and program investment and direction. It also offers insights into how different types of activities and projects tackle racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism in practice, and with what effects. Based on this combined academic and programmatic approach, the research team has identified key research gaps and developed recommendations for the Taskforce on future research and programmatic priorities aimed at effectively tackling socially harmful forms of exclusivism such as racism, ethnic and religious discrimination, and violent extremism and strengthening community resilience to these harms.

2 Key Terms

KEY TERMS

A number of key terms and concepts have governed the Stocktake exercise, including *social cohesion*, *community resilience*, *exclusivism* and *violent extremism*. Despite the wide use of most of these terms (with the exception of exclusivism) in scholarly as well as political and public debates, commonly agreed definitions and understandings of these key concepts remain contested. Accordingly, we explicitly outline here how these concepts have been applied in this research project. Our conceptualisation of these key terms has shaped the process of conducting the systematic literature and program searches and the analysis and synthesis of the search results.

2.1 Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is a well-established concept when discussing issues related to the social fabric that binds a diverse society together. While these questions have occupied generations of sociological thinkers for more than a century (Markus and Kirpitchenko, 2007: 21), social cohesion in the context of Western multicultural societies has received particularly intense attention since the late 1990s from social scientists and policymakers, as well as in public discourse more broadly. Although scholarly and policy interest in social cohesion has expanded and developed significantly over the last three decades, there is still no commonly agreed definition of social cohesion. Instead, depending on the specific thematic and local contexts, different views and conceptualisations of social cohesion have been deployed. Given this ongoing 'definitional confusion' (Friedkin, 2004: 410; Ariely, 2014; Dandy and Pe-Pua, 2013), Canadian social cohesion experts Beauvais and Jenson (2002: 5) refer to social cohesion as a 'quasi-concept' for which there is 'no unanimous position on whether social cohesion is a cause or a consequence of other aspects of social, economic and political life'.

Jenson's and Bernard's attempts to capture the multi-dimensional nature of social cohesion have been particularly influential in empirical research on social cohesion in the Australian context, for example in the annual Scanlon Mapping Social Cohesion surveys (Markus, 2015) or Dandy and

Pe-Pua's study (2013). Jenson (1998: 15) identifies five domains of social cohesion that 'have been adopted more widely in research and/or policy than other conceptualisations':

- **Belonging** (as opposed to isolation): shared values, collective identities, community belonging
- **Inclusion** (as opposed to exclusion): equal opportunities and access to labour market and other key institution
- **Participation** (as opposed to non-involvement): involvement and civic/political engagement
- **Recognition** (as opposed to rejection): acceptance and recognition of diversity
- **Legitimacy** (as opposed to illegitimacy): legitimacy of institutions that mediate conflicts in a pluralistic society

Bernard (1999) adds 'equality' as the sixth dimension of social cohesion and emphasises the three realms within which the different facets of social cohesion are situated: economic, political and socio-cultural. Forrest and Kearns (2001: 2129) identify five constituent domains of social cohesion that are more directly located in the interpersonal space. Drawing from a review of literature in the context of urban studies, they developed a five-fold conceptualisation of social cohesion that has become highly influential within the social sciences:

- **Common values and civic culture**, including common codes of behaviour and support for political institutions and participation in politics
- **Social order and social control**, including absence of incivility and of threats to the existing order; tolerance and respect for difference; intergroup co-operation
- **Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities**, including redistribution of public finances and opportunities and equal access to services and welfare benefits
- **Social networks and social capital**, including high degree of interaction within communities and families, civic engagement and associational activity

- **Place attachment and identity**, including intertwining of personal and place identity

Reviewing various definitions of social cohesion, Australian scholars Markus and Kirpitchenko (2007) conclude that most definitions encompass three common aspects. First, members of a society or political community have a 'shared vision', i.e. common aspirations and identification (Markus and Kirpitchenko, 2007: 25 emphasis in original), although it remains unclear what may constitute the reference for this shared vision and sense of belonging. The Council of Europe, for instance, advocated a broad understanding ('family, social group, neighbourhood, a workplace, a country...'), emphasising that 'this sense of belonging must not be exclusive; instead, multiple identity and belonging must be encouraged' (quoted in, Beauvais and Jenson, 2002: 4). Second, Markus and Kirpitchenko (2007: 25) posit that social cohesion is usually linked to a 'well-functioning core group or community in which there are shared goals and responsibilities and a readiness to cooperate with the other members'. Third, social cohesion cannot be accurately described as a mere status or outcome, but rather as a 'continuous and never-ending process of achieving social harmony' (Markus and Kirpitchenko, 2007: 25). These conceptualisations of social cohesion shape the underlying understanding of this domain in the stocktake review of literature and programs for this project.

2.2 Community Resilience

Both individual and community-level resilience are often understood as the capacity to 'bounce back' or recover from adversity (Mohaupt, 2009: 63; Longstaff et al., 2010: 3). However, recent scholarship advancing debates on how we define resilience has suggested that resilience is better understood as the capacity to do well and thrive in spite of exposure to acute trauma or sustained adversity (Liebenberg et al., 2012: 219).

It is important to highlight not only vulnerabilities and risks but also the resources people use to resist or pre-empt disruptive events from occurring in the first place. Rather than seeing resilience as a fixed or static concept, resilience scholarship increasingly uses the concept to refer to a dynamic process

that involves individual, family, community and society-level risk and protective factors (Hunter, 2012: 2). Risk or vulnerability factors are the adverse life circumstances that an individual, community or collective possesses (e.g. unemployment, poverty, social conflict). Conversely, protective or compensatory factors are the social, cultural and other resources available to people to mitigate or offset these risks (Hajek, 2003: 15). Most researchers emphasise two elements as crucial for a meaningful model of *community resilience*: first, an understanding of the adverse circumstances and vulnerabilities that communities or groups within communities face, and second, an understanding of whether a community's coping mechanisms lead to outcomes within or above the expected range of successfully adjusting to or overcoming challenges (Mohaupt, 2009: 65). Resilience, in other words, cannot occur without the presence of both adaptive functioning *and* exposure to risk or adversity (Hunter, 2012: 2).

Current approaches to community resilience place greater stress on adaptability than stability. While resilience is sometimes understood as a process of returning to a previous 'steady state' following trauma or disruption, recent resilience theory suggests that to be truly resilient, individuals and communities must develop the capacity to transform into something new when confronting key kinds of challenges and adversities (Walklate et al., 2012; Hardy, 2015). Resilient people and communities adapt and adjust to new circumstances and build new practices that, importantly, remain able to carry their core values forward (Kirmayer et al., 2009: 72).

We thus use community resilience as a concept that focuses on understanding the interactions within as well as between communities, as well as the broader social and cultural systems in which individual and community-level resilience and adaptation occur. In taking the external environment and context into account, we have adopted an explicitly *social-ecological* or systemic approach to resilience viewing individuals as embedded in a web of complex, interacting relationships with other people and larger social and global systems (Ungar, 2008; Ungar, 2011; Masten, 2014, cited in Wright and Masten, 2015).

2.3 Violent Extremism (VE)

Violent extremism has emerged as a key term to discuss what is broadly understood as illegitimate political violence. Since the mid-1970s the term terrorism provided the dominant conceptual framework in which this issue was discussed (Stampnitzky, 2013: 3-4). In the literature review on countering violent extremism commissioned by the (then) National Counter-Terrorism Committee and the Australian Attorney-General's Department, the authors acknowledged that the 'problem of definitional consensus has not been resolved' (Nasser-Eddine et al., 2011: 2) and this remains the case. Richardson notes that the only universally agreed upon characteristic of the term terrorism is that it is pejorative (Richardson, 2006). While from a normative perspective this is arguably appropriate, one of the consequences has been that the terms terrorism or terrorist have become so value-laden that they have become political tools in themselves (Rasch, 1979: 180-181; Stampnitzky, 2013: 110-111).

It is within this context that new terms to define terrorism have emerged. Words like radical and extremist are increasingly used to describe those who engage in terrorist acts, with the corresponding terms radicalisation and extremism being used to describe the process (Pressman, 2009: 4). One problem with this is that it makes no mention of any act of violence, thereby melding extremism and radicalisation into the problem of terrorism, implying that they are largely the same thing. While it may be true that a person who perpetrates an act of terrorism is both extreme and radical, it does not follow that all those who are radical or extreme will inevitably commit acts of violence.

For this reason the word terrorism is at times used interchangeably with violent political extremism or violent extremism (Tahiri and Grossman, 2013). Regardless of the term used, extremist and radical remain value-laden and are applied largely in pejorative ways; along with many other terms, they do not necessarily avoid the difficulties associated with labelling (Hoffman, 1998: 28-34). It is still necessary, however, for any government agency working within a policy area that aims to mitigate both the attraction and the impact of violent extremism to develop a workable definition suitable for policy and program decisions to be undertaken.

Accordingly, we have used here the definition of violent extremism offered by the Australian Attorney-General's Department: 'Violent extremism is the beliefs and actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological, religious or political goals. This includes terrorism and other forms of politically motivated and communal violence' (AGD, 2015b). The same source expands this definition elsewhere to define violent extremists as individuals who, '[r]egardless of their background or motivation...are prepared to commit or support violence against the community' that 'threaten[s] our shared values' (AGD, 2015a). Thus, the Australian Government views strategies that strengthen social cohesion and community resilience to be fundamental tools for mitigating violent extremism (Barker, 2015).

2.4 Exclusivism

Racial, ethnic and cultural exclusivism is a key term for the Stocktake project. However, while social cohesion, community resilience and violent extremism are commonly discussed in the context of 'healthy' multicultural societies, the term exclusivism occurs only rarely in this thematic category. Racial, ethnic and cultural exclusivism, as it is used in this research, seeks to capture multi-faceted phenomena that challenge the basic principles of equity and human dignity in a pluralistic society. It is used as an umbrella term for a set of attitudes and actions that fundamentally draw on the assumption of inequality between groups and the superiority of the group that a person or collective identifies with. The group boundaries are usually defined rigidly, whether along racial, ethnic or religious lines, by drawing a falsely dichotomising 'black-and-white' image of different social groups. Hence, exclusivism refers to the process of ideologically (and sometimes also spatially) privileging one's own in-group in relation to the broader diverse society at large, while denying recognition, legitimacy and complexity to 'others' belonging to the out-group(s).

This Stocktake research project defines its key research questions based on the assumption that racial, ethnic and cultural exclusivism is not desirable in a pluralistic, diverse society built on the principles of recognition of equality and human dignity that seeks to foster positive intergroup relations. However, not every manifestation of exclusivism may be problematic or socially harmful. In the context of religion, for example, where the term exclusivism is most commonly used (e.g. Pratt, 2013; Schmitt-Leukel, 2013), the orthodox view that one's own faith group holds the only truth and offers the best or only possible path to salvation (McKim, 2012) constitutes a form of religious adherence that does not necessarily challenge social cohesion in a multi-faith/ secular society. Similarly, certain other forms of self-exclusion, especially when temporary in nature, may not have negative effects on a diverse society's social fabric.

Against this backdrop, the Stocktake project has focused specifically on *socially harmful* manifestations of exclusivism, such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism. This refers to people, groups, or movements (for example, ideologically inspired extremists advocating or ready to use violence) who display, encourage, and/or enact cultural, religious, ethnic or racial superiority that contradicts the basic principles of equality, human rights and human dignity, often with the aim of humiliating, harming or denigrating others based on their actual or perceived membership of a particular ethnic, racial, cultural or religious group.

3 Methodology

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Systematic Literature Review Methodology

Using the systematic methodology described below, the initial literature search returned 10,484 results. After the title based elimination the pool of articles was reduced to 1,697 and after the abstract cull this was reduced to 409 articles. These articles were read in full with a final pool of 284 articles deemed highly relevant. Added to this were 86 grey literature results as well as 45 from the manual journal search.

The research team utilised the following seven-phase systematic literature review process, drawing primarily from Petticrew and Roberts (2006) and Gough et al. (2013).

Stage One: Refine the review question(s). Two guiding research questions were developed in consultation with the Community Resilience Unit of the Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet:

1. *What factors influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism?*
2. *How do social cohesion and community resilience address these factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?*

Stage 2: Define inclusion criteria for the review.

Guided by the consideration of which types of literature and studies were most appropriate for answering the research questions, a checklist (in-out protocol) for the inclusion/exclusion decisions was developed.

Stage 3: Conduct the literature search. The systematic literature review was conducted using four academic databases (Appendix A). Google Scholar was used as a tool to identify additional key books and book chapters and to verify results. Grey literature and key journals were searched manually.

Stage 4: Screen the results. A multi-step process involving an examination of the title, abstract and then entire article was utilised to ensure literature met all inclusion criteria.

Stage 5: Appraise the quality of the results and extract data. All literature was read and coded according to the contribution it made to answering particular aspects of the research questions, as well as for the strength of the methodology.

Stage 6: Synthesize the studies. Team members reviewed all literature in order to identify key themes relevant to answering each aspect of the research questions, as well as cross-checking and validating both codes and themes during the synthesis phase.

Stage 7: Disseminate the review. The review is disseminated via the delivery of this report to the Social Cohesion and Community Resilience Ministerial Taskforce. For a detailed explanation of the systematic literature review methodology, see Appendix A.

3.2 Program Review Methodology

Stage One of the program research component involved a combination of search strategies to identify relevant national and overseas programs. Within the Australian context, a review was undertaken to identify community groups, non-government organisations and institutions delivering relevant programs, as well as Commonwealth and State Government grants directed toward countering violent extremism or strengthening social cohesion and to identify the recipients of these grants. Overseas programs were identified largely through an internet-based search using Google and through an interview held with an expert source to identify further overseas programs.

Stage Two of the program research was to critically review programs that had been identified in Stage One. The review was conducted using two criteria: 1) program effectiveness and 2) applicability to the Victorian context. The Strategic Framework to Strengthen Victoria's Social Cohesion and The Resilience of its Communities (Victorian Government, 2015) was used as the representative model for the Victorian context. Program effectiveness was measured using five indicators: Deliverables, Evaluation, Sustainability, Transferability and Impact (RAN, 2015).

Gaps in prevention and CVE practice were identified by comparing national and overseas programs, through the literature and through findings from community consultations. For a detailed explanation of the program review methodology, see Appendix A.

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4 Key findings: Systematic Literature Review

KEY FINDINGS: SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

This section synthesises the key findings from the systematic literature, together with the grey literature and selected additional books, articles and chapters that together contribute to addressing and discussing the two central research questions of the Stocktake report.

4.1 What factors influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism?

This section focuses on what influences, leads to or protects against: a) socially harmful forms of exclusivism including racism, Islamophobia or anti-Muslim sentiment, White supremacy and their manifestations, (4.1.1), and b) any form of violent extremism (4.1.2). While the literature search also yielded articles that deal with other violent and non-violent forms of exclusivism (e.g. religious but not Islamist; Islamist but not violent, violent and right-wing, etc.), it is important to highlight that the vast majority of relevant articles address factors pertinent to race-based/racial exclusivism, followed by those related to Islamist violent extremism.

This reflects, on the one hand, current salient research lenses on racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism, strongly suggesting that non-Islamist forms of *violent* extremism, for example, from the radical right-wing end of the spectrum, are significantly neglected in the research landscape. On the other hand, the emphasis on socially harmful forms of race-based exclusivism and Islamist *violent* extremism reflects the underlying assumption that religious exclusivism is not socially harmful *per se*; as Pratt (2013) observes, it may be an inherent to most religions to consider one's own faith to be the best or only path to salvation (Pratt, 2013: 246). Rather, it is the aggressive, violent expression of religious superiority claims that causes social harms. In contrast, racism in all its shapes and forms is deemed socially harmful because it undermines the key foundations of secular democratic societies: universal human rights, equal recognition and opportunities regardless of race, religion or any other (self-) ascribed characteristics or identity markers.

4.1.1 Race-based exclusivism, including Islamophobia

Research on a wide range of manifestations of racism – from racist prejudice to racial harassment and discrimination to institutional and structural racism – has had a long history, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom. While it is beyond the scope of this review to capture the prolific scholarship on these issues prior to 2011, the systematic search of literature published since 2011 has yielded higher numbers of results in the area of race-based exclusivism/racism than for any other form of exclusivism covered in the current review. This indicates that racism still occupies a very prominent position in psychological, social and political sciences and related fields of research. This is in part due to the increased scholarly interest in Islamophobia as a manifestation of 'new' or cultural racism. This shift towards analysing Islamophobia, a phenomenon that has gained great momentum since 9/11, reflects in part the recognition of 'new' racism since the 1970s 'as a deviation from the traditional racist doctrine of biological superiority' (Kutay, 2015: 2). Similarly, Stuart Hall (1997, cited in Lentin, 2011: 160) speaks of 'the politics of the end of the biological definition of race'.

This is not to say that racism and discrimination against racial minorities (e.g. Blacks, Indigenous people) has disappeared (Garner, 2012), and several articles explore specific facets of 'old' racism (Gaddis, 2015; Mikola and Mansouri, 2015; DeSante, 2013; Hughey, 2012; Lowe, 2013). However, scholarly attention has clearly moved towards considering other manifestations of broadly defined race-based, racist or culturalist forms of exclusivism (Ekman, 2015) in supposedly 'post-race' Western societies (Lentin, 2011).

The review identified many studies that explore emerging manifestations of these new forms of racism. The most prominent themes to emerge are a) Islamophobia and its interaction with racism; b) cultural assimilation and the illiberal 'end of tolerance' discourse; c) the denial of racism, and d) mobilising racist exclusivist sentiments within the context of right-wing extremist movements. The following section explores the recent critical lenses through which an expanded conceptualisation of the 'new' racism has predominantly been explored since 2011.

Conceptual discussions: key themes

A very large number of articles focus on **Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism** as a particular form of cultural or 'new' racism (Kutay, 2015; Ekman, 2015). While Islamophobia is often uncritically equated with racism against or exclusionary stigmatisation and 'othering' of Muslims, some articles call for analytically delineating Islamophobia and its underlying systemic conditions from other forms of racism. Husband and Alam (2011: 126) argue that 'anti-Muslimism' is not a 'homogeneous process driven by an expression of "natural human prejudices"', but is rather 'a multilayered ideological construction which in every instance must be understood in its specificity'. Ekman (2015: 1988) begins with the basic definition of Islamophobia as 'hatred or animosity aimed at Islam and Muslims', but then proposes a more nuanced understanding of Islamophobia 'as a distinct discourse that continuously interacts with racism, but that, simultaneously, is irreducible to racism' (see also, Hussain and Bagguley, 2012). It draws on historical Orientalist as well as contemporary discourses about Muslims as the 'other', combined with hostility and aversion toward Islam as a belief system, which then creates an embodied enemy – 'Muslims' (Ekman, 2015). Hussain and Bagguley (2012) describe Islamophobia as a multidimensional phenomenon intersecting with processes of racialisation and securitisation, highlighting that the 'empirical realities of everyday popular discourse are more complex and contradictory and may entail an inter-meshing of Islamophobia and racism' (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012: 720). Supporting this, a representative cross-European study on various forms of prejudice and exclusivist attitudes found only a statistically weak association between anti-Muslim attitudes and racism, while anti-immigrant attitudes correlated significantly with Islamophobia (Zick et al., 2011: 70).

A prominent theme in the literature is closely linked to that of Islamophobia and anti-Muslimism as manifestations of new racism. It revolves around the concept of '**liberal intolerance**' (Lindekilde, 2014), that is, illiberal exclusion through a discourse on liberal values and the 'end of tolerance' (Hervik, 2012) that uses liberal values (such as freedom of speech, gender equality) and cultural assimilation as the ultimate yardsticks of (in)tolerance and

acceptance, predominantly against Muslims (Lindekilde, 2014; Laurence, 2013; Ekman, 2015; Keskinen, 2012; Peucker and Akbarzadeh, 2014; Kundnani, 2012b; Gozdecka, 2014). Kundnani (2012b) offers a succinct description of the logic behind these mechanisms of exclusion and domination of Muslim minorities in western societies: 'The liberal version of this "integrationist" discourse emphasizes the Enlightenment values associated with secularism, individualism, gender equality, sexual freedom and freedom of expression as markers of civilisational superiority. Various efforts are made to "civilize" Muslims in particular into adopting these values. What emerges is, in effect, a liberal form of anti-Muslim racism which, paradoxically, takes liberalism into an illiberal embrace of conservative themes' (Kundnani, 2012b: 155).

Variations of this exclusivist discourse have been consistently identified across national contexts. This research trend adds a new dimension to the exploration of racism that goes beyond racial- biological markers and also beyond culture, moving 'intolerance into a discourse stressing liberal reasons (autonomy, gender equality, social cohesion, public-private divide, security risks) for not tolerating particular Muslim practices' (Lindekilde, 2014: 363). This has led to the mainstreaming of anti-Muslim sentiments across the political spectrum, from radical and conservative right-wingers to the liberal left-wing (see below), while silencing and disempowering critical or dissident voices (Hervik, 2012).

The assimilationist 'end of tolerance' argument is closely related to questions of White privileges and power, since it is mainstream majority populations who define the parameters of belonging and acceptance of 'newcomers' or minorities. Leitner (2012: 842), for example, concludes that 'racialisation serves to defend white entitlements [and to] shore up racial and cultural boundaries' and 'establishes conditions of belonging to the national and local community'. Similarly, a study among Anglo-Australians in Sydney found that participants demonstrated 'a lack of appreciation for different cultures outside of those cultural attributes that could be easily consumed' (Blair, 2015: 446). Instead they articulated exclusivist, non-pluralistic attitudes insisting on their status of 'key power holders' who can define the conditions of cultural

acceptance (see also Gibson and Hamilton, 2011; Kutay, 2015).

The third emerging theme is the **denial of racism** in Western societies. This thematic strand has several sub-dimensions. One identified cause for the denial of, or blindness to, the persistence of racism is the well-established discourse on celebrating diversity, racial equality and multiculturalism (Harman and Sinha, 2014; Gillies and Robinson, 2012; Carlile, 2012), which diminishes the space for the articulation of interethnic conflicts and racism. 'The declared commitment to racial equality acts as a means to shutting down anti-racist critique' (Lentin, 2011: 160). Harman and Sinha argue in the British context that 'the public celebration of mixedness is one of the features of contemporary diversity that lends credence to the image of Britain as a multicultural, tolerant place where racial difference no longer matters. Yet, this disavowal of racism also obscures how biological conceptions of race remain salient' (Harman and Sinha, 2014: 512).

Similar mechanisms were detected by Gillies and Robinson (2012: 157) in ethnographic work in several British secondary schools. They conclude that, while celebrating diversity, 'issues of race and racism are routinely avoided, ensuring that institutionally ingrained patterns of discrimination remain unchanged'. A similar argument has been made in Australian research. Nelson (2013; 2015) for example, found in her qualitative study of individuals working on anti-racism a reluctance to use the word racism; more positive alternatives were preferred. She argues that 'to address racism, using the language of racism and anti-racism is critical, as it acknowledges the presence of racism and, in doing so, overcomes denial' (Nelson, 2015: 342).

Other facets of the denial of racism are related to the narrow focus on racism as a personal manifestation and expression of prejudice or ignorance, while turning a blind eye to the persistence of institutionalised or systemic racism (Keskinen, 2012: 267; Gillies and Robinson, 2012: 162) and racialized contemporary public discourse (Miah, 2012; Yea-Wen, 2014). These various manifestations of racism denial are aligned with Lentin's (2011) work on anti-racism in a 'post-race' era where 'antiracism has been appropriated and relativised' by both the state and dominant activist voices (Lentin, 2011: 159). Lentin's argument

also ties this debate back to the aforementioned assimilationist application of liberal values: 'If racism continues it cannot be said to be the fault of those who have openly declared themselves against it or who have even taken active steps to resist it, for example by joining anti-racist causes or allocating budgets to anti-racist initiatives. Indeed, according to this post-racial logic, those responsible for any residual racism are in fact minorities who resist integration' (Lentin, 2011: 167).

The fourth thematic strand on race-based exclusivism relates to the institutionalisation and expression of racist, anti-Muslim and nationalist-exclusivist attitudes by **right-wing extremist political parties or movements**. While numerous North American and European articles and reports address these themes, they have remained markedly under-researched in the Australian context, despite mounting evidence of the growth of right-wing exclusivist political groups in Australia, including Victoria (King, 2015).

Recent research suggests right-wing extremist political movements are now seen as increasingly important amplifiers of racist or anti-Muslim prejudice with the potential to shift the boundaries of social norms and control (Blinder et al., 2013) and to mainstream and legitimise intolerance and exclusivist sentiments, especially towards Muslims (Bail, 2012; Lindekilde, 2014; Green, 2012; Kassimeris, 2011; Berlet, 2012; Goodwin and Ramalingam, 2012). This is despite their marginal political position and limited electoral success in most countries. What Bail (2012) describes as the 'fringe effect' in the US applies, with some variations, to many other right-wing extremist movements and groups: small in number and with limited resources, they nevertheless exert disproportioned levels of agenda-setting power as they manage to attract high media attention through their message of fear and anger. Bail (2012) found in his work on anti-Muslim fringe organisations in post-9/11 America that these processes make anti-Muslim prejudice appear 'more mainstream' than it actually is. Moreover, 'these fringe organisations [have] not only permeated the mainstream but also forged vast social networks that [have] consolidated their capacity to create cultural change' (Bail, 2012: 856), contributing to the rise in negative majority public opinion of Islam.

Other articles come to similar conclusions on the powerful impact of small extreme right-wing groups/movements on the public climate and mainstream politics. Goodwin and Ramalingam (2012) argue that in Europe, political parties of the 'new radical right' advocating anti-immigration and anti-Muslim themes may not have any electoral success but are still often successful in 'influencing policy formulation, mainstreaming their issues on the political agenda, shifting social attitudes, and generating more than their fair share of coverage in the media. In short, they have managed to popularise their own views on traditional radical right issues, such as immigration, asylum and minorities, squeezing out room for alternative progressive and liberal approaches' (Goodwin and Ramalingam, 2012: 4).

The mainstreaming of exclusionary, anti-egalitarian and anti-Muslim narratives in the political arena results in a general 'move to the right on issues of immigration and Islam' (Green, 2012: 340), which further legitimates radical fringe groups and their messages. This points to a self-reinforcing interplay between the exclusionary narratives of extreme right-wing groups, mainstream policy-making and inflammatory political rhetoric, which again tends to legitimise and strengthen the position of radical fringe groups (Green, 2012; Kundnani, 2012a). Kundnani (2012a) also ties back the agenda and influence of new far right movements such as the English Defence League to this emergence of assimilationist discourse and liberal intolerance towards Muslims. Arguments advocating acceptance of Muslims only if they culturally assimilate help to reduce the stigma of 'being racist' and position these extremist groups closer to the mainstream. These findings from the literature are highly relevant for the Australian and Victorian contexts, highlighting the need for intensified research and policy attention to the emergence of small and apparently marginal far- right/anti-Muslim parties and movements.

These four interconnected themes – Islamophobia, liberal intolerance, denial of racism, and mainstreaming racism through far-right/extremist groups – shape the current research landscape around racism and related forms of racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism in Western societies. This provides the backdrop for the discussion below of how recent research has investigated the micro-,

meso- and macro-level factors that influence various manifestations of new or cultural racism

Factors influencing race-based exclusivism

Despite decades of research on the causes of prejudice and racism, there is no clear consensus in scholarship on what influences, or even leads to, racism. This is due in part to the multidimensionality and continuously evolving understanding of racism outlined above. Nevertheless, the review has identified a range of studies that have explored factors regarded as either directly or indirectly influential. Robust empirical evidence on causal relationships between these factors in manifestations of racism, however, remains fairly weak.

Micro-factors influencing race-based exclusivism are predominantly located within the individual; they often revolve around personal prejudice, emotions (e.g. fear, anger), psychological dispositions, adherence to certain belief systems, and resource tensions. Such a focus tends to individualise racism and downplay more structural factors linked to racism (see below). Although the literature generally confirms Cattle's (2012) claim that the 'causation of prejudice ... [is] still relatively under-researched' (2012: 99), a number studies and articles have identified factors linked to the predisposition for racist attitudes or behaviour.

A large number of articles highlight the central role of **symbolic and realistic threat** (Ciftci, 2012; Onraet and Van Hiel, 2013; Garland and Treadwell, 2012; Alam and Husband, 2013; Olmos et al., 2012; Leitner, 2012; Peucker and Akbarzadeh, 2014; Zick et al., 2011; Ceballos and Yakushko, 2014; Perry et al., 2014), sometimes explicitly referring to intergroup or integrated threat theories (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). According to this line of argument, which is supported by empirical evidence, people are more likely to be prejudiced if they feel they compete with 'the other' (out-group/s) over limited resources (e.g. housing, jobs); that their safety and security is under 'realistic' threat (regardless of whether the threat is in fact real or not), or if they feel their cultural dominance or way of life, values and beliefs are symbolically threatened by others. The 'symbolic threat' scenario resonates in particular with new forms of anti-Muslim racism and exclusion based on liberal intolerance, whereas the 'realistic threat' scenario is

often linked to prevalent securitisation discourses and policies in response to the perceived threat of terrorism (see also macro-factors below). It is also influenced by the view that immigrants are competitors in the struggle for economic resources – a fear that far right-wing groups such as the English Defence League successfully capitalise on (Garland and Treadwell, 2012). Similarly, Blinder et al. (2013: 853) conclude that as ‘fear dissolves social norms against prejudice toward the threatening group, hostility previously held in check may come to the surface and encourage support for policies targeting disliked minorities’.

Anti-Muslim attitudes are at the centre of many articles and studies. Cifti’s statistical analysis of a large cross-national PEW dataset found that the perception of Muslims as a threat to one’s safety and well-being and the view that Muslims’ cultural practices threaten Western values ‘are among the strongest determinants of anti-Muslim sentiment’ (Ciftci, 2012: 303). The perception of symbolic threat was also detected in the Victorian context; in extensive focus group consultations with over 100 Victorian study participants, Lentini et al. (2011) found that, while Islamophobic views were not prevalent, some participants considered Muslims who do ‘not comprehend or acclimatise to Australian customs and social fabric’ to be a threat to Australia and Australian security (Lentini et al., 2011: 420). Similarly, other studies have found that minorities who insist on practicing non-Christian religions and non-Western cultural traditions are perceived by some as a threat to social cohesion (Hervik, 2012). The perception of threat as a key explanatory factor at the micro-level for racist and exclusivist views was broadly shared in the literature, whereas other emotive factors were barely canvassed. Only one psychological study from the US, based on several psychological experiments, argues that anger is the ‘primary emotional trigger of whites’ negative racial attitudes’ (Banks and Valentino, 2012: 286).

Some articles identify certain **psychological predispositions** and character traits as predictors of racist attitudes and exclusivist prejudice. Nesdale et al. (2012) found that cultural empathy, flexibility and especially open-mindedness were negatively associated with ethnic prejudice, while high levels of right-wing authoritarianism were predictors of such prejudiced views (see also, Perry et al.,

2014). Dhont and Hodson (2014) examined mental and cognitive ability as a predictor of prejudice, emphasising the mediating effect of right-wing ideologies. They conclude that people with lower cognitive abilities are more likely to be prejudiced, regardless of their socioeconomic status or formal education. This is explained by their ‘greater endorsement of right-wing socially conservative attitude’ (2014: 454), which resists the complexities of social change in diverse societies in an effort to ‘impose order over their environment’ (2014: 456).

The role of personal **religious beliefs** or ideologies also emerged, with a particular scholarly focus on the role of membership in various Christian religious denominations as a factor that may influence racism and related forms of prejudice, including Islamophobia (Effron and Knowles, 2015; Jung, 2012; Akhtar, 2011; Doebler, 2014; Blogowska and Saroglou, 2011). Studies have consistently found that Christian fundamentalism and membership of exclusivist faith groups (e.g. evangelicals) are positively associated with a higher propensity to racist or anti-Muslim prejudice and attitudes. Being Christian in general, however, was generally not found to be a factor that increases one’s disposition to racism. Aho (2013: 553) argues in his work on the right-wing Christian movement known as Dominionism that it is not social isolation or low levels of education but ideology – specifically, the ‘Protestant ideology of American right-wing politics’ – that plays an important yet overlooked role in this group’s radical ‘action orientation’. Supporters of this radical movement see themselves as ‘enactors of an ethic of ultimate ends’ commanded by God, entitled to ‘use any and every tool available to reconstruct America according to biblical injunctions’ (Aho, 2013: 554).

The review yielded few studies on the role of **socioeconomic status or education** as a predisposing factor for racism; in fact, education was more commonly discussed as a protective factor (see below). Cantle (2012: 99) claims that ‘an increasing number of evidence based studies ... clearly indicate that prejudice can be autonomous and able to transcend socio-economic position’. However, several studies measuring racist, xenophobic or Islamophobic attitudes have demonstrated that socioeconomic and educational factors are often statistically significantly associated with these attitudes. A recent Australia-wide

representative survey (International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding, 2015) found moderate levels of Islamophobia, with between 12-24 percent of respondents expressing Islamophobic and anti-Muslim attitudes. The analysis shows that those not in the workforce (as opposed to those unemployed) and those who did not complete Year 12 are significantly overrepresented among those with Islamophobic attitudes (2015: 16). Ciftci's (2012): 303 analysis of cross-national PEW survey data confirms that an individual with higher levels of education is less likely to have an unfavourable opinion of Muslims and less likely to view Muslims as fanatical, violent, or supportive of terrorism.

The 2015 Mapping Social Cohesion Scanlon Report (Markus, 2015) found higher levels of intolerance to cultural minorities among those who 'struggle to pay their bills' and those with a trade or apprenticeship as their highest secondary degree. A large cross-European survey also found that anti-Muslim, racist and anti-immigrant attitudes are significantly more common among those with lower levels of formal education (Zick et al., 2011: 84) as well as those in lower income brackets (2011: 90). While these findings suggest that racism is more widespread among those with low formal education and socioeconomic status, it is important to underscore that these statistical correlations do not necessarily determine a causal relationship.

In addition to these micro-level factors, many articles also highlighted **macro- and structural factors** that can influence or reinforce exclusivism and racism. A dominant argument made by a very large number of studies is that certain **policies, political rhetoric** and modes of **public discourse**, including mass media, can play a key role in amplifying or fuelling racist or exclusivist views of various minority groups (Gilroy, 2012; Cesari, 2012; d'Appollonia, 2012; Bonino, 2013; Coppock and McGovern, 2014; Alam and Husband, 2013; Rousseau et al., 2013; Sinno, 2012; Netto and Abazie, 2013; Parmar, 2011; O'Loughlin and Gillespie, 2012; Ekman, 2015; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014). Hussain and Bagguley's (2012) findings in relation to the securitisation of Muslims resonate with many other studies covered by the review: 'Once an issue has been securitized it becomes 'common sense' that it is a threat. ... It becomes impossible to speak of the securitized group

without implying the security threat. It is now well established how political discourse, the media and policy have constructed Islam and Muslims as a threatThese contributions have largely conceptualized this construction in terms of racism rather than securitisation' (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012: 716-717). Studies in various Western countries, especially the UK, have similarly concluded that securitisation policies and associated political/public rhetoric have stigmatised Muslim communities as a potential security risk and threat, thereby reinforcing anti-Muslim prejudice and legitimising the expression of Islamophobia, unintentionally strengthening the agenda of far right-wing anti-Muslim groups (Kundnani, 2012a).

As mentioned above, the literature search identified various studies on the capacity of North American and European **radical or right-wing extremist parties and movements** to mainstream their exclusivist anti-egalitarian agenda. These groups and organisations also play an important role at the **meso-level** as an institutional platform for expressing, mobilising and sustaining the racist and anti-Muslim attitudes of their affiliates. While, as already noted, the causes and drivers of right-wing extremism remain under-researched (Goodwin and Ramalingam, 2012) some research offers insights into the characteristics of members or supporters of right-wing extremist parties and those involved in right-wing extremist violence. Although these features can sometimes overlap with micro-factors linked to racial prejudice, they cannot be interpreted as predictors of racist attitudes as such. As Goodwin et al. observe, 'The literature on extreme right party supporters [suggests they] do tend to share a distinct social profile: they tend to be young or old men; come from the working classes or lower middle classes; have none or only few formal qualifications; and are pessimistic about their economic prospects ... Turning to ethnic diversity, there is also evidence that support for right-wing extremism is strongest not within more ethnically diverse areas, but rather is concentrated in mainly white areas that border more ethnically diverse communities (Goodwin and Ramalingam, 2012: 44-45).

Rydgren and Ruth (2013) also found support for radical right-wing parties in Sweden is particularly strong in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods and (confirming the 'halo effect')

in areas close to but not within immigrant-dense neighbourhoods. Referring to Briggs and Knauss's (2011) study in Britain, Goodwin (2012: 74) argues that 'extreme right-wing party membership is most likely in cities that have a large proportion of non-whites, but only where there are also higher than average levels of residential segregation' (see also Bannister and Kearns, 2013). This is interpreted as an indicator that 'a lack of interaction and contact between different groups may be an important factor' (Goodwin, 2012: 74) (see also Community Resilience section, below).

According to Goodwin and Ramalingam (2012: 51), evidence suggests that people 'susceptible to right-wing extremist violence' are more driven by 'a combination of "thrill seeking", opportunistic or criminal motivations' rather than 'by racial or overtly ideological' factors. Thus, White supremacy or deeply rooted racist views may often not play a major role in explaining the relative popularity of right-wing extremist movements. Resonating with the insight that perceived threat is an important micro-level factor in racist, exclusivist attitudes, Goodwin (2012: 75) concludes that, consistent across different studies, 'a core motive of joining these radical groups' is the feeling that 'immigration and the rising ethnic diversity were threatening the wider collective native group'. They also explore existing evidence on what may 'inspire and sustain' active commitment to radical race-based exclusivist agendas Goodwin (2012: 75). Quoting qualitative research undertaken by Goodwin (2011) on the British National Party, Goodwin (2012: 75) highlights that 'right-wing extremist groups cultivate specific vocabularies among their supporters that build upon and amplify their initial grievances and feelings of threat'. These 'vocabularies' encompass four narratives – not dissimilar to the internal recruitment and mobilisation rhetoric of violent extremists outside the far right milieu Goodwin (2012: 75):

- **Survivalism:** expanding the threat scenario into a 'far grander struggle for racial and cultural survival'
- **Urgency:** claiming that only immediate radical action can save 'us' from these threats
- **Resistance:** using 'symbolic, nativist and often militaristic themes' in describing the response to 'invaders'

- **Legacy:** highlighting the 'moral obligation' to act now in order to save future generations ('our children and grandchildren') from the threat posed by the others

Factors preventing or protecting against race-based exclusivism

In considering preventative and protective factors, it is important to keep in mind the micro-factors discussed above that can influence race-based prejudice and behaviour; in some sense, the best protection against race-based exclusivism can be described as the **absence of these risk or influencing factors**. This underscores the importance of certain personality traits, such as empathy (Todd et al., 2012), open-mindedness or anti-authoritarian attitudes (Perry et al., 2014), as well as the presence or absence of perceptions of threat. Ceballos and Yakushko (2014: 191), for example, argue their data showed that 'while threat had a strong effect on contributing to unfavourable attitudes toward immigrants, its absence had at least an equal counter-effect'.

Against this background, scholarship continues to struggle to find consensus on the question of what protects against or prevents the development, expression or enactment of racist attitudes. Three preventative/protective mechanisms are commonly cited across the literature, however. First, education and accurate information about ethnic, racial or religious 'others' can, under certain conditions, help prevent prejudice and stereotyping. Second, positive intergroup interactions, sometimes known as the 'contact hypothesis', can also function – under certain conditions – as a protective factor (e.g. Peucker, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2011). While the review largely confirms these two cornerstones of anti-racism, its findings also suggest that little progress has been made in advancing the discussion on effective protective factors against racism. Third, there is broad agreement on the need for the recalibration of policies in the area of multiculturalism and education.

As noted above, a number of studies have highlighted the association between higher levels of formal **education** and lower levels of prejudice. Some studies suggest that while formal education itself does not protect against racism or prejudiced attitudes (Dhont and Hodson, 2014) education

can serve as a proxy for other protective factors, such as increased opportunities for intergroup interaction or higher levels of **knowledge** about and familiarity with minority groups. Michael (2013) argues that lack of knowledge and understanding of religious and cultural difference provokes fear, mistrust, suspicion and even outright hostility, while familiarity can enhance mutual respect, empathy and social cohesion. Similarly, in the Victorian context, Lentini et al. (2011: 428) found that, 'consistent with international research ... those holding the most positive opinions of Muslims were those who had first-hand knowledge of Islam, Muslims and their cultures'.

The vast majority of articles dealing with protective factors discuss the importance of positive **intergroup contacts** as the main approach to promote mutual respect and prevent or reduce intolerance and anti-minority prejudice (Ceballos and Yakushko, 2014; Bee and Pachi, 2014; Ho, 2011; Halafoff, 2011; Pica-Smith and Poynton, 2014; Shaw, 2012; Thomas and Henri, 2011; Sanderson and Thomas, 2014; Legewie, 2013; Tadmor et al., 2012; Jung, 2012; Leitner, 2012; Peucker, 2011; Rutter, 2015; Cantle, 2012). It is commonly argued that personal intergroup contact, interaction and friendship helps reduce lack of awareness and information, stereotypical attitudes, perceptions of threat and, ultimately, racist prejudice. Previous research has highlighted the complexity of such prejudice-reducing effects and has extensively examined the conditions under which intergroup contacts are likely to have positive effects on the reduction of prejudice (for a meta-study see, Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). However, only some of the identified studies in this review reference this well-established framework of preconditions (Peucker, 2011; Pedersen et al., 2011). A detailed elaboration of essential or facilitating conditions for reducing prejudice, described by Pettigrew (1998: 80) as 'friendship potential' (for example, more than superficial contact, cooperation, equal status), is largely absent. Thomas and Henri (2011: 87), however, conclude that it is essential to focus on 'direct meaningful contact amongst young people of different ethnic and social backgrounds within carefully planned and controlled programmes of work, so addressing the key principles of "contact theory"':

Effective intergroup interaction, dialogue and exchange can take place in various 'transversal spaces' (Rutter, 2015: 255) or 'micropublics' (Ho, 2011), from schools and the workplace to public parks and the streets in the neighbourhood. Some articles focus on specific civil society initiatives, such as interfaith dialogue, and their capacity to reduce racism among participants (for an example in the Victorian context see, Halafoff, 2011), but very few refer beyond institutional or civic settings to everyday life opportunities in the neighbourhood to interact with cultural others and build friendships (Leitner, 2012; Harris, 2012) The majority highlight the important role that the education system and, more specifically, schools have to play as facilitating institutional sites (e.g. Sanderson and Thomas, 2014; Ho, 2011; Bee and Pachi, 2014).

In the Australian context, Ho (2011) explores intergroup encounters in schools. She posits that 'school communities that reflect Australia's cultural diversity are ideal sites for the regular and continual cross-cultural exchange that characterises micropublics [of cross-cultural encounter]'; this makes them 'ideal sites for fostering a respect for the presence of Others, which can coexist with tension and conflict' (2011: 603). Ho's argument is distinctive in her critique of what she calls the 'prevailing "harmony" model'. She argues that in multicultural Australia 'recognition of the other's legitimate presence in a shared social space' is a 'more realistic social goal' than a conflict-averse 'compulsory regime of exchange and harmony' (Ho, 2011: 614) – and those schools with diverse student and teacher communities are well-positioned to promote this kind of mutual respect.

Intergroup contact and interaction as a key protective factor against racism has some fundamental limitations, as a number of articles point out. A general caveat is the self-selectiveness of civil society programs that seek to facilitate intergroup dialogue (e.g. interfaith initiatives) because they tend to reach only those who are already open-minded and less prone to racist views. A recent NSW study showed that Anglo-Australian participants from the Outer Western Sydney region (which has a relatively low level of cultural diversity) 'express a fear of "others" due to a lack of knowledge and understanding, but also a reticence to gain a greater understanding of other cultures, specifically in regards to religious practices/beliefs'

(Blair, 2015: 431). These young people were not open to engaging in intergroup dialogue, insisting instead on their status as 'key power holders' who can define the conditions of cultural acceptance (2015: 446). While Blair (2015) recorded problems of convincing those who might be in particular need of intercultural exchange to participate in intergroup dialogue, some international studies actually warn against the potentially counterproductive effects of intergroup contact. Müller (2012: 425), for example, found in her analysis of several Dutch interethnic contact projects that they may 'lead to practices that reinforce, rather than challenge, existing prejudices and misunderstandings', for example by concealing the 'structural causes for prejudice and discrimination' (2012: 438). Jung's (2012) analysis of US survey data showed that, while interpersonal contact and personal friendships with Muslims are generally associated with higher levels of respect towards Islam, for members of more exclusivist Christian subgroups, such as evangelical Protestants, the opposite effect has been recorded; their aversion towards Islam increases with frequent intergroup contact.

Many questions about the specific causal mechanisms of prejudice-reducing intergroup contact remain unresolved, but there is little doubt that people who have regular contact with minorities are less likely to hold racist, exclusivist attitudes. Zick et al.'s (2011: 135) cross-European representative survey on intolerance and prejudice found that having interpersonal contact with immigrants strongly reduces the likelihood of expressing prejudiced attitudes. Similarly, the Australian survey on Islamophobia carried out by the International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding (2015: 14) concluded that 'respondents who are in regular contact with Muslims at work or socially have significantly lower scores on the Islamophobia scale'. The casual relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice, however, remains under-explored, and it is unclear to what extent this association is caused by positive effects of intergroup contacts or by prejudiced people's avoidance of personal interaction with members of the 'out-group'.

While knowledge about, and interpersonal interaction with, minority groups are discussed as protective factors at the micro- and meso-levels, several articles also look at the **policy-related**

factors that may contribute to reducing levels of prejudice or racist behaviour (Ho, 2011; Janmaat and Mons, 2011; Dunn and Nelson, 2011; Blinder et al., 2013; Bannister and Kearns, 2013; Rutter, 2015). More often than not, however, these references to policies, commonly related to education or anti-racism, are not based on empirical evidence but instead formulated as concluding recommendations in various articles.

In the Australian context, Dunn and Nelson (2011: 599) call for recalibrated multicultural policies that 'establish antiracism as a legitimate, necessary action for a new era in Australian multiculturalism' demonstrating full commitment 'to the diversity of the Australian polity' and to 'the public presentation and visibility of cultural difference'. Similarly, in relation to labour market discrimination against Muslims in Australia, Lovat et al. (2015: 174) argue that 'the problem of intolerant attitudes to Muslim jobseekers requires a whole-of-government approach to counter negative stereotypes and reduce prejudice'. These and other studies underscore that policymaking is not only about governing and managing specific social issues, but also has symbolic dimensions of setting the boundaries of legitimacy and social norms. Dunn and Nelson (2011: 599) point out that 'the acknowledgement of racism in public policy' not only empowers victims of racism but also 'encourages bystanders to act when witnessing racism', which can help 'build social norms that are intolerant of racism'. The dimensions of legitimacy and social norms and control, as discussed above, can play a key role in reducing the threshold of expressing or enacting racist prejudice (see also, Blinder et al., 2013). This echoes other studies that find firm political leadership and rhetoric to be influential factors in the overall struggle against anti-immigrant and racist attitudes (Rutter, 2015).

Following the argument that schools play a key role in tackling racial prejudice, several studies identified education policies as influential **macro-factors** in helping to prevent race-based exclusivism. While this review cannot capture the vast literature surrounding inter-cultural, multicultural and citizenship education and policies (Bee and Pachi, 2014), it has identified a few articles examining the association between school policies and levels of intolerance and prejudice. Janmaat and Mons (2011: 77), for example, show in a large-scale

cross-national comparative study that 'pockets of alienation and intolerance among certain sections of society' can be addressed by 'prolonging periods of common schooling with undifferentiated classes' because this would promote interpersonal interaction across diverse groups. Similarly, Ho (2011: 616) argues that public policy needs to tackle the development of increasingly segregated school systems, where 'some elite private schools are nothing less than pockets of cultural and socioeconomic exclusivity', and provide support to 'comprehensive public schools' which are 'obvious candidates for the development of genuine micropublics of cross-cultural interaction'.

4.1.2 Violent Extremism

Continuity and advances in the literature

In the review of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) literature undertaken by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011: 69) the authors lamented the **lack of clear and universally accepted definitions** of key terms related to violent extremism. Unfortunately the debates around definitions have not been resolved, and are unlikely to be so any time soon. Indeed, an ongoing theme in the academic research on violent extremism is that it may be futile to enforce a single definition to encompass a strategy, tactic, or process undertaken by a diverse range of actors for differing social and political reasons (Stampnitzky, 2013; Hoffman, 1998: 34; Horgan and Boyle, 2008: 55-56; Sedgwick, 2010).

While ambivalence remains regarding the possibility of developing definitional certainty, the systematic review of the literature demonstrates that the term radicalisation is increasingly a site of vigorous debate and deep contention, primarily in relation to the way it informs the implementation of CVE policy (Kühle and Lindekilde, 2012; Brown and Saeed, 2015; Kundnani, 2012c; Awan, 2012; Bartlett and Miller, 2012; Hörnqvist and Flyghed, 2012), but also in terms of its explanatory power in relation to understanding the causes of violent extremism (Schmid, 2013: 1).

The term radicalisation has become so embedded within academic and policy discourses surrounding violent extremism that it worth recalling that it was rarely used in relation to violent extremism

or terrorism prior to the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington. Silke (2011: 20) observes that 'in the 1970s and 1980s, there were no claims of Irish Republican Army (IRA) members being "radicalized," and there was no reference to a "radicalisation process." Such a terminology and framework has primarily been a post-9/11 phenomenon and it has been developed in regard to al-Qa`ida and its disparate affiliates'. In particular, the term has gained prominence in the wake of the Madrid and London terror attacks when the enduring and localised nature of the threat became increasingly apparent (Schmid, 2013: 1).

The importance of recognising the emergence of the term radicalisation insofar as it is used in relation to violent extremism lies in the insight it may provide as to why Muslim communities often perceive radicalisation to be a concept that unfairly conflates Islam with radical, or Islamic religious practice, appearance and thought with threat (Kundnani, 2012c; Awan, 2012; d'Appollonia, 2012; Akbar, 2015; Ahmed, 2015; Kühle and Lindekilde, 2012; Githens-Mazer, 2012; Isakjee and Allen, 2013; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013). Certainly, in relation to the systematic literature review, the vast majority of literature on radicalisation focuses on Islamist radicalisation, particularly within a Western context. These findings reflect those of Githens-Mazer (2012: 558) who reviewed the literature on radicalisation published until 2011 and found 73 percent referred exclusively to radicalisation with reference to Muslims or Islam, or both. In a highly critical examination of the term, Kundnani (2012c: 5) argues that, '*[t]he concept of radicalisation inherited at birth a number of built-in, limiting assumptions: that those perpetrating terrorist violence are drawn from a larger pool of extremist sympathisers who share Islamic theology that inspires their actions; that entry into this wider pool of extremists can be predicted by individual or group psychological or theological factors; and that knowledge of these factors could allow government policies that reduce the risk of terrorism.*'

Kundnani highlights the problem when a contested term like radicalisation becomes the platform on which policy is built. Yet, in some ways the emergence of the term is welcome due to both the space it regains for discussing the causes of violent extremism in a way that had been taboo in the few years immediately following the 9/11

attacks, and because of the possibility it provides for widening counter-terrorism approaches to include preventative and non-coercive methods. Nevertheless, the systematic literature review suggests that in practice the tensions inherent in the term radicalisation and the multiplicity of ways that it can be interpreted has ultimately, if inadvertently, resulted in the **securitisation of Muslims** (Bonino, 2012; Isakjee and Allen, 2013; Brown and Saeed, 2015) and the **creation of suspect communities** (Awan, 2012; Murphy et al., 2015; Bonino, 2013; Githens-Mazer, 2012; Mythen, 2012; Hickman et al., 2012; Vermeulen, 2014; Spalek, 2011; Lakhani, 2012) though these dynamics were in motion before the term radicalisation became prominent in Western policy circles.

Such perceived securitisation is apparent in Australia. A recent study conducted in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne included 14 focus groups with 104 Muslim participants across a variety of age groups, as well as face-to-face surveying of 800 Muslims. It concluded that 'Muslims carry the burden of stigmatisation and experience a form of collective attribution by the constant conflation of Islam with terrorism. One consequence is that the frustration and anger Muslims feel about being labelled a terrorist threat are projected onto counter-terrorism efforts, which can generate suspicion about whether police and governments have the Muslim community's best interests at heart' (Murphy et al., 2015: 25).

The implication of projecting anger and frustration onto counter-terrorism efforts include the risk of further alienating those citizens that are best placed to recognise the risk of violent extremist behaviour prior to its occurrence. Furthermore, it also risks undermining the trust required for citizens to report concerns to authorities (Sliwinski, 2013; Stevens, 2011; Rascoff, 2012; Rehman, 2011; Murphy et al., 2015; Faria and Arce, 2012; d'Appollonia, 2012; Lakhani, 2012; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013).

The results from the systematic literature review demonstrate continuity with the findings by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) that particular terms remain ill-defined and problematic. However, it also found that increasing attention is being given to the term radicalisation and in particular the implications of definitional ambiguity in regards to the implementation of policy. For one author,

radicalisation "has become an ambiguous term – a moving target which is declared common sense" by policy-makers and the media, yet is a total nightmare to operationalize' (Githens-Mazer, 2012: 561).

Closely related to this is a continuing concern with the **delineation between extremist and violent extremist**. On one side of the debate sits the argument that any distinction between extremist and violent extremist is illusionary, essentially creating a false dichotomy. From this standpoint, religious extremism is inherently violent and therefore any separation of the categories is problematic (Schmid, 2014; Alonso, 2012; Russell and Theodosiou, 2015). Informing this understanding is an assumption regarding straightforward causal relationships between particularly Islamic radical or extremist *thought* and violent extremist *behaviour*. Extremism represents the radical milieu from which violent extremism inevitably emerges. This plays out at the CVE level as a resistance to the idea of engaging non-violent radicals in CVE intervention programs. 'Many of the non-violent extremist leaders work towards the establishment of a sharia-based state within a democratic state and ultimately wish to establish a transnational Islamist state. Official collaboration with them only provides them with respectability and legitimacy' (Schmid, 2014: 26).

On the other side sits the argument that the conflation of extremism and violent extremism not only fails to recognise the difference between thoughts and behaviour, it ignores an important resource that can be mobilised in order to counter violent extremism, while simultaneously increasing tensions both between various Muslim groups and between some Muslims and broader society (Kühle and Lindekilde, 2012; Bartlett and Miller, 2012; Stevens, 2011). Similarly, in another study undertaken in Australia that explored community perceptions of radicalisation a participant noted that, '[b]eing an extremist is not a criminal act and often police knocking on the door can make it worse' (Tahiri and Grossman, 2013: 120). At the heart of this perspective is an understanding of the importance of differences within Islamic communities and how this translates to the idea of credibility when seeking to dissuade someone from using violence (Spalek, 2014; Spalek, 2011; McDonald and Mir, 2011; Romaniuk, 2015).

On this issue, Bartlett and Miller (2012) have published their findings from a two-year fieldwork study conducted in the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark, France, and the Netherlands with a specific focus on home-grown violent extremist Islamist cells. In their research they looked specifically at which characteristics were common and which were different between those classed as either violent or non-violent radicals. While they found many similarities between the two groups, they did not find evidence that ideological interpretations were significant, with both groups engaging in reading similar texts and supporting similar political interpretations and goals. The four aspects that they identified as significant in differentiating violent radicalisation from radicalisation per se were 1) Emotional “pull” to act in the face of injustice, 2) Thrill, excitement, and coolness, 3) Status and internal code of honour, and 4) Peer pressure (Bartlett and Miller, 2012: 13).

In this sense, they suggest that ‘[t]o be a radical is to reject the status quo, but not necessarily in a violent or even problematic manner. Some radicals conduct, support, or encourage terrorism, whilst many others do no such thing, and actively and often effectively agitate against it’ (Bartlett and Miller, 2012: 2). Again, this debate is not entirely new since the review by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011). However, as in the case of the term radicalisation, the systematic literature review suggests an increased focus on the **implications** these types of distinctions have when it comes to making decisions about implementing policy.

As well as the continuation and expansion of previous themes surrounding definitional and conceptual issues, the **causes of violent extremism** remain an area of deep contention. A variety of themes continue to frame the literature. However, it is important to note that they are not necessarily in agreement with each other. The recurring themes noted below are well-trodden subjects in the literature prior to 2011, and they continue to frame many discussions around the drivers of violent extremism. Readers interested in how these issues have been previously discussed, or the ways in which they have been integrated into models of radicalisation, are referred to the extensive review by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) on which this systematic literature review builds (also see Hafez and Mullins, 2015; McGilloway et al., 2015; King and

Taylor, 2011). However, this report will concentrate on new perspectives that have emerged since the publication by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011). Recurring themes that occurred within the systematic literature review but that will not be the focus of this discussion include:

- **Foreign policy and political grievance** (Akbarzadeh, 2013; Abbas and Siddique, 2012; Karagiannis, 2012; Russell and Theodosiou, 2015; Bergin et al., 2015; Fernandez, 2015; Schmid, 2013; Barclay, 2011; Murphy et al., 2015; Ahmed et al., 2014; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013)
- **Conflict and regional instability** (Bonino, 2012; Jacobs et al., 2011)
- **Disadvantage and socio-economic frustration** (Rehman, 2011; Abbas and Siddique, 2012; Bhui et al., 2014; Deckard and Jacobson, 2015; Ganor, 2011; Buckley, 2013; Acevedo and Chaudhary, 2015; Schmid, 2013; Ahmed et al., 2014; Piazza, 2011; Garland and Treadwell, 2012)
- **The role of religion, ideology and narratives** (Alonso, 2012; Akbar, 2015; Borum, 2014; Abbas and Siddique, 2012; Bonino, 2012; Russell and Theodosiou, 2015; Schmid, 2014; Briggs and Silverman, 2014; Pizzuto, 2013; Barclay, 2011; Ahmed et al., 2014; Simi et al., 2015; Goodwin and Ramalingam, 2012; Sedgwick, 2012; Nesser, 2011)
- **Discrimination** (Abbas and Siddique, 2012; Buckley, 2013; Moyano and Trujillo, 2014; Walker, 2011; Murphy et al., 2015; Ahmed et al., 2014; Disha et al., 2011; Berlet, 2012; Ekman, 2015; Deloughery et al., 2012; Staub, 2013; Cameron et al., 2013; Smith, 2016; Abbas, 2012)
- **Social networks and a sense of belonging** (Helfstein, 2014; Asal et al., 2014; Schmid, 2013; Russell and Theodosiou, 2015; Ahmed et al., 2014; Braun, 2011; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013)
- **Identity formation and validation** (Simon et al., 2013; Aly, 2012; Ganor, 2011; Bhui and Ibrahim, 2013; Russell and Theodosiou, 2015; Bergin et al., 2015; Fernandez, 2015; Briggs and Silverman, 2014; Walker, 2011; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013)
- **Alienation and social exclusion** (Franz, 2015; Aly, 2012; Andre and Harris-Hogan, 2013; Ganor, 2011; Bhui and Ibrahim, 2013; Abbas and

Siddique, 2012; Awan, 2013; Karagiannis, 2012; Barclay, 2011; Walker, 2011; Ahmed et al., 2014; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013).

New areas of research that have emerged since the Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011) review are closely linked to two pivotal events. Firstly, the Anders Behring Breivik attacks in Norway in 2011 have led to a renewed focus on the **dangers of right-wing extremism**, as well as the issue of **lone wolf attacks**. While right-wing extremism was referred to only once in the previous review, and lone wolf terrorism only twice, this systematic literature review found that substantial research on these areas is being undertaken and warrants further discussion (Braun, 2011; Berntzen and Sandberg, 2014; Spaaij, 2012; Cameron et al., 2013; Garland and Treadwell, 2012; Aho, 2013; Stern, 2014; Disha et al., 2011; Berlet, 2012; Caiani and Parenti, 2011; Cifuentes et al., 2013; Kallis, 2013; McCauley and Moskalenko, 2014). This is not to say that lone wolf terrorism is purely the domain of right-wing violent extremism, it is not (Spaaij, 2012). However, the organised, systematic, and indiscriminate taking of lives that was apparent in the Breivik attacks certainly bolstered concern over the issue more generally.

Secondly, the rise of the so-called Islamic State (IS) and the conflicts in Syria and Iraq have led to a surge of interest in the **role of social media** within radicalisation processes. While previously social media has not constituted a significant theme, only being mentioned once in the previous literature review, IS's use of social media for mobilisation means that it now constitutes a major area of academic interest (Aly et al., 2014b; von Behr et al., 2013; Aly, 2012; Berger and Morgan, 2015; Bhui and Ibrahim, 2013; Briggs and Feve, 2013; Carter et al., 2014; Crone, 2014; Fernandez, 2015; Gill et al., 2015; Neumann, 2012; Richardson, 2013). Also related to the emergence of IS in Syria and Iraq is a research interest in the issue of foreign fighters, particularly in relation to what motivates a person to go overseas to fight, the efficacy of measures such as passport confiscation or the revoking of citizenship, as well as the danger they may pose on return (Lister, 2015; Zammit, 2015; Briggs and Silverman, 2014). This theme is closely linked to ongoing debates about the implementation of CVE programs.

In terms of areas of research that extend existing understandings of how a person may come to embrace violent extremism as a tactic, there is a strengthening of **cultural perspectives** that explore violent extremism through the lens of sub-cultures, counter-cultures or gangs (Pisoiu, 2015; Decker and Pyrooz, 2015; Hemmingsen, 2015; Cottee, 2011; Crone, 2014). Generally, although not exclusively, emerging from the field of criminology, these approaches draw relationships between the way people get involved in criminal gangs and the process of violent radicalisation.

Increasing attention is also being paid to the role of **emotions** in violent extremism (Ahmed, 2015; Bartlett and Miller, 2012; Matsumoto et al., 2014; Smith, 2016; Spalek, 2011; Cottee and Hayward, 2011; Berntzen and Sandberg, 2014). Rather than focussing on emotions as pathological biases that lead to irrational decision-making, this literature is starting to explore how emotional responses, particularly those experienced in relation to particular identity markers, can shape moral understandings that come to justify violence (Smith, 2016; Ahmed, 2015; Berntzen and Sandberg, 2014). Also within this literature are explorations of some of the emotional rewards or yearnings connected to joining violent extremist groups (Cottee and Hayward, 2011; Bartlett and Miller, 2012; Smith, 2016), and the way leaders can tap into the emotional vulnerabilities of potential recruits (Matsumoto et al., 2014). In the next section, the discussion will focus on the literature that extends previous understandings rather than those working from the perspectives already established prior to 2011.

Factors influencing or leading to violent extremism

The emerging interest in the rise of IS, right-wing violent extremism, lone wolves attacks, social media and foreign fighters frame much of the current research landscape exploring the question of what influences or leads to violent extremism. Within those discussions, the aforementioned themes remain factors. For example, it is clear that issues such as anger at Western foreign policy (or in the case of right-wing extremists, domestic policy), despair at the humanitarian costs of foreign conflicts (or in the case of right-wing extremists, at humanitarian responses such as higher intakes

of refugees) and loyalties tied to international regional instability are important issues drawn upon by violent extremists to justify the use of violence. Similarly, a sense of being discriminated against and feelings of alienation and social exclusion may be a factor experienced by those who use violence. However, these responses and experiences *are in no way unique* to those who use violence and therefore the causal relationship is weak (Bartlett and Miller, 2012: 6-8). While they may be seen as *influencing factors*, they are not factors that *lead* to violent extremism.

Similarly, a causal link between the **role of religion, ideology and narratives** has not been empirically established (Aly and Striegher, 2012). While the cherry-picking of religious concepts in the formation of a violent ideology certainly contribute to the framing of narratives that justify violence, the degree to which this is an intellectual process remains contentious. Crone (2014), for example, draws on fieldwork conducted amongst militant Islamist youth in Denmark to challenge assumptions of a top down transformation in which a person is exposed to and brainwashed by the ideological message of violence. Rather, she emphasises the importance of self-transformation, encompassing the practices of particular subcultural rituals, aesthetics and techniques that are performed through the body and that appeal to the sensory and emotive aspects of a person. In this sense, her argument supports the one emerging from the fieldwork of Bartlett and Miller (2012) that situates the delineation between extremist and violent extremist outside of the intellectual/ ideological framework and more within the subcultural and experiential one.

Sub-cultural factors

Pisoiu's (2015) qualitative study of seven individual jihadi and far-right case studies in Germany empirically tested some well-established criminological theories with a particular focus on understanding the motivation for involvement in extremist violence. She found support for subcultural factors that serve to create **boundaries of identity and belonging**. As such, she extends previous understandings of the importance of social networks, identity, and the search for belonging that is found in violent extremist literature, and explores more deeply how this is embodied and

performed through cultural signifiers such as style, clothing, music and language aimed at creating a group identity that is recognisable as oppositional, appealing and 'cool'. Bartlett and Miller's (2012: 14) empirical work also found that the pull towards violent jihad was often due to the image it had as 'cool and exciting' with tales of exotic landscapes and guns sitting along those of helping your brothers and sisters and the chance to be part of the vanguard during a pivotal moment in history. This resonates with previous research in the area of street gangs, which emphasise participation in gangs and violence as an alternative pathway to achieving pride and status.

Cottee (2011) also seeks to extend previous terrorism research on social networks in relation to jihadist groups and similarly finds evidence that the construction of specific **oppositional subcultures of resistance** provide solutions to marginalized statuses and identities. In this sense, he draws from criminological theories that have previously been utilised to understand the reasons why youth become involved in crime gangs, skinhead groups and more general delinquency and applies them to understanding the appeal of violent jihadi groups to Muslim youth, particularly those of the second or third generation living in the West. Similarly, Decker (2015: 106) reminds us that 100 years of gang research has taught us that the 'group is more powerful than the individual' because it is groups that motivate people to act in ways they may not normally do. Hemmingsen (2015) reinforces this in the findings of her fieldwork on three Danish terrorism cases, arguing that a countercultural perspective enables a better grasp of the factors leading to involvement in jihadism because it moves beyond the focus on the individual or the ideological and focusses on the immediate social context. Within this context, the importance of in-group competition mixed with displays of bravado have been found to help escalate a group to violence as they attempt to demarcate themselves from 'talkers'. From this perspective, when defiance or radicalisation is intertwined with status, individuals may compete with each other, 'spiralling into one-upmanship' (Bartlett and Miller, 2012: 16) .

Subcultural approaches tend to focus on meso- or **group level explanations of crime or violent extremism** in order to understand individual involvement or pathways. A benefit this approach

exhibits is an ability to research *across* a variety of different violent extremist groups by enabling a focus on the social, cultural, and behavioural aspects of violence that a range of groups, with varying ideologies, seek to exploit in order to mobilise political actors. Similarly, in explaining the importance of group culture in delineating between someone who is radical and someone who is violent, Bartlett and Miller noted that while practically everyone had been exposed to violent jihadi literature, songs and videos, including beheadings, the 'important difference seems to be watching videos, or listening to these songs, *in a group*' because it creates a culture where using violence for social or personal advancement is constructed as acceptable (Bartlett and Miller, 2012: 14 emphasis added).

Experiential factors

Within the cultural context, a focus on the **embodied and performative aspects of violent extremism** is beginning to emerge. This sits comfortably alongside the idea that the turn to violence is unlikely to be purely a cognitive process in which a person weighs up the advantages of violence against non-violence in relation to achieving a particular ideologically-motivated goal (Bartlett and Miller, 2012; Cottee and Hayward, 2011; Smith, 2016; Ahmed, 2015).

Cottee and Hayward (2011) identify three particular **experiential factors** that lead to violent extremism; (1) the desire for excitement, (2) the desire for ultimate meaning, and (3) the desire for glory. Drawing on diverse examples from soccer hooliganism to soldiers in combat, Cottee and Hayward point out that however distasteful it may seem, we must acknowledge that sometimes the idea of violence is exciting. The excitement, they explain, is derived 'in part from its emotional intensity and the heightened state of consciousness that this produces' (2011: 969). Similarly, building on the well-established literature that terrorist groups provide an important source of identity, Cottee and Hayward (2011: 975) suggest that violent struggle and self-sacrifice in the service of a cause can provide a sense of ultimate purpose in life and the definitive expression of solidarity and love. Finally, the authors argue that 'part of what makes terrorist groups attractive is the scope they offer their members to define or remake themselves as heroic

figures' (Cottee and Hayward, 2011: 976). While Cottee and Hayward's argument draws largely on secondary source work undertaken outside the area of violent extremism, it resonates strongly with emerging research on foreign fighters (Lister, 2015: 8; Briggs and Silverman, 2014: 13-14), the primary empirical findings of Bartlett and Miller's (2012) work on comparing the difference between radical and violent radicals mentioned above, as well as with the analysis of IS propaganda undertaken by Fernandez (2015) and discussed below in relation to social media.

Again, research focussing on the experiential aspects of extremist violence tends to focus less on the content of any particular ideology, and more on the way it makes people feel. In this sense, the emerging subcultural or experiential research into violent extremism is very much focussed on intersectionalities rather than trajectories when explaining the factors that lead to violent extremism. From this perspective, radicalisation is not a pathway, or a series of incremental steps. Rather, extremist violence is conceptualised as a messy and at times disjointed embrace or pursuit of various desires that may or may not be consciously related to violence, but when contextualised within a particular sub-cultural milieu may have violence as an outcome.

Social media

Research into the role the internet plays in violent extremism is increasing (for example see, Aly, 2012; Aly et al., 2014b; Carter et al., 2014; Neumann, 2012; Gill et al., 2015; von Behr et al., 2013). The unprecedentedly large flow of foreign fighters to the conflicts in Syria and Iraq (Zammit, 2015) generated strong interest in the role of social media. Carter et al. (2014: 1), point out that 'Syria may be the first conflict in which large number of Western fighters have been documenting their involvement in conflict in real-time, and where – in turn – social media represents an essential source of information and inspiration to them.' Community leaders and government stakeholders in Victoria have expressed concern that social media greatly enables radicalisation (Tahiri and Grossman, 2013: 86-97).

In terms of the relationship between the internet and factors that influence or lead to violent

extremism, research suggests that the internet tends to afford more possibilities for radicalisation rather than have a causal relationship per se (Gill et al., 2015; von Behr et al., 2013). Von Behr et al. (2013: xii, 24) drew on fifteen case studies of violent extremists and found evidence that the internet provides more opportunity for **sourcing information, communicating, consuming propaganda, and social interactions** that confirm existing beliefs, particularly through acting as an 'echo chamber'. However, they did not find evidence that the internet accelerated radicalisation, nor that it substituted for face-to-face interactions that are generally required for a person to undertake a violent act. Gill et al. (2015: 7-8), who used open source information to analyse the internet usage of 227 violent extremist offenders in the UK, found that in the 'vast majority' of cases radicalisation occurs both online and offline (Gill et al., 2015: 36).

It is important to avoid drawing too great a distinction between interactions online and those offline. The internet and social media has become a part of daily life and interactions that take place online through social media may feel just as 'real' than those relationships in offline spaces (Bouchard and Levey, 2015; Ducol, 2015; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013). In this sense, the role of the internet, and more specifically of social media, is best understood as a 'virtual environment' that allows participation in subcultures through what Crone (2014: 300) refers to as a 'new aesthetic media'. For Crone (2014: 303), 'Once the viewer of militant videos has perceived the materiality of iconic martyrs, their ways of dressing and behaving, the smoke of battle scenes, the sound of nasheeds (Islamic songs), he is able to identify with the mujahideen and thus imagine himself performing the life of jihad (walking, talking, dressing, laughing, shooting, fighting in specific ways)'.

Fernandez's (2015) analysis of hundreds of hours of IS propaganda disseminated through social media identifies four key themes that characterise its 'brand' and that resonate with the earlier discussion on cultural and experiential explanations of violent extremism. First, he argues that IS propagates a sense of urgency in their propaganda (Fernandez, 2015: 11). The message is that people are being slaughtered *now*, you need to act *now*, the Caliphate is being established *now* and if you

don't do something immediately you won't get to be a part of it. Second, he identifies the theme of agency (Fernandez, 2015: 11). The message is one of playing a part in history, being involved in something bigger than yourself, being a hero, but only if you *do* something rather than just 'talk the talk'. The third theme identified by Fernandez (2015: 11-12) is the sense of authenticity and fulfilment an individual will feel when they join the Islamic State. The black flag and clothes, the savage videos, the extreme and harsh rules, all act to prove its sincerity and underpin its authenticity. The message is that these are not people who are taking it easy. Rather, this is the kind of hard work and sacrifice that is necessary to achieve anything of value. The fourth and final theme that Fernandez (2015: 12) discusses is that of victory. The humiliation and 'subjugation of infidels, the public display of beheadings, the destruction of idols, and the display of statelike qualities such as currency and passports, all suggest power, permanence, and victory' that evokes a sense that IS is sanctioned by God, growing in power and here to stay. In light of this, it is worth asking if the von Behr et al. (2013) finding of there being no evidence that the internet accelerates radicalisation actually still applies. While this stocktake found considerable literature on IS's use of social media, it did not find empirical studies on whether this had accelerated the radicalisation process.

IS was not the exclusive focus of the literature found on social media and radicalisation. While both Caiani (2011) and Ekman (2015) explored social media in relation to White Supremacy or Islamophobic groups, Gill et al. (2015) noted that lone actors to make use of the internet. While not identifying the internet as a causal factor, they argue that extreme right-wing terrorist activity is more commonly carried out by lone actors and that the extreme-right movement in the UK tended to be located online.

Lone wolf terrorism

Spaaij's (2012) robust exploration of lone wolf terrorists acting from a variety of different ideological perspectives finds some similarities and some unique characteristics of lone wolves. While lone wolves are, by definition, not part of a terrorist organisation, Spaaij (2012: 16-17) points out

that they do tend to **identify or sympathize with extremist groups**, sometimes having belonged to such groups in the past. Nevertheless, the term 'lone wolf' does evoke 'images of ideologically and socially unaffiliated individuals, and directs the attention away from the social character of language and political narratives' (Berntzen and Sandberg, 2014: 760).

Contrary to a well-established theme in violent extremist literature indicating that terrorists do not demonstrate a distinctive pattern of psychological traits, McCauley and Moskaleiko (2014: 83) identify a 'growing consensus that grievance-fuelled lone attackers are likely to have... depression or other mental disorder, and temporary or chronic social isolation'. Spaaij (2012: 49-54) also finds that lone wolves are likely to experience some form of psychological disturbance as well as varying degrees of social ineptitude that ensure they are generally loners. Their ideologies, he argues, are built on a complex mix of personal resentment and frustrations combined with broader socio-political or religious grievances (Spaaij, 2012: 37-44).

Spaaij is careful not to draw a causal link between these factors and lone wolf violent extremism. Indeed, he echoes earlier discussion around the fact that these experiences are not unique to those who use violence, and therefore the causal relationship is weak. However, Spaaij does point to the way that lone wolves construct themselves as vanguards of their particular cause, with their violence serving as an integral part of the 'process of enlightenment' in which the audience will be jolted into seeing the world through their particular point of view (Spaaij, 2012: 59-61).

As the Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011: 69) review concluded, involvement in violent extremism is a complex process that is unlikely to follow a linear path and for which the factors that influence or lead to the embrace of violence are highly individualised. It is difficult to find causal factors when dealing with what are essentially outliers, the tiny few who act differently than most (Cragin, 2014: 337). While it is possible to identify a host of influencing factors such as political grievances, feelings of alienation, experiences of discrimination, or a particular ideology or narrative, these are not factors that *definitively lead* to violent extremism. Indeed, it is more accurate to say that

they do not given that the majority of people who experience them never contemplate acting violently. Scholarship on violent extremism is continuing to be refined in ways that increase our understanding. However, understanding the factors that *lead* to violent extremism, as opposed to those that simply *influence* them, remains elusive. The literature reviewed here points to sub-cultural and experiential factors, the facilitating role of social media, and psychological factors (primarily in the case of lone wolves) as key research directions to have arisen since 2011.

Factors that protect against violent extremism

Any discussion of that factors that protect against violent extremism will be coloured by the fact that there is no definitive agreement about what leads to it. For a violent extremist to take action there is likely to be a unique alignment of situational, socio-cultural and individual factors that help to make violence a behaviourally *inclining* option. According to Cragin (2014: 337), 'very little research has been conducted on the question of why individuals do not join terrorist or insurgent groups. This lapse is troubling, if only because the answers are critical to a thorough understanding of either radicalisation or disengagement. After all, so many of the factors attributed to motivating individuals to join terrorist groups are evident in wider populations'. In an attempt to bridge this divide, he presents a conceptual model of 'resistance to violent extremism' that examines individuals 'who have been exposed to radical [Islamist] ideologies and even flirted with radical mindsets, but ultimately have rejected violence' in order to examine the factors that most likely influence individuals *not* to become involved in political violence (Cragin, 2014: 342). Important (but not determining) factors that were identified included: the logistics and costs of trying to get to a conflict zone; fear of the repercussions (as an antidote to excitement); the absence of reinforcing social ties; being re-directed towards non-violent activities (such as working for NGOs); a belief that violence wouldn't work; the failure to dehumanise the enemy; family obligations.

Preventing violent extremism

These factors can be viewed as weaknesses in the violent extremist group's recruitment strategies that can be utilised in framing a preventative approach. However, Cragin (2014) does not include an examination of how this would most effectively be achieved, but CVE programs could be aimed at some of the identified factors. For example, Schmid (2012) points to how victims voices can be utilised in order to re-humanise the supposed enemy, while McDonald (2011) and Briggs and Silverman (2014) see a role for 'formers' in building resistance to the utility of violent extremism.

In relation to prevention, three themes emerged strongly. First, reflecting the findings by Nasser-Eddine et al. (2011: 59-67), the risk of poorly implemented CVE policy being counter-productive remains an issue, particularly when CVE work becomes too closely associated with social cohesion policies (Lakhani, 2012; O'Toole et al., 2012; McDonald and Mir, 2011; McDonald, 2011; Spalek, 2014; Spalek, 2011; Kassimeris and Jackson, 2012; Romaniuk, 2015). This issue will be discussed in the section of this report on community cohesion.

Second, there is evidence to suggest that to protect against violent extremism, preventative work should not be a top-down process, but one that emerges and is undertaken at a grassroots level by those community members who have credibility with young people deemed at risk (Spalek, 2014; Spalek, 2011; Vermeulen, 2014; Williams et al., 2016; O'Toole et al., 2012; McDonald, 2011; Brett, 2012; Tahiri and Grossman, 2013). McDonald (2011), for example, draws on field work with Muslim community members and youth to highlight the protective role that specialist Muslim youth workers can have when they are empowered to use their work to effectively respond to the appeal of violent extremism amongst the most vulnerable young people. She found that when a youth worker belonged to a community that was generally seen as suspicious (such as the Salafist or Islamist community) they had a strong ability to understand the emotional states and individual motivations that may underpin the desire to use violence (McDonald, 2011: 181-182). This translated into a greater ability to weaken the cultural and emotional pull towards violent extremism.

Similarly, based on extensive field work undertaken with Muslim communities that are targeted for CVE programs in the UK, Spalek (2014: 826) has found that a focus on developing relationships with and between key individuals (who she refers to as connectors) that exist in communities and police can provide critical bridges between communities characterised by 'low political and social trust, where there is little sense of agreement regarding the legitimacy of counterterrorism approaches.' Importantly, she points out that 'connectors are not necessarily community leaders. Some connectors may be dissenters, for example, challenging social injustice as and when they perceive or experience it, and so they may be viewed as "troublemakers" by wider communities or by those in positions of authority' (Spalek, 2014: 826). Nevertheless, the very fact that they are dissenters may be what gives them credibility within their communities and therefore they are important relationships to nurture.

Reflecting a similar argument but with a focus on protecting against online radicalisation, Briggs and Feve's (2013: 8) review of programs to counter narratives of violent extremism found that 'governments must tread with caution in the area of counter-messaging – there is much they can do, however their efforts can be ineffective or even counter-productive when they act as the messenger, due to their credibility gap with target audiences, which often gets in the way of what they have to say.' Participants in Tahiri and Grossman's (2013) study also warned that governments were not well-positioned to produce counter-narratives. Richardson's (2013: 5) study similarly suggested that government messaging should be limited to conventional political issues such as explaining how counter-terrorism legislations works and explaining policies in relation to Syria, while supporting grassroots capacity to deliver counter-narratives against extremists.

Third, individually targeted interventions that provide tailored support aimed at behavioural change for a person at high risk of engaging in violence are considered to be more effective than those that aim at changing beliefs within broader groups or communities. Romaniuk (2015) undertook an extensive review of publicly available CVE evaluations in order to understand the

lessons that have been learned from global efforts to prevent violent extremism. He pointed to the growth of micro-level, individually targeted CVE interventions that reflect the belief that 'the core business of CVE is to address behavioural radicalisation through CVE-specific measures. Some pragmatism is latent in this response, in that reducing the pool of cognitive radicals has proven to be an uncertain and potentially vast undertaking whereas resources may be better focused on individuals that are most vulnerable' (Romaniuk, 2015: 27).

The robust and extensive report on preventative programs in the EU conducted by the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN, 2015) also stressed the importance of tailor made interventions that were adapted to local circumstances and individual needs. They stress that to protect against violent extremism it is preferable to have a case-by-case approach that is sensitive to each 'individuals' background, grievances, motivations, fears, frustrations etc. to be able to develop a suitable intervention. Besides internal factors, external factors such as the individual's social environment and other local circumstances need to be taken into account' (RAN, 2015: 10).

RAN (2015: 10) highlights seven areas in which protective work can be most effective: '(1) Raising awareness of first line practitioners working with vulnerable individuals or groups at risk of radicalisation; (2) De-radicalisation programmes to re-integrate violent extremists and disengagement programmes to at least dissuade them from violence; (3) Engagement and empowerment of communities at risk, establishing a trust based relation with authorities; (4) Education of young people on citizenship, political, religious and ethnic tolerance, non-prejudiced thinking, extremism, democratic values, cultural diversity, and the historical consequences of ethnically and politically motivated violence; (5) Family support for those vulnerable to radicalisation and those who have become radicalised; (6) Delivering alternative narratives to extremist propaganda and worldviews either online or offline; (7) Creating institutional infrastructures to ensure that people at risk are given multi-agency support at an early stage'.

4.2 How do social cohesion and community resilience address socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?

4.2.1 Social Cohesion

Overall, the literature since 2011 is not very expansive on social cohesion as a mechanism or process that addresses factors protecting against or influencing racism, violent extremism or other forms of exclusivism. Many articles that refer to social cohesion either remain vague in their understanding of the concept or are critical of social or community cohesion policies and rhetoric. These critiques are especially prominent in work deriving from the United Kingdom (UK), which has grappled with a number of specific and acute policy challenges and external events in recent years. It should be noted that much of the UK analysis draws on British policies and terminology that differ from the Australian context in a number of respects, including Australia's long and well established multicultural policy framework.

Canadian and Australian work on social cohesion identifies five key dimensions of social cohesion: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy (see chapter 2.1). This conceptualisation, however, does not seem to be widely used in the UK, where the bulk of the literature on cohesion comes from and where cohesion was more concerned with 'positive relations' between people of different backgrounds (Cantle, 2012). The actual meaning of social cohesion (or community cohesion in the post-2001 British context) remains ambiguous, and many articles highlight these 'definitional confusions' (Ariely, 2014; Dandy and Pe-Pua, 2013; Nasser-Eddine et al., 2011; Husband and Alam, 2011; Rutter, 2015).

It is therefore difficult to identify empirical evidence that clearly addresses the question of how social cohesion address protective or influencing factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful forms of exclusivism. This is further complicated by a) the lack of scholarly certainty about the nature of these factors and b) the fact that widely acknowledged micro-factors located at the level of individual emotions or personal psychological characteristics do not easily align within the social cohesion model.

Many of the reviewed articles generally recognise social cohesion in principle as a positive social goal, although they usually do not specify what exactly this encompasses. Other articles, however, paint a critical picture of social cohesion as a concept. Their critique is rooted in the conceptual blurriness around social cohesion which allows it to serve as 'code' for a number of different policy agendas, including CVE (Rutter, 2015: 76). The commonly used holistic and multi-dimensional definitions of social cohesion (Markus, 2015; Cattle, 2012), which encompass elements as diverse as identity and shared values, trust, equity and experiences of discrimination, are seen to 'represent an empty vessel into which a variety of concerns are poured and rearticulated' (Flint and Robinson 2008, cited in Rutter, 2015: 78).

Overall, this view of social cohesion questions whether it is effective as a social, policy or governance tool that prevents or protects against anti-social behaviour, whether violence, crime, racism or any other form of exclusivism. This is due not only to the perceived fuzziness of the concept but also attributed to the fact that social cohesion is defined by, among other factors, the absence of 'exclusion', 'isolation' and 'rejection' (Jenson, 1998: 15). This refers to the fundamental conceptual question of social cohesion as either 'a cause or a consequence of other aspects of social, economic and political life' (Beauvais and Jenson, 2002: 5). The literature since 2011 does not resolve the tautology of how social cohesion is supposed to address racism or racial discrimination if social cohesion is defined as the recognition of diversity and equal opportunities for all members of society.

This is linked to an understanding of social cohesion as a 'continuous and never-ending process of achieving social harmony' (Markus and Kirpitchenko, 2007: 25), which does not provide sufficient scope to effectively address and manage conflicts and tensions that naturally occur in pluralistic modern societies (Rutter, 2015). In the Australian context, Ho (2011: 614) makes the same argument, suggesting that while social harmony is 'a laudable goal, it is not always realistic in a highly diverse society in which different groups of people inevitably have conflicting interests and worldviews'. In a similar vein, Rutter proposes redefining social cohesion as 'the capacity of people and places to manage conflict and change' (emphasis in original),

moving the concept away from a 'managing minorities' context to 'relations between all groups of people'; this requires 'individual resources and civic skills' but also 'public space where people can meet and mix', and 'political leadership that deals with the root causes of tensions' (2015: 79).

A large proportion of articles emerging largely (though not exclusively) from evaluations of the impact of *Prevent* programs in the UK examine the relationship between social cohesion and, in particular, countering violent extremism. They are primarily highly critical of social cohesion policies when used and implemented as a means to CVE (Bonino, 2013; Jarvis and Lister, 2013; Kassimeris and Jackson, 2012; Lakhani, 2012; McDonald, 2011; McDonald and Mir, 2011; O'Toole et al., 2012; Romaniuk, 2015; Spalek, 2014; Spalek, 2011). Skoczylis (2015) used a rigorous mixed methods approach (including analysis of policy, program evaluations, a case study of local community; interviews and focus groups with politicians, senior civil servants, police, program staff Muslim community members) to explore the impact of *Prevent*. He found that the *Prevent* strategy 'blurs the boundaries between crime prevention and social policy, creating ambiguity amongst national and local professionals' (Skoczylis, 2015: 183). In effect, communities perceived social cohesion policies, such as those that address jobs, homes or education, to have been swallowed up under a law and order discourse, only having value if they help to prevent violent extremism. Kassimeris and Jackson (2012) find that this discourse perpetuates misconceptions of Muslims as dysfunctional and culturally responsible for the contemporary terror threat.

Following the *Prevent* Review in 2011, social cohesion policies were separated out from the *Prevent* strategy. However, Skoczylis (2015) argues the impact of this has been mixed, with local level authorities particularly concerned about the difficulty of receiving funding for projects that are not explicitly linked with CVE, and communities seeing the renewed *Prevent* to be utilising social policy as a surveillance tool, effectively criminalising activities related to Islamist ideologies regardless of whether they are violent or non-violent. This is largely due to an accentuated focus on the adoption of British cultural values that has been interpreted as a push to assimilate and which has

ultimately been counter-productive (Skoczylis 2015). Jarvis and Lister (2013) found that the focus on British values has not only isolated Muslim communities, but that citizens from a variety of ethnic minority backgrounds believed that anti-terrorism measures have diminished their citizenship. Jarvis and Lister (2013: 656) conclude that 'anti-terrorism measures may be contributing to a condition of disconnected citizenship in the UK' effectively weakening social cohesion by undermining a sense of belonging.

Despite the widespread critique of social cohesion as a multi-faceted, non-specific concept and political agenda from 2011 onwards, individual dimensions of social cohesion have been found to be relevant for addressing certain factors of race-based exclusivism and violent (Islamist) extremism. This applies most obviously to the dimension of recognition, rather than rejection, of diversity. Promoting recognition and redressing any racist, white supremacy or otherwise aggressively exclusivist ideologies and their manifestations are therefore the most immediate way in which social cohesion can address exclusivism. This means in practice that, as Dunn and Nelson (2011: 599) argue, 'a first-order task of policy in this area must be to establish antiracism as a legitimate, necessary action for a new era in Australian multiculturalism, and 'a definitive commitment to the diversity of the Australian polity'. Beyond the recognition of diversity, the literature review identifies three other dimensions of social cohesion as potentially relevant: belonging, socioeconomic inclusion and participation.

Individuals' sense of belonging, collective identities and shared visions or values is a prominent facet of social cohesion across most recently proposed definitions. This has often been discussed in relation to the damaging effects of exclusionary and stigmatising discourses and policymaking especially in the context of CVE and securitisation, but also in the context of the 'liberal intolerance' discourse around cultural assimilation into dominant cultural norms and values (section 4.1.1; Lindekilde, 2014; Kundnani, 2012b; Hervik, 2012). These policies and discourses have created high hurdles for certain groups to develop a sense of belonging to the political community and society, and led to alienation and exclusion from the national narrative (Bonino, 2013; Bonino, 2015; Jarvis and Lister, 2013;

Cesari, 2012), reinforcing risk factors of exclusivism (especially in relation to violent extremism). Other articles have argued more generally that the self-image of a nation affects sense of belonging among immigrants and minorities. Duroy (2011: 407) posits in the French context that 'interaction between ethnocentric republican ideology and post-colonial racist legacy has led to the creation of a North African social identity which is characterised by dichotomous and negative representations in the hegemonic discourse in France'. There is consensus across much of the literature that policies and public discourses critical of diversity can negatively affect minorities' sense of belonging (Thomas and Sanderson, 2013; Ahmed, 2011). This may reinforce 'reactive identity formations' (Nagra, 2011) and the rejection of 'assimilating into whiteness', as Alimahomed (2011: 385) found in her study on young Muslims in Los Angeles, who 'refuse to remain complicit with a white agenda that disenfranchises their community, which has historically appealed to previous generations of Arab American Muslims'.

Modood (2011) calls for an inclusive national identity that is 'distinctly plural and hospitable to the minority identities ... not obscuring difference but weaving it into a common identity that all can see themselves in giving all a sense of belonging to each other' (cited in, Peucker and Akbarzadeh, 2014: 76). This resonates with the Cesari (2012: 449) study on the securitisation of Islam, advocating for 'the inclusion of Islam within the different national narratives of western democracies'. Bliuc et al. (2012) found in their study on the response to that Cronulla riots that there were two very different views on the 'Australian national identity' and shared values and norms: While some ('supporters of multiculturalism') advocated an inclusive national identity, which values and appreciates diversity, the other camp expressed racist, anti-diversity attitudes, representing an 'exclusivist national identity'. Social cohesion models tend to be vague about what exactly is meant by 'belonging', and to what extent this may include multiple identities and some's sense of belonging to a certain local or minority community (Jenson, 1998; Council of Europe 1999, cited in Beauvais and Jenson, 2002). The literature generally supports the view that flexible multi-sited identities tend to protect people from exclusivist attitudes and behaviours (see Community Resilience section).

Other factors relevant to social cohesion that influence violent extremism revolve around issues of socioeconomic marginalisation or inequalities. Several studies found that it is not necessarily unemployment or poverty itself that are regarded as influencing factors of exclusivism, but rather people's pessimistic perception of their economic prospects and precarious financial situation, or a sense of not having equal access to resources and opportunities due to discrimination or being perceived as a competitive threat. This refers to a core dimension of social cohesion: socioeconomic inclusion and equal opportunities and access to the labour market and other key institutions. Thus, the reduction of discriminatory barriers and the promotion of equal opportunities and socioeconomic inclusion (Abbas and Siddique, 2012: 130), for example through "old fashioned" access and equity policy' (Dunn and Nelson, 2011: 599), are one specific way in which social cohesion related policies can contribute to redress racism and other forms of exclusivism.

Some articles argue, although based on only limited empirical evidence, that promoting civic and political participation can make people, especially youth, less receptive to racism and extremism, helping reduce people's sense of social exclusion, isolation or alienation and, by extension, their vulnerability to exclusivist groups or ideologies. These articles often refer specifically to ethnic or religious minorities. (Abbas and Siddique, 2012: 122), for example, stress that 'effective political participation and representation are important opportunities to help act as a solution to the challenges of violent extremism'. Other articles focus in particular on young Muslims' civic engagement and alternative political participation, highlighting that their activism empowers them to 'transcend feelings of being negatively perceived by others' and develop 'deep affection and attachment' to the political community and society (Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking, 2013: 201). O'Loughlin and Gillespie (2012: 115), for example, found in their analysis of British Muslims' experiences of citizenship that many young Muslims become involved in 'alternative arenas and modes of political debate and engagement' responding in politically creative, 'dissenting' ways to the 'suffocating politics of security'. This reduces their vulnerability to the stigmatisation and sense of voicelessness.

The article concludes that 'dissenting rather than disaffected citizenship is a growing trend particularly among multi-ethnic youth who aspire to work critically within and revitalise mainstream politics to safeguard their citizenship status via local and translocal personalised forms of political action rather than engage in conventional forms of national party politics' (2012: 115).

Another dimension of social cohesion is general trust towards other people and various institutions of the state (see for example, Markus, 2015). Several studies have found people's level of trust ('other people can generally be trusted') to be negatively associated with their inclination to hold or express racist or other prejudiced views on, for example, Muslims or immigrants (Zick et al., 2011: 135). Moreover, research has shown that supporters of right-wing extremist parties are significantly more distrustful of others and also of political institutions (Bartlett and Littler, 2011; Ramalingam et al., 2012). Thus, programs and policies that help build mutual trust have the potential of reducing levels of racism and other forms of exclusivism. Conversely, the literature clearly highlights (Miah, 2012; Cao, 2014; Murphy et al., 2015; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014; Parmar, 2011) that policies and discourses that promote mistrust between people, fuel a sense of alienation and disenfranchisement, and diminish minorities' trust and confidence in the institutions of the state (for example, police) are counterproductive and may increase the risk of racism, violent extremism or other forms of exclusivism.

4.2.2 Community resilience

This section deals with emergent themes and insights drawn from the literature addressing resilience to socially harmful forms of exclusivism, including discrimination, bias and violent extremism. It is widely acknowledged that 'researchers in varied and distinct disciplines have struggled with the concept of resilience in their respective fields for decades. Scholars and practitioners continue to wrestle with this concept in hope of developing useful prescriptive...policy guidance and community-level assessment tools' (Hardy, 2015; Walklate et al., 2012; Longstaff, 2010:1, cited in Grossman et al., 2014). Longstaff notes that while the concept of 'resilience

is sometimes confused with the concept of “resistance”, the two are not antithetical; rather, ‘resilience subsumes [resistance]. If a community can resist a disturbance, its resources are robust enough to prevent the disturbance from reducing community functioning without any need for adaptation. However, a strategy that only directs resources towards resisting threats would almost certainly be costly, and possibly conflict with societal norms and individual liberties’ (Longstaff, 2010: 3, cited in Grossman et al., 2014).

Resilience as a concept at any level, including that of communities, continues to carry **unresolved definitional and conceptual burdens** in both academic and policy contexts. This may explain why analysts across disciplines continue to struggle with the application and analysis of community resilience as a framework for both prevention of and/or recovery from a variety of disturbances, risks or threats. The discussion below is informed by these persisting definitional and conceptual tensions.

Community resilience theories and concepts

There are varying theoretical constructs of resilience within and across disciplines but no universally accepted definition, so that resilience remains a ‘diffuse and contested concept’ (Walklate et al., 2012). Nevertheless, a working definition across much resilience literature increasingly sees it as both an ‘individual and a social construct’ (Walklate et al., 2012: 190) referring to the capacity of an individual or collective to do well in spite of exposure to acute trauma or sustained adversity (Walklate et al., 2012; Liebenberg et al., 2012). Discussions of community resilience published during the review period of 2011-2015 continue, as in earlier reviews (see Grossman et al., 2014) to be strongly influenced by the theoretical understanding of **resilience as a dynamic social process** (Hunter 2012, cited in Grossman et al., 2014) that occurs along a continuum, rather than as a fixed set of static traits, features or attributes. Many resilience scholars now suggest that resilience is best understood as the capacity to cope and thrive in the face of multidimensional adversities or challenges that may occur at many layers of complex interactive systems: individual, family, group, community, institutional, societal and environmental (Cacioppo, Reis and Zautra

2011: 44, cited in Walklate et al., 2012). Similarly, Masten (2014: 10) defines resilience as ‘the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability or development’. As Wright and Masten (2015: 5) note, such a definition is both ‘broad’ and ‘scalable across system levels and disciplines’, including that of communities.

Community resilience is profoundly social. **Social resilience** has been described as the way in which people in groups or collectives both demonstrate and expect ‘solidarity and cohesion’, marked by the ability to ‘draw on upon collective sources of practical and emotional support adaptively to deal with an emergency or a disaster’, so that ‘collective sense of unity’ in a crisis enables people to ‘accept support [and] act together with a shared understanding of what is practically and morally necessary’ (Williams and Drury 2009: 294-5, cited in Walklate et al., 2012: 190). Cacioppo et al. (2011: 44, cited in Walklate et al., 2012: 190) view community resilience primarily through the lens of social relations, describing it as ‘the capacity to foster, engage in, and sustain positive relationships and to endure and recover from life stressors and social isolation’.

These models of social resilience bring to the fore the issue of **resilience resources** - individual, relational or collective - within communities: what they are, who provides them, how well people can access and navigate them, and how meaningful they are in specific contexts for individuals and groups. These may include socio-cultural resources such as sense of belonging, experiences of cultural continuity through celebration of heritage, personal safety, and opportunities to contribute to the wellbeing of others (Ungar, 2015). From a sociological perspective, (Walklate et al., 2012; Walklate, 2011) points to structures of resilience through ‘three interconnected variables: 1) socio-economic context; 2) culture; and 3) social networks’. Taken together, these form an ‘axis of resilience’ that, while it highlights the relevance and impact of socio-economic variables, does not guarantee that higher levels of wealth or education, for example, will equate to increased resilience capacity. Rather, it is the culturally specific ways in which ‘individuals, families and communities may be connected and thereby afforded different opportunities for individual and collective wellbeing’

(Walklate et al., 2012: 191; Ungar, 2015) that matters most in terms of resilience capacity.

The social-ecological approach to resilience (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Ungar, 2008, 2011; Masten, 2013, cited in Theron and Liebenberg, 2015) strongly influences work on aspects of community resilience and its role in mitigating harms linked to forms of social exclusivism. This model of resilience suggests that resilience is neither entirely personal nor strictly social, but an iterative combination of the two, involving various interacting dimensions and scales of resilience capacity that may emerge, diverge or recede in different domains and contexts. There is now reasonably strong consensus in the literature that **resilience is context-dependent**, requiring detailed analysis of the multi-level conditions and variables that coalesce in any given setting when exploring resilience features and challenges. For example, the degree of resilience displayed by both individuals and communities involves the interaction of micro-level considerations of families, neighbourhoods, local cultural influences and local institutional capacities, as well as macro-level factors such as cultural, social and political systems, economy and the environment (Theron and Liebenberg, 2015: 26-27). All of these must be taken into account to derive meaningful analyses of community resilience capacity and functioning. An important implication of the context-dependency of resilience is that interventions designed to promote resilience that work well in one community context will not necessarily achieve results in another. Given this, a context-sensitive, bottom-up focus on resilience that strengthens local capacity and responds to intra- and inter-community variations, rather than a 'one size fits all' or 'top down' approach, is vital in achieving and promoting positive community outcomes.

While earlier studies of resilience tended to focus on vulnerabilities and deficits in assessing individual and community resilience, recent scholarship has shifted focus towards protective processes, highlighting instead sustained competence when dealing with adversities by exploring resilience dynamics. This has in turn emphasised conceptual thinking focused on resilience as the capacity for **transformative adaptation** to new or changed conditions, rather than merely 'bouncing back' to a steady, 'pre-disturbance' state. Yet resilience cannot

develop without the presence of both adaptive functioning *and* exposure to risk or adversity (Hunter 2012:2, cited in Grossman et al., 2014), so that resilience only becomes genuinely meaningful primarily in the context of vulnerability (Bean et al., 2011: 451). However, a concept of resilience linking protective and risk or vulnerability factors in this way should not loop back to older 'deficit' models of resilience. Instead, resilience understandings need to focus on both strengths and challenges in communities, identifying and seeking to strengthen further what already exists by way of resilience protections as well as what may be lacking or underdeveloped (Grossman et al., 2014; Walklate et al., 2012).

Seeing resilience as a dynamic and complex social process means that while community resilience can be built or strengthened, it may also be eroded as risk factors 'pile up and persist', particularly when not offset by protective factors (Evan et al. 2013; Obradovic et al. 2012, cited in Wright and Masten, 2015: 5). This highlights the need for a 'cumulative and contextual' approach to assessing resilience risks at community level, since greater risks are arguably posed for communities that experience acute adversity against the backdrop of persistent resilience threats (such as chronic social conflict, discrimination or lack of resources), compared with communities that experience an acute disturbance in an otherwise healthy and well-functioning setting. Community resilience is thus influenced by a community's day-to-day, ordinary functioning and wellbeing, and not just by how well it can respond to an acute crisis or disaster. In this sense, the strength of everyday, generalised and **systemic community resilience** cannot easily be separated from acute or **situational community resilience** focused on dealing with specific challenges or crises.

Finally, recent research suggests the need to diversify the theoretical understanding of resilience not only in terms of how pluralist communities may define and experience resilience, but also in terms of recognising multiple (not just multi-level) **'states of resilience'** that emerge from social-psychological, sociological and whole-of-life conceptual approaches to resilience studies. As Walklate et al. (2012) observe, 'States of resilience – whether psychological, sociological or rooted in individual and community histories – [mean that]

resilience is not unitary, uniform or unifying. In short, there are resiliences. ... Resilience is certainly 'real' insofar as it is recognised and recognisable by both individuals and collectives, but it is simultaneously socially constructed: a shared, commonly understood experience' (Walklate et al., 2012: 192).

Community resilience protections

Four key areas of community-based resilience protections emerge from the literature in relation to addressing forms of racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism. These are 1) recognition of, connection to and pride in cultural and religious heritage; 2) meaningful engagement and interaction with socio-culturally different others; 3) sense of efficacy through community participation for social change, and 4) flexible, multi-sited identities.

Recognition of, connection to and pride in cultural and religious heritage

The literature suggests that patterns of both individual and community resilience functioning and expression are 'impacted by sex, race, ethnicity, and culture' (Liebenberg et al. 2011: 1-2 cited in Theron and Liebenberg, 2015) in ways that previous models of community resilience have tended to marginalise or ignore in favour of dominant or majority culture resilience models (see discussion in Grossman, 2014a; Grossman et al., 2014). This has led to a failure to incorporate the diversity of resilience perspectives in varied social and cultural contexts. Resilience scholarship, policies and frameworks have thus themselves tended to practice forms of implicit exclusivism through ignoring or negating culturally diverse perspectives on the ways in which community resilience is defined and manifested (Grossman, 2014a).

This has led to renewed interest in the cultural dimensions of resilience, and how this can be conceptualised and applied in socially and culturally diverse settings. In relation to youth resilience, 'a growing body of literature' endorses 'cautious consideration of the protective role of cultural practices in youth resilience research and interventions' (Panter-Brick and Eggerman 2012; Theron and Theron 2013; Ungar 2011, cited in Theron and Liebenberg, 2015). Theron and Liebenberg (2015: 30) define 'culture' as 'socially-constructed and socially-shared ways-of-being-and-

doing that flow from intergenerational legacies of knowledge and values'; these provide 'guidelines for everyday living and potentially bind together the people who share them' but can also produce transformations in cultural heritage understanding and affiliations, given that cultures are inherently dynamic rather than static constructs. Related work on the cultural dimensions of community resilience to violent extremism notes that 'while elements of cultural continuity across time and space have certainly been identified in the literature as meaningful...so too have many instances of cultural transformation and fluidity. Cultural change *and* cultural continuity...are not contradictory or incommensurate; indeed, they often intersect within the same society or group' (Grossman et al., 2014: iv). This bears also on the discussion of identity and resilience below.

Far from seeing diverse community ethnic, cultural or religious identities and ties as resilience threats, strong identification with cultural identity and heritage has been shown to be a resilience protective factor that can help individuals and communities successfully negotiate challenges, adversities and inequities (Grossman et al., 2014; Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011; Law et al., 2014; Theron and Liebenberg, 2015). Werner's longitudinal study of resilience amongst immigrant and refugee child populations (2013, cited in Kubiliene et al., 2015: 341) shows that immigrant children's wellbeing relies persistently on the protective factors of close connections with parents, extended family, and peers from the same ethnic background, which helps them negotiate the transition from adolescence to adulthood and develop resilient responses to discrimination and social exclusion amongst a range of other settlement challenges and issues. A number of other international studies have suggested that strong ethno-cultural identity plays a buffering role in the negative effects of racial discrimination experienced by visible minorities, including for young people in educational settings (Kubiliene et al., 2015; Law et al., 2014; Borrero et al., 2012).

The resilience protections afforded by close cultural, ethnic or religious identification do not limit or preclude the formation of strong multi-level ties and identification either with countries of resettlement or with those from different ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds. In line with a

substantial body of pre-2011 work, two recent Australian surveys (2011; 2013) by Dunn et al. (2015: 39) of almost 600 Sydney-based Muslims found 'statistically significant positive associations between religiosity and [sense of national community] belonging' for this group despite reporting high incidences of racism and discrimination. Similar findings were obtained in Canada, where young Muslims – despite repeated experiences of Islamophobia and 'the sense of being pushed out from the Canadian polity...still exhibit a strong willingness to engage' with Canadian society, believing that Muslim and (secular) Canadian values share underlying compatibility in terms of morals and ethics (Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking, 2013: 200, 195). However, a US study suggests that higher levels of prejudice and profiling at community level may erode resilience linked to sense of cultural security when this questions or damages the normative status of minority ethnic and religious affiliations (Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011).

Meaningful engagement and interaction with socio-culturally different others

A number of commentators address the role of community resilience in helping mediate racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism and intolerance in modern urban environments. Cities with highly diverse populations can be susceptible to both resilience risks and protections afforded by **everyday negotiations of socio-cultural diversity**. Super-diversity (Vertovec 2007, cited by Bannister and Kearns, 2013) offers rich opportunities for the development of flexible, multi-sited cultural identities – accelerated by transnational ties and experiences of globally oriented citizenship (Parekh, 2003) that can become important 'survival' or resilience mechanisms for negotiating social crises, transitions and transformations (Mercer 1994, cited in Ratna, 2014: 306). A key question is how community resilience expressed through peaceful and supportive co-existence can be negotiated and fostered in diversity-rich urban settings.

Tracing the concept of 'tolerance' in relation to experiences of socio-cultural difference in modern urban settings, Bannister and Kearns (2013) argue that in many modern cities, social identities have become more fragmented and social relations more unequal as the transnational mobility of populations increases, creating more

intensive experiences of both proximity to and separation from 'different others' than previously. The frequency in modern urban life of encounters with socio-cultural difference creates uncertainty about 'who we will meet and how they will behave' (Bannister and Kearns, 2013: 2701). This can lead to profound anxiety about and antipathy towards cultural others by seeing socio-cultural difference itself as inherently anti-social and threatening. This is especially problematic in societies that 'couple solidarity with others like yourself to aggression to those who differ' (Sennett, 2012: 3, cited in Bannister and Kearns, 2013). Chronic perceptions of uncertainty and insecurity can lead to efforts to reduce complexity and seek coherence in 'fundamentalist world views, often contextualised by simplifying narratives' (Ashmore et al. 2001, cited by Cameron et al., 2013) with potentially catastrophic outcomes for community cohesion.

Rather than creating spatial and social permissiveness for people to 'retreat (wherever and whenever possible) into separated, privatised lives' or 'local niches' (Bannister and Kearns, 2013: 2710), what is required is the 'nurturing' of forms of intercultural and inter-social 'tolerance' that do not rely on mere 'co-presence' in shared environments; insistence on the 'legitimacy of the other'; resistance to forms of social segregation in which people 'lose the ability to negotiate shared space[s]'; nurturing empathetic, respectful and meaningful forms of interactive engagement with diverse others, and not confusing the 'finding of common ground' with the 'neutralisation of difference', which can result in imposing dominant and exclusivist values on the behaviour, actions and qualities of those with whom we are co-present (Bannister and Kearns, 2013: 2713). The latter course of action results in lowered 'tolerance thresholds', leading to increasing demands for the elimination of difference' that create 'cities of conformity and clampdown' – with their associated risks of increased civic tensions and conflicts – rather than 'cities of engagement and empathy' built on mutual civility and respect.

These issues bear on how new arrivals and other minority groups 'live within and adapt to specific multicultural urban contexts' (Clayton, 2012: 1673), an issue of direct relevance to Victoria. A 2011 study of acceptance, belonging and youth identities in Leicester, UK, notes that a crucial element of how

urban minority youth negotiate belonging and acceptance relies on their capacity to develop 'new forms of solidarity' with racially and culturally different others that help challenge and sustain resilience against 'narrowly defined' hierarchies of racial or ethnic affiliations and stereotypes (Clayton, 2012: 1688). In so doing, they 'draw upon a range of resources and identities from the immediate to the global...navigat[ing] landscapes of risk and opportunity...to 'find a way through' (Clayton, 2012: 1689). This capacity to 'find a way through' by mobilising an array of coping resources reflects a hallmark of resilient functioning. Such resources include interpersonal and community connections sense of attachment to place across ethnic, religious and racial lines; territorial and institutional affiliations (community centres, schools, sports teams, religious organisations), and drawing on religious or cultural heritage values that sustain resilient responses to social harms such as exclusion and discrimination (Clayton, 2012; Mauro, 2013; Grossman et al., 2014; Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011; Law et al., 2014; Bullock and Nesbitt-Larking, 2013).

Sense of efficacy through community participation for social change

However, such resources must be present, or at least capable of being realised or developed, for community resilience to be mobilised against social exclusivism. When socially harmful forms of exclusivism are perceived to be so pervasive or structurally embedded that they are beyond the negotiation and control of individuals or groups within communities, other resilience strategies may be mobilised. Recent Canadian research on how minority youth respond to racial discrimination in schools finds that some draw heavily on individual-level 'self-healing' strategies to cope with socially exclusivist harms because they see little prospect for support elsewhere (Kubiliene et al., 2015). Such responses tend to emerge when young people experience 'racism as a social norm that is unchallengeable and will never disappear' (Kubiliene et al., 2015: 347; Law et al., 2014). In an ethnographic sports-focused study, Mauro (2013) documents the ways in which discourses of both self-discipline and denial of racism emerged as the primary coping strategies for young Nigerian young men involved in a short-lived cross-cultural community football team in Dublin. He concludes

that while these young men had some agency in how they dealt with racism and discrimination on and off the sports field, only limited success can be achieved without 'institutional intervention' in such settings (Mauro, 2013: 356).

Thus, while adaptive strategies such as choosing to distance themselves from situations over which they perceive they do not have control may help people cope in their immediate contexts, they do little to address the broader structural or systemic conditions that perpetuate harms such as religious, ethnic or racial discrimination to begin with. A more promising approach emerges from the findings of a mixed-methods study with culturally diverse young people in Melbourne (Mikola and Mansouri, 2015). This research shows that involvement in youth-based community organisations focused on combatting systemic and institutional forms of racism within Australian communities helps re-assert sense of efficacy, voice and control for young people, giving them hope for improved social conditions as a result of their interventions, rather than feeling that change is impossible. In line with other work reviewed here (Clayton, 2012; Bannister and Kearns, 2013; Mauro, 2013), such findings highlight the ways in which community resilience can be not only culturally but also spatially influenced (Bannister and Kearns, 2013) suggesting that it is at the local level that young people most effectively contribute to positive community transformations. Their activism builds community resilience through developing meaningful local links via 'support groups, networks, organisations and social enterprises', including newer forms of social media-driven community connections (Mikola and Mansouri, 2015: 509).

Flexible and multi-sited identities

Successfully legitimating and engaging with community diversity points to the ways in which 'emerging and multiple identity performances' (Clayton, 2012: 1688) have increasingly come to replace older frameworks that cast socio-cultural identities as simplified static formations. 'Mix and match' identities (Grossman et al., 2014: iv) that balance pride in cultural heritage and belonging on the one hand with valuing multiculturalism and diversity on the other have been shown to strengthen both individual and community level resilience (Dunn et al., 2015; Grossman et al., 2014;

Theron and Liebenberg, 2015). Acceptance of diversity reflects confidence and security in one's own cultural identity and promotes resilience against conflicts based primarily on religion, ethnicity or race. Moreover, such acceptance can help sustain community resilience when people feel their cultural, religious or ethnic identity is attacked or demeaned by others. For example, Dunn et al.'s (2015) study of Sydney Muslims found that nearly 50% of respondents cited 'Australian' and 'Muslim' together when identifying their ethnic cultural background (Dunn et al., 2015: 18). The 'high levels of Muslim experience of racism together with a view on Islam's compatibility with Australian norms and Muslims' support for diversity' strengthens 'the resilience needed for dealing with the pressures of Islamophobia and racism' (Dunn et al., 2015: 39).

Grossman et al.'s (2014) study on the cultural dimensions of resilience across four Australian ethno-cultural communities produced related findings, suggesting that 'resilience can be linked persuasively to those individuals and groups able to draw on **multiple cultural resources and affiliations**, choosing strengths and discarding weaknesses or liabilities associated with different cultural values and practices in particular contexts. ... Cultural **flexibility and adaptiveness** combined with cultural **robustness and continuity** thus emerge from the literature as key features of community resilience' that can mitigate the social harms of racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism.

Community resilience to violent extremism: resilience and the security state

The growth of resilience as a 'political and policy trope' in countering violent extremism (CVE) has been commented on by a range of analysts (Weine, 2012; Walklate et al., 2012; Bean et al., 2011; Grossman, 2014a; Sliwinski, 2013; Hardy, 2015; Coaffee and Fussey, 2015; Munton et al., 2011). Much research focuses on how best to secure the function and wellbeing of communities – and, by extension, nations – against the harms and disruptions callused by various threats, including those of terrorism and violent extremism. Some coherence is evident in the way in which community resilience models deal with emergency and crisis responses to and/or recovery from terrorist attacks and other hazards (Sliwinski, 2013;

Bean et al., 2011: 430; Coaffee 2013, Joseph 2013, Walker and Cooper 2001, cited in Hardy, 2015). This is not a new trend: critics a decade ago discerned a shift in language away from 'emergency planning' toward 'resilience' in UK policy initiatives, for example (Coaffee and Wood 2006, cited in Bean et al., 2011: 449, 457, n.16).

Similarly, several scholars have noted the links between the emergence of resilience discourse in government policy terms and the broadened distribution of responsibility for dealing with adversities, crises and emergencies to ordinary citizens (Grossman, 2014a; Sliwinski, 2013), what call the rise of 'resilient state' discourse. This approach develops a model of community resilience to violent extremism described by Sliwinski (2013) as the '**civilianisation of security**', in which responsibility for both preventing and mitigating the impacts of terrorist attacks is now distributed widely across different sectors and members of society, promoting 'government at a distance' rather than remaining the primary responsibility of government alone (Sliwinski, 2013: 298, 301). However, such efforts founder when conflicting messages from both government and civil society around social inclusion, tolerance for cultural diversity, and the construction of suspect communities are prevalent.

This is well illustrated by what Coaffee and Fussey (2015) term the 'emergence and proliferation of **security-driven resilience logics**', which can come into direct conflict with 'other policy priorities focused upon community-centred social cohesion'. They argue that the concept of 'security-driven resilience' captures a series of intersecting processes and discourses mobilising resilience so that 'resilience policy becomes increasingly driven by security concerns and, at the same time, security policy adopts the language of resilience' (Coaffee and Fussey, 2015: 87). In this sense, the fields of human security and human wellbeing have increasingly converged, so that 'security is becoming more civic, urban, domestic and personal: security is coming home' (Coaffee and Murakami-Wood 2006: 504, cited in Coaffee and Fussey, 2015: 89). As they go on to demonstrate, Project Champion, a UK initiative to install 290 surveillance cameras in two Muslim-dominated Birmingham neighbourhoods intended to support 'policing from afar', created significant community

and media fall-out and highlighted graphic tensions between security-driven applications of resilience, civil liberties, and community profiling, with resilience to violent extremism being equated with coercive, opaque and profiling government measures designed to 'hitchhike' onto a broader community safety agenda (Coaffee and Fussey, 2015: 98) but producing instead heightened suspicion, antipathy toward government and sense of grievance amongst the communities targeted by the project.

Hardy (2015: 84) comes to similar conclusions in his analysis of the *Prevent* and *Prepare* strands of the UK's *Contest* strategy for countering violent extremism, suggesting that resilience remains a 'contested and divisive concept...in counter-terrorism', posing both benefits and dangers that must be assessed in contextually grounded ways. Hardy discerns conceptual and rhetorical schisms in the way that resilience has been defined and applied across different elements of *Contest* as part of the same overall strategy. Whereas the *Prepare* strand of *Contest* uses a quasi-ecological paradigm of community resilience linked to community *recovery* (albeit focused on 'reinstating normality' after an attack rather than 'transforming in response to crisis') (Hardy, 2015: 90), the *Prevent* strand deploys resilience strategies linked to community *resistance* to terrorist ideology. These unresolved tensions in applying community resilience models create three risks: 1) stigmatising entire communities 'perceived as suspect and dangerous'; 2) restricting political and religious choice by extending the resilience strategy to 'non-violent' extremist thought or belief; and 3) blurring the line between 'coercive and non-coercive approaches to crime prevention' (Hardy, 2015: 89).

Thus, while research has grappled in different ways with resilience to violent extremism, it has tended to do so in a climate of inquiry heavily influenced by a broad policy focus on community (or sub-community) 'threats', 'risks' and 'vulnerabilities' rather than assets. This is in keeping with what Walklate et al. (2012: 185) see as the 'demand that citizens 'think security' ... and connects to the broader presence of 'risk' and 'fear' in contemporary political, policy and academic debates. Indeed, they observe, 'understandings of resilience cannot be readily separated out from these contexts' given their mobilisation within the broader apparatus of

the 'security state' (Hallsworth and Lea 2011, cited in Walklate et al., 2012).

However, the most persistent problem is that government community resilience strategies aimed at countering terrorism are coming to be perceived as a **Trojan horse** or proxy for other agendas related to government concerns with security and control, rather than serving to build genuine community resilience to harms and threats in their own right (Coaffee and Fussey, 2015; Hardy, 2015). To mitigate this, resilience-building efforts need to encourage communities 'to adapt and transform in response to political and religious diversity, rather than isolate and exclude those whom the state considers to be a 'shock' or 'disturbance' to the community' (Hardy, 2015: 91). When appeals to community resilience are grounded in what Bean et al. (2011) call the 'cosmopolitan nationalism' of Anglo-American discourses around terrorism, they create tension between 'a political order that supports...cosmopolitan values' on the one hand, 'yet translates those values into a distinctly nationalist vernacular' (Bean et al., 2011: 429). While this can potentially produce a sense of 'personal and/or collective wellbeing, strength and control' and 'diminish the temptation to demonise people of certain ethnicities or religious affiliations in the aftermath of a terrorist attack' (Bean et al., 2011: 453), it can also stiffen community resolve to escalate conflict, rather than reject it, in the name of a belligerent construct of 'resilience' focused on 'flag-waving warfare in the name of nationhood' (Bean et al., 2011: 429).

Building community resilience against violent extremism

A 2011 UK Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) of vulnerability and resilience to al-Qa'ida-inspired violent extremism (Munton et al., 2011) reports that most of the literature on resilience and CVE focuses on 'who is drawn into violent extremism and why, rather than why people choose *not* to participate in this activity' (Munton et al., 2011: 24). The issue of what prevents individuals from violent extremism, especially in Western societies, is 'poorly researched' (Munton et al., 2011: 25) with only limited findings and conclusions available. These limitations persist in the current review period, with only a handful of empirically based studies exploring how resilience to violent extremism can

be mobilised in terms of prevention and protection, or on the relationship between general community resilience and resilience specifically to violent extremism (Weine and Ahmed, 2012; Grossman, 2014a; Grossman et al., 2014; Munton et al., 2011). Schmid (2013: 37, n.179) concurs, noting that there is 'too little awareness about what civil society can do to counter terrorism and build up resilience' but offering no further discussion other than suggesting that 'governments should ... make certain subcultures in society more resilient to the allure of terrorism' (Schmid, 2013: 57). A more nuanced approach is taken by Weine and Ahmed (2012) based on their study of resilience and CVE in a Minnesota Somali community (see also **Project Review** below). They pose four questions that any meaningful investigation of community resilience to violent extremism should address:

- When politicians and policymakers speak of enhancing resilience, is this more than good public relations?
- What do resilience-focused counterterrorism initiatives hope to achieve?
- Is it possible for those from government, non-governmental organisations and academia to change a community based on outsiders' ideas and actions?
- Do the national security priorities of governments include the most pressing priorities of families and communities? (Weine and Ahmed, 2012: 66)

Their findings (Weine, 2012; Weine and Ahmed, 2012) suggest, in line with other research (Schmid, 2013; Walker, 2011; Grossman et al., 2014), that answering these questions relies significantly on developing and maintaining **meaningful cooperation and partnerships** between researchers, government agencies and communities; grounding community resilience policies in 'sound theory and scientific evidence... based on an accurate assessment of strengths, vulnerabilities and risks' in a given community context; understanding resilience as a property of local families and communities; and **addressing broader adversities faced by communities** rather than focusing narrowly or exclusively on the adversities created by violent extremism (Weine and Ahmed, 2012: 66). This is especially important given the tendency of violent extremist

recruitment narratives to play on the hardships and marginalisation experienced by disaffected and disengaged individuals and communities, who may invest considerably in a shared history of more generalised adversity and challenge (Tsolma and Zevallos 2009: 11, cited in Grossman et al., 2014). It is also salient given that the experience of social alienation builds up in response to a variety of pressures and adversities related to the broader community environment (Walker, 2011).

In a related vein, Grossman et al.'s (2014) study on resilience to violent extremism in four Australian ethno-cultural communities pinpointed both culturally specific and also cross-cutting **cultural assets in community resilience to violent extremism** that can be harnessed through community programs, strategies and interventions. These include building on existing community values and structures of sociality, care and support; reducing disabling aspects of shame and strengthening dialogue on sensitive issues in culturally appropriate and meaningful ways; engaging families, women, and young people as well as male community leaders and elders; challenging community tolerance for self-expression and conflict resolution through violence amongst young people; and strengthening community trust and linkage relations with services and authorities while retaining cultural pride and integrity (Grossman et al., 2014: 128). Protective factors tied to culturally specific community features are readily available to work with. These include approaching dispute resolution through mediation and dialogue using cultural structures and values within a community; partnering not only with key community influencers but also expanding the range of potential influencers who may be emerging as a result of cultural and generational transitions within a community; and mobilising key values and frameworks such as reciprocity and protective dimensions of shame.

Gender-based dimensions of community resilience and the need to reposition understanding and analysis of the role of women's interventions in building culturally embedded resilience to violent extremism inform work by Rashid (2014). Her study critically examines *Prevent* program efforts in the UK to empower Muslim women by giving them a 'voice' in the struggle against terrorism. Many of the 25 Muslim women in her study felt that

Prevent's approach was highly problematic because it assumed the silence of Muslim women; ignored women's voices already active within communities, and constructed Muslim women globally as subject to forms of male oppression that are related to specific cultural than religious contexts. While the research found that Muslim women were indeed partially 'absent from the government's processes of engagement' through historical exclusion by their own communities (Rashid, 2014: 595) they also felt silenced by those outside the community, 'evidenced in the way that [government and local authorities] replicated and perpetuated stereotypes about Muslim women' (Rashid, 2014: 596). The gendered nature of such exclusions points to a failure to recognise not only the resilience capacity of Muslim women to negotiate complex social and policy territory, but also limits understanding how women can contribute innovatively to community-resilience building initiatives focused on resisting terrorism.

Education and youth resilience to violent extremism

Educational issues and pedagogical considerations of how to build resilience against violent extremism for young people remain under-researched. While the UK has been particularly active in connecting education and schools to broader CVE initiatives, these efforts have been the subject of extended critique and disquiet amongst various commentators. A very recent analysis, (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming) critically examines recent efforts in Britain through *Prevent* and *Channel* to engage young Muslims and educational institutions in anti-extremist education strategies. These strategies have failed to deliver on the promise of building youth resilience to violent extremism. Instead, they have constructed young British Muslims as 'both 'risky' and 'at risk"' (Heath-Kelly 2013, cited in Thomas, 2016 forthcoming) subjecting individuals and educational institutions to intensified scrutiny and surveillance that breaks down trust, enhances stigmatisation, and eliminates the critical role of schools as safe spaces for young people to negotiate and integrate complex influences, pressures, conflicts and desires in their lives. Where *Prevent 1* failed to deliver on essential elements of anti-extremism training for teachers or to support the promised open dialogue with students on sensitive political

issues, *Prevent 2* has foregrounded 'a sweeping and ill-defined 'extremism' more generally, 'rather than a more specific violent extremism' (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming), coupled with new legislative reporting requirements for schools on suspected instances of student radicalisation. This has not transformed teachers and other school personnel into well-informed and responsive educators capable of engaging students successfully on social and political issues relating to violent extremism, but instead rendered them agents of government security agendas, responsible for monitoring and reporting on any perceived signs of radicalisation, violent or otherwise.

The antidote to such counter-productive education-based strategies is to refocus attention on 'educational processes that genuinely prevent youth attractions towards extremism and terrorism' (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming). Two existing pedagogical models hold promise for this rebalancing. The first is cognate anti-racism education programs that have 'befriended rather than condemned' young people vulnerable to violent racism and far right extremism through youth-work strategies and then offered 'alternative perspectives and experiences through engagement by a skilled, multi-racial team' (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming). This approach foregrounds the agency and capacity of young people 'for change and development', taking a 'positive and inclusive approach to young people that includes open and robust political education discussions' (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming); a similar, community-led approach was successfully applied in London's STREET anti-extremism model (Barclay, 2011). The second is a sustained focus on citizenship education informed by human rights values and frameworks that highlights opportunities for tackling rather than avoiding complexity and debate, which in turn strengthens skills in critical dialogue and analysis that are essential to building cognitive as well as social resilience amongst youth. Such approaches can equip young people with the 'individual and peer resilience to examine and reject ideologies that promote hatred and violence' (Thomas, 2016 forthcoming).

Aly et al. (2014a)'s 'Beyond Bali' curriculum project was trialled in in two Perth schools. This education package used moral disengagement theory to explore how young people can be influenced to

abandon normative community moral standards that encourage self-censure when contemplating violence and aggression, instead coming to see violence as morally permissible and justified in pursuit of a grievance or cause. The authors suggest that preliminary qualitative feedback from program participants indicates that this curriculum model can help psychologically inoculate young people against support for ideologically driven, morally justified violence by creating empathy with victims of terrorism; developing self-efficacy in resisting violent extremist influences; promoting the moral evaluation of violent extremism as 'unjust and inhumane', and considering the damaging impacts of violent extremism on others.

Assessing community resilience to violent extremism

While assessing and measuring dimensions of individual and community resilience in various contexts forms a significant part of the general resilience literature outside the review period, a significant gap exists on indicators or measures of community resilience relating to violent extremism, with two exceptions discussed below.

The BRAVE Toolkit (Grossman et al., 2014) used the study's analysis and findings to develop four key domains for culturally-based resilience to violent extremism: a) cultural identity and connectedness; b) relationships and networks; c) cultural norms around behaviour, attitudes and values, and d) framing, preventing and responding to violence. Key indicators were then developed drawing on existing resilience assessment tools that help identify resilience strengths, vulnerabilities and risks within each domain. These indicators included cultural knowledge, cultural continuity, cultural security, and cultural adaptability; bonding, bridging, and linkage capital (Putnam 2000); coping with adversity, problem behaviours, and resources for problem-solving; and beliefs, values, and resources/strategies for non-violent conflict resolution (Grossman et al., 2014: 131-135). These were used to develop a draft measure for piloting in communities (now merged with a related Canadian project into a composite Youth Resilience to Violent Extremism measure being developed jointly by an Australian-Canadian research team).

The DOVE (Diminishing Opportunities for Violent Extremism) model emerged from the Weine and Ahmed (2012) study on youth resilience to violent extremism in Minnesota. This model was informed by findings that identified the convergence of multiple risk factors in creating an opportunity structure for violent extremism amongst Somali youth in this community. DOVE (Weine and Ahmed 2012: 2) consists of three levels of opportunity related to: '1) youth's unaccountable times and unobserved spaces; 2) the perceived social legitimacy of violent extremism; and 3) contact with recruiters or associates'. It indicates the need for strengthening opportunity - reducing capacities at each of the three levels through collaboration and capacity building involving family and youth, community and government. Building resilience strategies in the model focus on strengthening protective resources and 'opportunity-reducing capacities'.

5 Key Findings: Programs

KEY FINDINGS: PROGRAMS

This section offers a condensed version of the Stocktake project's program review of 25 selected national and overseas programs designed to redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion, and counter violent extremism (CVE). The programs have been validated through the available evaluations and peer review and, in the European cases, the practices have been reviewed and approved by the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) Steering Committee. Collectively, they offer insights and gaps for consideration, revealing the diverse range of approaches that can be taken through designing holistic and multi-faceted programs. While each project is shaped by country-specific political, cultural and legal aspects, these initiatives collectively provide relevant models that have potential to be adapted in Victoria. For a full account of the Selected Program Review component of the Stocktake project, please see the separate full report prepared by the Australian Multicultural Foundation. Twelve Australian and 13 international programs are discussed within the following categories: Women, Young People, Community-Based, and Individuals at Risk and their Families.

5.1 Women

Although there is broad agreement on the importance of consulting with and engaging women in the development and implementation of CVE efforts, women have been overlooked as a resource in CVE policy and planning (Holmer, 2013), failing to consider the crucial role women can play in preventing extremist violence (Huckerby, 2011). As a recent Hedayah report notes, '[w]omen can play critical roles in developing responses to violence and terrorism, and challenging and delegitimising extremist narratives. Women can be powerful agents of change, and can even play a crucial role both in detecting early signs of radicalisation and intervening before individuals become violent. The traditional roles ascribed to women in many societies, such as wife, mother, and nurturer, empower them in some instances to challenge extremist narratives and shape the home, education, and social environments to make extremism and violence a less desirable option' (Hedayah 2015: 1).

CVE programs focusing on family relationships, particularly on mothers, are gaining recognition. When encouraged through education and/or social and economic programs, women become more aware and able to evaluate situations that could indicate or predict a vulnerability to violence given their proximity to young people in particular (Poloni-Staudinger and Ortals, 2013). Programs that empower and educate women to undertake proactive roles in countering violent extremism in their homes and communities have shown positive outcomes. Their voices provide alternative narratives that are credible and emotionally engaging.

Three international programs were selected that offer support and empowerment specifically to women: ***Mothers for Life Network, Mothers School Project and Women Building Peace***. All three are run through non-government organisations. While diverse in their activities, they all provide women with the means to develop connections and networks with other women; effect positive change within themselves and their environment; and access training and education either through developing specific skills, increasing confidence or developing capacities to proactively deal with conflict situations and create peaceful communities. The *Mothers for Life Network* also provides emotional and practical support in the form of counselling and guidance (German Institute on Radicalisation and De-radicalisation Studies 2016). The ability to connect with others to share experiences, knowledge and support is a pivotal feature of these programs, particularly in the case of marginalised women, women who have suffered trauma, and women with low literacy skills. Fostering networks and connections also enhances sustainability and widens the reach of the program. The *Mothers School Project* has successfully expanded into Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Women Without Borders 2010). The *Mothers for Life Network* sent an Open Letter to Islamic State in 2015 that had international impact via social media, and the *Women Building Peace* program develops leadership abilities, language skills and skills in conflict resolution and countering violent extremism through accredited courses.

All three prevention programs offer many positive outcomes, demonstrate sustainability, especially through the train-the-trainer models and the establishment of national and international networks, and are transferable to diverse locations and contexts (Foundation4Peace 2015). However, care must be taken to avoid instrumentalising the work of women and women's groups for security purposes, which negatively impacts their credibility and presents potential risks to their safety.

In the Australian context, the Australian Muslim Women's Centre for Human Rights' (2015) *Dialogue Across Sectarian Divide* program showcased the ability of young women to play an influential role in preventing violent extremism and enhancing inter-sectarian harmony in the Australian context. It identified the need for specific interventions aimed at building the capacity of Muslim youth to respond to the challenges of inter-sectarian conflict and differences in a respectful way. This pioneering project provided a range of activities and forums to reduce Muslim sectarian tensions and embrace Muslim diversity and dialogue between Alawi, Alevis, Sunni, Kurdish and Shia communities in order to promote peaceful and respectful Muslim sectarian coexistence appropriate to the Australian context. It also highlighted the critical role that young women play both as community members and leaders to create change.

5.2 Young People

'Youth are often framed as either perpetrators of violent extremism or as possible victims of recruitment into violent groups. However, this narrative fails to capture the fact that most young people are part of the solution' (Fares, 2015). According to the United Network of Young Peacebuilders (UNOY, 2015b), 'ensuring the active, systemic, and meaningful participation of youth in issues of peace and security is a demographic and democratic imperative'. Ten guiding practices were developed by UNOY to counter violent extremism from a human security and young peacebuilders' perspective. The first of these principles states: 'Young people must be recognised as positive agents of change, capable of assessing threats in their communities and acting as catalysts for peace. This recognition and inclusion of young people will shift their potential to peacebuilding

efforts as opposed to leaving them vulnerable to recruitment by insurgency groups. It will give them a sense of ownership of conflict and peace' (UNOY, 2015a). Youth involvement at all levels of CVE programs is thus critical in developing and sustaining socially cohesive societies.

A 2015 Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN, 2015) report argues that critical thinking is a key element in harnessing individuals against extremism. As such, 'activities should promote dialogue and exchange, not closing down discussions to avoid addressing issues. Interventions should avoid telling young people what to think, avoid pressuring, preaching, moralising, judging or trying to convince, as these can prove counter-productive and further entrench views' (RAN, 2015). Interventions should focus not on the content of ideology or particular beliefs but on the structure of thinking and make this structure more complex. Increasing capacity for complex thinking and offering a diverse range of views reduces vulnerability and black-and-white thinking. The RAN report suggests that experiential learning, which combines 'doing' with 'thinking' through discussions, interactive games and exercises, can increase this capacity. As an Australian CVE expert notes, '[e]ducation is a key to disrupting and dismantling terrorist ideology. In an age awash with information, media and diverse forms of knowledge, many young people struggle with the critical skills required to sift, sort and evaluate it all. The goal must be to equip young people to evaluate and argue against simplistic, black and white interpretations of religion, history, politics and identity that are the bread and butter of terrorist recruitment narratives. Nor should we stop at the cognitive domain in thinking about how best to skill up our youth to critique and reject violent extremist ideology. Terrorist messaging does not just target the head. It focuses in increasingly sophisticated ways on the heart through visual and aural communication. Understanding the nexus between cognition and emotion, and developing in young people the understanding and ability to step back and analyse before acting, should be a primary focus of any counter-terrorism strategy'(Grossman, 2014b).

THINK!4Peace is a UK-based counter-extremism initiative for schools run through the Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace. Aimed at young people aged 14-19, it works directly with schools to identify young people who would benefit from taking part in the program (Foundation4Peace 2016). It has a residential core where participants undertake activities to cultivate curiosity, challenge attitudes, develop alternative narratives and build resilience and leadership skills. With a similar age demographic, Canada's **EXTREME DIALOGUE**, a program developed by the Institute of Strategic Dialogue, the Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace and filmmakers Duckrabbitt, is a school-based initiative aimed at reducing the appeal of extremism in young people. The campaign engages young people online and offline in educational settings through a series of short films. The website provides educational resources for young people to build resilience against extremism through active discussion and critical thinking. The films and resources tell the personal stories of Canadians affected by violent extremism from both far-right and Jihadist perspectives. Real people telling real first-person stories engage viewers and the credible personal testimonies of its narrators create a powerful experience, helping the audience to relate and empathise. The aim of the program is to develop critical thinking skills among young people and encourage open discussion. With over 50,000 video views, commentary on YouTube has been positive, generating counter extremist discussions amongst viewers (Institute for Strategic Dialogue 2016).

TOGETHER FOR SWEDEN is an initiative of Sweden's Fryshuset (2016), a youth-focused non-profit organisation. The program focuses on inter-religious guidance and education for young people to address hostility towards foreigners, racism and extremism. Participants learn skills in peace building, conflict resolution and leadership, subsequently developing their own interfaith activities by conducting lectures and seminars for the public. The program provides the opportunity for youth to create a sustainable interfaith network where they can exchange ideas and discuss issues regarding human rights and the role of religion in peace building. **NEWGROUND** is a US-based Jewish-Muslim Partnership for Change program

aimed at both young people and adults. MAJIC (Muslims and Jews Inspiring Change) is dedicated to helping high school students become part of a leadership council. Young people participate in leadership training, culminating in identifying and responding to a local social issue and undertaking a joint community service project (Newground 2016). Young leaders are mentored by a Community Advisory Board comprised of Jewish and Muslim interfaith leaders and receive certificates of recognition from the City of Los Angeles. NewGround provides a safe space for dialogue and community-building among young Muslim and Jewish leaders. Taking a different approach to intercultural and interfaith capacity building, Northern Ireland's **BEYOND SKIN** uses music and the arts as tools for cultural education and exchange to address issues of racism and sectarianism, such as their *Youth in Motion* cross-cultural music project (Beyond Skin 2016). A key element of its project delivery is to give ownership of the projects to youth participants. Through the universal medium of the arts, Beyond Skin engages young people in common goals that transcend differences and foster creativity, cooperation, team-building, and learning.

While each of these international programs use different modes of engagement, they share a common thread to promote open dialogue, critical thinking and the exchange of ideas through a variety of experiential learning processes. They all aim to stimulate critical thinking in young participants to enable them to process information in more complex and creative ways and avoid vulnerability to simplistic black-and-white narratives.

In the Australian context, five youth-specific programs are reviewed that aimed to build skills, enhance the personal development of young people, and assist them to be leaders, positive agents of change and active participants in their communities. A cluster of Australian programs have used sport. The Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY)'s **BOYSPEACE** in Victoria uses sport and recreation to engage and assist newly arrived young men (primarily unaccompanied minors) re-settling in Australia, including basketball, soccer, AFL, kite making, social events including barbeques and breakdancing competitions.

The program provides positive role models and mentoring, mental health benefits and increased the community connections of participants (Centre for Multicultural Youth 2014). Also focusing on sport, the AFL's **BACHAR HOULI ISLAMIC PROGRAM** highlights sport as a route to embrace diversity and build social cohesion, offering Muslim boys and young men the opportunity to learn to play football in a safe and fun environment (Australian Football League 2016). Program pillars promoting engagement, participation and community leadership include the Bachar Houli Cup, the Bachar Houli Academy, individual mentoring and the AFL Ramadan dinners. Football United's **WESTERN SYDNEY – YOUTH UNITED** saw participants assist with weekly football programs in their communities and receive training to develop and deliver positive messages through their role as coaches and mentors, via social media. By representing Football United in their communities and beyond, participating youth offered positive influences for the next generation of children from similar cultural backgrounds (Attorney-General's Department 2013a).

ENGAGE, CHALLENGE, GROW was a suite of projects run by the Lebanese Muslim Association (2016) in Sydney that helped promote mutual respect, fairness, inclusion and a sense of belonging. These projects addressed some of the causes of problems facing the Australian Muslim community, such as cultural, racial and religious intolerance. A range of youth leadership initiatives including the Engage stream, Hedayah Leadership Program, Positive Intellect Program and Think Again, provided skills, knowledge and resilience to young Sydney Muslims in Sydney to stay involved with their communities, act as positive role models, address social cohesion issues and build resilience amongst community youth. **DIFFERENT PEOPLE, DIFFERENT VOICES** used a board game, My Australia Our Australia, to address identity issues, create sense of belonging and eliminate cultural isolation. An initiative of Sydney's Burwood Council in Sydney focused primarily on schools in Sydney's West, this educational tool fostered community engagement and improved youth coping and response mechanisms through peer-to-peer learning. It also provided training to develop leadership and peer facilitation skills in delivering the board game in high schools (Attorney-General's Department 2013b).

5.3 Community-Based

Lessons learned from the mental health and education fields suggest there needs to be a move beyond a criminal justice approach to CVE to a multidisciplinary approach promoting community safety. This observation translates into several practical outcomes, including the need to empower communities to define for themselves priority concerns regarding targeted violence, and to generate solutions that will build healthy and resilient communities; promote leadership and ownership of initiatives by community-based agencies and individuals, and build on individual, family, and community resilience and strengths (Weine et al., 2015).

The **Safe Spaces** initiative in the USA is a community-based approach by the Muslim Public Affairs Council's (MPAC). According to Beutel (2015), 'MPAC's strategy is to treat violent extremism as a public health matter, as do efforts to prevent other forms of targeted violence. Safe Spaces is based on three pillars: prevention, intervention and reporting. Prevention focuses on nipping problems in the bud by building healthy communities. Radicalisation studies note that radicalisation occurs outside of mosques either online or in small groups at peoples' homes, without the presence of some sort of authoritative mentor. Consistent with its faith-based perspective, Safe Spaces advocates making the mosque and other community institutions into centres of social and spiritual comfort where people can talk about issues that affect their daily lives without fear of social stigma. Intervention involves bring together a multidisciplinary team of experts in mental health, social services, religious affairs, and law to embody a 'whole community' approach to addressing individuals at-risk of engaging in violence. Should prevention or intervention efforts fail, Safe Spaces recommends notifying law enforcement but only as a last resort after other approaches have been ruled out. Ultimately, the goals are to protect individual community members from the recruitment tactics of violent groups, safeguard the liberties of larger communities by providing powerful alternatives to surveillance and arrest, and continue to contribute to the nation's safety and security by reducing the risk and threat of terrorist violence' (Beutel 2015).

An emerging practice in several European communities is the development of helplines for concerned family members, friends, and community members. Helplines are focused on providing support and guidance to the caller, for instance, on how to deal with a potentially radicalising family member (RAN, 2015).

The Netherlands' **SMN Helpline** is a community-based initiative by the Alliance of Moroccan Dutch. This community stresses the importance of developing its own strategies to build resilience against radicalisation and broaden awareness within the community. Its approach includes training community leaders, developing information campaigns and running information sessions for parents and community members to recognise early signs of radicalisation and how to receive assistance and support. Community members feel more comfortable contacting a community-based organisation, and the program helps meet specific community needs, offering a sense of empowerment, being part of the solution and being proactive citizens (European Commission: Migration and Home Affairs 2016).

Australian community-based programs include the Community Awareness Training Program, Salam Alaykum Darebin's Muslims Reaching Out, the National Imams Consultative Forum and National Community Hubs Program. Each share common goals but use different methods and approaches to enhance awareness, communication and social cohesion in the community. The Australian Multicultural Foundation (AMF)'s **Community Awareness Training Manual – Building Resilience in the Community** is based on preventative strategies that encourage and empower individuals and groups at the grassroots level to create a more informed, proactive and resilient community that will have the information, resources and practical strategies to reduce the threat of violent extremism and seek help where necessary. The model is not specific to any particular national, political, religious or ideological group and applies regardless of the ideology or motivation for radicalisation. Delivered nationally as train the trainer and information sessions, the program's success is based largely on its community driven focus. Engaging with communities as equal and integral partners in addressing violent extremism

creates an environment of trust and confidence, with participants reporting increased knowledge and skills, empowerment and willingness to engage in activities to counter violent extremism. The program's inclusive language and prevention strategies on a range of anti-social behaviours that may also lead to violent extremism strengthen community confidence that this is not a CVE program aimed at building intelligence databases (Australian Multicultural Foundation 2015).

Salam Alaykum Darebin's Muslims Reaching Out sought to foster community participation, community cohesion, and engagement between Darebin's Muslim community and the broader community. It enabled members of Darebin's Muslim communities, including youth, to participate in a range of activities which provided the community with an avenue for the non-violent expression of views and the dispelling of myths through ongoing dialogue, education, and collaboration between different individuals and groups from Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Darebin (Attorney-Generals' Department 2013c). **The National Imams Consultative Forum** is an initiative of the National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies (NCEIS) in partnership with the Australian National Imams Council (ANIC). The NICF is made up of over 20 imams from every State and Territory of Australia, representing a cross-section of Australian Muslim schools of thought. It is the first group of its kind to be formed in Australia. The Forum empowers Imams, academics, policymakers and government to work together in generating and disseminating awareness, information action on community safety, radicalisation and violent extremism; sharing experiences and good practice, and discussing advice on dealing with certain issues in their communities (National Centre for Excellence in Islamic Studies 2016). The **National Community Hubs Program** comprises 57 Hubs in Victoria, Queensland and NSW that implement coordinated and collaborative activities targeting people of all ages to break down barriers between services and people. The Hubs work with migrant/refugee women and pre-school children, bringing local information and services spanning education, health, community and settlement into familiar and friendly places that are part of everyday life, such as schools and community centres.

The Community Hubs Model is grassroots and 'citizen-centric', and has been successful in strengthening community resilience through adapting to the needs of local families and children by increasing services access social cohesion (Community Hubs 2016).

5.4 Individuals at risk and their families

The RAN November 2013 declaration noted that effective policy for dealing with returning foreign fighters and 'at risk' individuals requires multi-level dialogue and engagement with a wide range of actors such as immediate and extended families, community members and leaders, religious scholars, teachers, local authorities, police, and intelligence services. Such a multi-agency, multi-level approach should involve an intensive but delicately managed process of engagement with foreign fighter returnees within an environment of cooperation and transparency (RAN, 2013). This aligns with an article describing smarter ways to counter violent extremism, in which Grossman suggests that Australian CVE programs should follow the lead of Germany and Denmark in rehabilitating returned fighters. She cites Germany's **Hayat program** and Denmark's **Aarhus model** as 'good examples of how to bypass over-securitisation of returned fighters and instead offer counselling, support and rehabilitation. These programs acknowledge the different reasons people participate in foreign conflicts, including idealism, humanitarianism and peer pressure, as well as a commitment to violent extremism as an ideology. She adds that 'a key benefit of rehabilitating returnees is that they have greater credibility with potential recruits and can positively influence them. Embracing those who respond to rehabilitation demonstrates the principles of a supportive society. That in itself is a powerful message to undermine the narrative of alienation, isolation and rejection that terrorist recruiters promote' (Grossman, 2014b). The Hayat program is one of the most established and varied support services in Europe. It works directly with families worried about a loved-one travelling to participate in foreign conflict. It is part of a German nation-wide counselling network on radicalisation and draws on the expertise of EXIT on the de-radicalisation of neo-Nazis. Hayat's

counsellors equip families to understand the signs of radicalisation and strengthen positive networks to counter recruitment-messages. One of the most challenging aspects of their work relates to the support and advice they provide to families who are still in touch with their relatives who have travelled to Syria.

Both Hayat and Aarhus realise that people returning from the conflict in Syria have a complex set of needs that cannot be met through a criminal justice response. Based on collaboration between the police district and the Aarhus municipality, the Aarhus program works from the ground up, with local authorities developing local solutions based on existing networks. Their services include providing medical and psychological treatment for returnees, and advice on education and employment to aid returnees' reintegration into communities. Both Hayat and Aarhus report that the majority of calls to their helplines have been made by female relatives, underlining the potentially crucial role of women in detecting and preventing radicalisation from leading to violent militancy (Vallance, 2014).

Preventative and remedial measures are essential alongside repressive ones. Those at risk of travelling and those that have returned need to build networks of trust and confidence to establish supportive bonds with their families and communities. In a research paper for the Qatar International Academy for Security Studies, White and McEvoy (2012) examined the **EXIT** program run since 1998 through Sweden's youth-centred Fryshuset. The program was developed to prevent young people from engaging with white power and other extremist groups by providing positive alternatives, educating them about the dangers of these groups, and assisting them to leave these groups if they wish. White and McEvoy highlight that the interventions are personal, intensive and offer sustainable role models and mentoring. The program focuses on providing customised support from motivational talks for participants to daily contact over a period of years. The staff also work closely with families and help them understand why their children became involved with an extremist group. Referrals often come from the police but also from schools, therapists, neighbours, social workers, or by word of mouth.

Former extremists have also become involved and lending further credibility to the program. While the police are not part of the formal program team they do meet and interact with the participants. Similar approaches have been used by **All Together Now** in Australia, helping disengage those on pathways to extremism through innovative use of social media.

Australian programs are significantly based around prevention. **CONNECT @ The Huddle**, provided a leadership program for young people at risk of marginalisation and disengagement. It focused on developing leadership and mentoring skills to empower young people in the target group to reduce their risk of violent extremism and to enable them to work with their peers. The project provided opportunities for open dialogue about the issues of violent extremism. On a weekly basis the program engaged between 10 and 15 young men and women aged 15- 25 from non-English speaking backgrounds at risk of radicalisation from the north of Melbourne. Sessions focused on issues such as culture, identity, marginalisation and mental health, and the development of a mentoring component. Volunteers from the business and local community provided training and expertise in areas such as budgeting, governance, marketing, media, project management, leadership. The program created 20 young leaders capable of driving change in their communities, supporting local communities in countering violent extremism and promote an inclusive Australia (Attorney-General's Department 2012).

CAPE, formerly known as EXIT White Power, is an initiative of All Together Now, built on the experiences of EXIT and similar initiatives overseas. It was the first evidence-based community initiative focused on preventing recruitment by white supremacist groups. The project monitored content on mainstream websites used by those with white supremacist views as well as Australian white supremacist online forums, and worked to debunk the myths and conspiracy theories perpetuated by white supremacists through

expert-validated counter-arguments that Trojan advertising to publish on these websites. It also provided resources directly to front-line workers to help support young people at risk of becoming involved in white supremacy. The program found that writing counter-arguments and ridiculing the narratives, ideology and conspiracy theories of white supremacists can help dissuade young people from becoming involved. However, this needs to be combined with an opportunity for young people to have two-way conversations with experts to avoid further entrenching extremist views, and promoted to front-line workers so they can use the counterarguments as a resource for conversations with young people at risk (All Together Now 2013).

Correctional settings are critical venues for conducting CVE programs (Harris-Hogan et al., 2016: 5). Programs in these settings have run with varying degrees of success in countries including Indonesia (Jones, 2014), Malaysia (El Said, 2012), Pakistan (Qazi, 2013), the Philippines (Jones and Morales, 2012), Yemen (RSIS, 2010), and Saudi Arabia (Boucek, 2008). Examining CVE programs in South East Asia, Vithanage (2015) observed that the '**Singaporean CVE program** is arguably the most comprehensive de-radicalisation or disengagement program in Southeast Asia ... Singapore established a rehabilitation and counter-ideology strategy, a government led, multi-modal program directed towards individuals linked to Jemaah Islamiyah. Targeted at detainees, the components of this program include psychological rehabilitation and assessment; building trust with case officers; developing alternative cognitive pathways; maintaining contact with families; religious rehabilitation, instruction and the correction of misinterpreted concepts by well-respected interlocutors such scholars, clerics and community groups, and the provision of social, community and family services, all focused on reintegrating a detainee into society.

Detainees are reviewed yearly to assess their suitability for release into the wider community. Upon release, detainees are placed on restriction orders but are provided with continual support in the form of religious counselling and social services. **Indonesia's de-radicalisation and disengagement program** contrasts starkly with Singapore's as it is neither centrally administered nor well-resourced. Instead, Indonesia operates an ad hoc program developed and administered by Detachment 88, a specialised police counterterrorism unit. This program aims to gather intelligence in relation to terrorist networks and to reintegrate prisoners back into society. The Indonesian police draw on the trust they have developed with extremist prisoners or employ former militants to pursue de-radicalisation and disengagement in a culturally sensitive manner. Police commonly pay for the prisoner's family visits, arrange long-distance learning, and provide a more 'comfortable' prison environment, all of which is intended to enhance the prisoner's support networks and encourage positive cognitive pathways. Both the Singaporean and Indonesian programs have enjoyed consistent support and qualified success in de-radicalising and disengaging extremists. Figures from the Singaporean program suggest very low rates of recidivism (in 2008, of the 60 detainees involved in the program, 40 were released and only one has been rearrested). Indonesian authorities have reported that its program has been highly successful in gaining intelligence from extremist prisoners, while anecdotal evidence suggests some success in encouraging prisoners to disengage from violence' (emphasis added). Their experience provides lessons for Victoria and Australia in the context of CVE programs in prisons.

In Australia, Harris-Hogan, Barrelle and Zammit (2016), in a paper exploring CVE policy and practice in Australian, included the **Community Integration Support Program (CISP)**, a prison-based project run by the Islamic Council of Victoria with government support (Buttler 2013 in Harris-Hogan, Barrelle & Zammit 2016). The program aims to rehabilitate imprisoned violent extremists both pre-and post-release (Harris-Hogan, Barrelle & Zammit 2016). A program evaluation in 2013 found that 'CISP is succeeding in achieving its objectives and generally heading in the right direction; however, through development into several new areas CISP could be made even stronger'. The report also noted that after the 'inevitable steep learning curve following its inception and the necessary operational refinements and adjustment of personnel, the program quickly transitioned into a sustained phase of effective operations' (GTRc, 2013 cited in Harris-Hogan, Barrelle & Zammit 2016: 10).

6 Conclusion

CONCLUSION

Victoria has a well-earned reputation as a champion of multicultural and social cohesion policies and legislation within Australia. In addition to the Multiculturalism Victoria Act 2011, Victoria is the only Australian state with both a well-established Human Rights Charter and legislation outlawing racial and religious vilification. This supportive, equality-centred policy environment resonates with general Victorian community views on multiculturalism, as the Scanlon Mapping Social Cohesion Survey has shown (Markus 2015). Yet despite strong policy and support for multiculturalism, Victoria, like the rest of Australia and other Western countries, also faces challenges for maintaining and continuing to strengthen the social fabric that binds its diverse society together. The Stocktake review findings have highlighted a number of interwoven themes across the domains of social cohesion, resilience and violent extremism.

There is still no consistent and comprehensive answer to the question as to what leads to, influences or protects against racism and related forms of exclusivism. This is due to the multidimensionality and continuously evolving understanding of racism and exclusivism as interpersonal and/or structural phenomena. The literature since 2011 underscores previous insights on the relevance of empathy, open-mindedness and authoritarianism as significant micro-factors in protecting against or fostering racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism. Importantly, positive and regular or sustained intergroup contact continues to be regarded as a key preventative factor, although the ideal conditions of such interpersonal interaction are rarely discussed. On the macro-level, specific policies (e.g. anti-racism/non-discrimination policies, education frameworks) can contribute meaningfully to reducing racism and promoting peaceful and respectful intergroup contact.

The literature since 2011 has emphatically continued to broaden our understanding of 'new' or cultural racism, while still retaining some focus on conventional or 'old' racism. This is most apparent in the vast academic literature on Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism and stigmatisation. One of the most significant findings to emerge from the review is that, across Western societies, the recognition of Muslims has become

conditional on their adaptation of liberal values, like gender equality and freedom of speech, and their assimilation into these cultural normative frameworks. This 'liberal intolerance' discourse uses liberal means for illiberal ends by excluding certain minority groups, especially Muslims, while ignoring the fact that such liberal values have not yet been fully realised even within mainstream society. This 'end of tolerance'-based exclusion of minorities shows that racism and discrimination is not limited to the right-wing fringes of society, but remains manifest at various points across a broad socio-political spectrum.

The denial of racism linked to these more subtle forms of 'new racism' continues to elide how forms of interpersonal and structural racism persist. These in turn are amplified by the ways in which certain policies, political rhetoric and mass media reporting contribute to exclusionary discourse aimed at ethnic, religious or racial minorities. This is particularly so in relation to discourses linked to counter-terrorism and CVE, which often target Muslims either implicitly or explicitly. While policies and public discourse do not directly cause racism, recent research has definitively highlighted their role in marginalising certain community groups, in particular fuelling and reinforcing a narrative of Muslims as 'realistic' and 'symbolic' threats to community safety and Western cultural values and ways of life. The literature suggests this threat scenario is especially damaging given its major role in influencing the development of racist prejudice and anti-egalitarian views. The prevalent political and public discourse around securitisation of Islam and Muslims may be seen as legitimising anti-Muslim sentiments in the wider community. Extreme right-wing movements tend to capitalise on this shifting rhetoric of fear and threat. Research in Europe and North America relevant to Victoria has found that, despite often limited electoral outcomes, these radical fringe groups have been successful in influencing the political and public discourse specifically on issues of immigration and Islam pushing public debate and sentiment further along the right-wing spectrum.

This can have counter-productive effects on efforts to strengthen protections against violent extremism at community level. When trying to understand what factors may protect against violent extremism, both the literature and program review elements

show it is necessary to keep in mind that people are drawn into violent movements for a variety of complex multi-factorial reasons. The review's findings suggest that countering extremist narratives will not be achieved through the kind of hardening political rhetoric described above, but instead will succeed only if it addresses the underlying causes of why such narrative resonate to begin with, both individually and socially. For this to occur, strengthening the protective factors that help build resistance to violent extremist ideology and action also needs to consider addressing the existential desire for a life with meaning and purpose, the development of healthy peer bonds and social networks and the need for respect and dignity, all of which are also linked to features of social cohesion and community resilience.

Nevertheless, while generally recognised as a positive social goal in the abstract, social cohesion in practice has been critiqued both for its focus on 'harmony' and blindness to dealing with and managing conflicts, and, more commonly, for its conceptual blurriness. This has been found to be particularly problematic when social cohesion becomes the label for different policy agendas, especially those aimed at countering radicalisation and violent extremism, with potentially counterproductive ramifications including the erosion of community trust.

Overall, the review indicates that the strength of social cohesion does not lie in its use as a governance tool or a social engineering strategy to prevent anti-social behaviour, including forms of social exclusivism. However, *individual dimensions* of social cohesion, as commonly defined in the Australian context (Markus, 2015), appear relevant for preventing or tackling forms of exclusivism, such as racism and violent extremism. This applies, first and foremost, to the dimension of recognition of diversity. Promoting recognition and redressing racist or otherwise aggressively exclusionary ideologies or manifestations are therefore the most immediate way in which social cohesion can address exclusivism. Another key dimension of social cohesion that can contribute to reducing the risk of exclusivism is related to individuals' sense of belonging, collective identities and shared values, which need to be defined in an inclusive, non-assimilationist way that allows or even promotes flexible multi-sited identity formations. Moreover,

promoting equal opportunities and access and redressing socioeconomic marginalisation and discrimination, another fundamental component of social cohesion, has the potential of reducing people's vulnerability and propensity to racism and other forms of exclusivism. Similarly, promoting trust within and between communities and between communities and the state, combined with empowering civic and political participation to help overcome social isolation and a sense of voicelessness, build sense of efficacy and foster intergroup interactions, are likely to have positive effects on the people's vulnerability to exclusivist views and actions.

This resonates closely with the review's findings in the community resilience domain. Research since 2011 confirms that despite the contested nature of conceptual and applied models of community resilience, constructs of community resilience are here to stay in policy and program terms. The concept of 'resilience' continues to bear a double freight in relation to both prevention and resistance to social harms, on the one hand, and response to and recovery from the impacts of these harms, on the other. The literature suggests that working with resilience in community contexts means being very clear about which of these resilience paradigms is being mobilised, whether and how they may intersect, and why. More work is needed in particular on identifying the preventative and protective factors at work in community resilience contexts, with detailed assessment of their multi-level systemic processes.

Given that resilience is profoundly social, it is influenced by broader considerations and features of community cohesion, support and service networks. Context-dependent understandings and applications of resilience are essential, and these must be developed from the ground up. Overarching resilience frameworks can identify some key commonalities within and across community settings to combat racial, religious and ethnic exclusivism, as well as violent extremism, but these must be inclusive, sensitive to intergenerational and spatial as well as intercultural diversity, and – most importantly – rigorously tailored to align with local and culturally specific perspectives and capacities for coping with everyday life in a complex world. As for social cohesion, the literature on community resilience

heavily emphasises the importance of intergroup contact and relationships as a key element in combatting ignorance, misunderstanding, and narrow, in-group identities and ideologies. The program review supports these findings, showing that successful programs to build resilience to the harms of social exclusivism are driven significantly by concerns to foster inter-group and cross-cultural understanding and engagement on various levels, helping create flexible and multi-sited identities that broaden empathy with cultural others.

At its most effective, the construct of 'community resilience' focuses on the positive aspects of building community wellbeing, making genuine use of existing community assets and avoiding unsupported assumptions about community deficits. At the same time, resilience is meaningful only in the context of adversity and vulnerability, so that identifying both strengths and challenges must happen simultaneously. Successful community resilience strategies are likely to be those that incorporate elements of *both* resistance (prevention, protection) *and* recovery (responses, resources, adaptive capacity) to help strengthen and maintain community robustness in dealing with a variety of harms that can threaten social cohesion and community wellbeing.

The capacity of community resilience to address violent extremism remains under-researched, but research does suggest overwhelmingly that the 'civilianisation of security' and the linking of security-driven agendas with community cohesion initiatives and programs has resulted in the securitisation of resilience strategies and models by governments at the expense of genuine community cohesion and capacity building, especially in the UK. This damages, rather than strengthens, community resilience to exclusivism and arguably to violent extremism. It creates weakened and fragmented communities driven by suspicion, fear, disengagement and mistrust. A more helpful way of conceptualising policy and programs to reduce factors leading to or influencing violent extremism is the emergence in the literature of socio-cultural approaches that seek to further explore important differences between a radical mindset and violent radical behaviour. These approaches focus on understanding what needs a violent extremist group addresses for a person, rather than on any particular ideological argument. Given the substantial

community backlash and sense of marginalisation that has been experienced in response to well-intentioned counterterrorism and CVE policies based on the concept of radicalisation – a response clearly borne out by the program component of the review – this new focus represents an opportunity for governments to frame CVE policy and programs in ways that promote a shared concern for community well-being, regardless of varying ideological perspectives.

Indeed, reflecting on the key characteristics common to CVE programs in Europe, the US and Australia highlights challenges in developing appropriate and effective programs. A major challenge in the area of CVE program implementation is ensuring that trust and transparency are developed from the outset with all communities, particularly Muslim communities. The UK's *Prevent* program had largely been criticised as being an unsuccessful model; previous to its 2011 review, it had the effect of constructing an entire Muslim community as being at-risk and suspect. Looking to the United States, the much-debated CVE Pilot Programs in Los Angeles, Minneapolis-St.Paul and Boston have engendered widespread backlash in those cities because the perception is that CVE is focused exclusively on Muslim populations. According to Erroll Southers (2015), 'communities hosting the so-called 'CVE pilot programs' are complaining about the issue of the myopic, laser focus on Muslim extremism, rather than a more inclusive (and productive) focus on all extremist ideologies. Approaching communities based on religion or country of origin, which is the perceived criteria of CVE at this point, neutralises the effort before it gets out of the gate'. He added that it is necessary to engage research, interdisciplinary education and collaboration to advance sustainable 'whole of community' public safety strategies, policies and programs (Southers, 2015).

Nor are one-size-fits all CVE programs going to cater for significant intra- and inter-community diversity. To develop effective CVE programs, avoiding law enforcement initiatives and focusing instead on community safety initiatives that draw upon public health, psychosocial and educational approaches is less likely to result in the 'CVE' taint that a number of programs in the US have already experienced. As Weine notes, 'If you try to start

a conversation with [the] language [of CVE], the conversation is over. I still believe that we should try to accomplish these things that CVE wanted to accomplish, but I think it has to be framed differently in order to get broad support' (Welsh, 2015). For CVE programs to be successful in any context, building trust in the government is key. Non-government programs, on the other hand, are experiencing success. *Average Mohamed*, a website offering counter-radicalisation messaging geared toward young people developed by Mohamed Ahmed, for example, 'has been able to spread (its) message to Minneapolis-St.Paul youth without much suspicion with regard to (its) motives, Somali (Southers and Hienz, 2015: 21). Similar negative effects from CVE branding are being felt in Australia, where five out of seven Victorian university Muslim Student Associations signed a 2015 statement saying they refuse to participate in an Australian version of the US-based *#myjihad* campaign on the basis that it promoted an Islamophobic narrative of Islam and Muslims as supposed 'terror suspects' and 'security threats' that require remedy.

CVE efforts cannot succeed without cooperation and full participation of diverse players within Muslim communities. Yet identifying, establishing, and sustaining local partnerships remains a challenge. According to Vidino and Hughes (2015), rather than relying on one or two large national organisations, a more effective way to engage is to establish relations with many different local partners with roots in specific communities. Such partnerships appear 'more likely to harness the full potential of Muslim communities' (Vidino and Hughes, 2015: 16). Grossman (2014b) suggests that 'a multi-level strategy which targets and builds grassroots trust, transparency and engagement as well as cultivating leadership roles and government liaison is far more likely to succeed in tackling violent extremism than one that is narrowly focused on selected representatives and structures. These structures often exclude women, young people and voices of difference or dissent within communities. These groups are precisely those we need to engage if we are to mount credible alternatives to violent extremism. This means listening carefully and genuinely to what communities are saying, and adopting not only a "whole of government" but a "whole of community" strategy'. Grossman's

argument leads into another challenge relating to credibility and legitimacy in terms of which voices in the community should be mobilised in order to deliver a credible message. This poses the question whether 'non-violent Islamists', such as individuals and organisations linked to various strands of Salafism or the Muslim Brotherhood, can be partners in countering violent extremism (Vidino and Hughes, 2015).

An intrinsic challenge with CVE programs across the board is providing clear metrics that empirically measure their effectiveness. This is particularly problematic for preventative programs as it involves proving a negative: that is, the number of individuals who did not radicalise because of the program. De-radicalisation measures are equally difficult to assess because determining when an individual has become "rehabilitated" is not always straightforward. Furthermore, 'even empirical results can be interpreted in different ways. Does a 50% positive rate in a de-radicalisation program make it successful? Critics might argue it does not and journalists will most likely focus on those subjects who, despite interventions, went on to become terrorists. Yet law enforcement agencies might disagree, arguing that halving their workload is a remarkable achievement' (Vidino and Hughes, 2015: 17).

The ultimate challenge facing CVE programs is incorporating the complexity of the radicalisation process into responsive and thoughtful CVE approaches and practices. According to RAN (2015), the processes of radicalisation leading to violent extremism have evolved over recent years. There is now a variety of ideologies that provide inspiration for extremist groups, including religious inspired extremism, left-wing, anarchist, and right wing ideologies. All forms of extremism have become globalised, consequently extremist actions are becoming harder to detect and predict by authorities. This suggests that traditional law enforcement techniques alone are not sufficient to deal with these evolving trends. This is particularly pertinent when it comes to dealing with the root causes of the problem. There is a need to provide a broader approach to the issue that incorporates earlier intervention and prevention while engaging with a wide spectrum of players in society (RAN, 2015).

7

Key Knowledge Gaps and Future Issues

KEY KNOWLEDGE GAPS AND FUTURE ISSUES

7.1 Research and knowledge gaps

A number of research and knowledge gaps emerged from the **systematic literature review** process. These relate to:

1. Lack of knowledge and analysis on the mobilisation, expression and impact of racist, anti-Muslim and/or nationalist-exclusivist attitudes by right-wing extremist political parties or movements. While numerous North American and European articles addressed these themes, they remain under-researched in the Australian context, despite mounting evidence of and concerns about right-wing exclusivist political groups in Victoria.
2. While there is a range of emerging literature and analysis on the relationship between general community resilience and specific resilience protections relating to violent extremism, as well as a range of generally available resilience measures for children, youth and adults, there is no validated measure that explicitly addresses resilience to violent extremism. The ability to assess and measure both resistance to violent extremism and key resilience features that may protect against this is critical in providing an evidence base to inform government policy and programs, and further work in this area is required.
3. While educational policy and programs to promote social cohesion and reduce racial, ethnic and religious exclusivism are reasonably well developed in various national and community settings, specific educational curriculum and models dealing that can help strengthen critical thinking, reasoned analysis and the deconstruction of propaganda and anti-social narratives remains largely absent. While there are valuable lessons on how *not* to approach the relationship between education, schools and countering violent extremism through critiques of the UK's Prevent Strategy in both its phases, a deficit in understanding and modelling what *would* be effective in educational settings remains elusive.
4. Analyses of community resilience do not sufficiently engage with issues around culture, gender and intergenerational relationships and nuances, despite strong evidence from the program section of the review that practice on the ground recognises and works intensively with these issues in mind. Further research and evaluation that includes cultural, gendered and intergenerational lenses on how to reduce socially harmful forms of exclusivism and increase general community resilience and cohesion is needed.
5. While the literature on factors that may help counter violent extremism refers consistently to empowering communities to drive strategies and solutions, little is said about the best mechanisms or approaches to achieve this. More research through academic and practitioner collaboration is needed in this area to develop a clear understanding of what works, what doesn't, and why in specific settings and contexts.
6. Resilience to violent extremism, and the extent to which resilience paradigms can usefully be applied in relation to countering violent extremism, is an emerging field. While there is a wealth of evidence from the UK and the USA on the negative impacts of civilianising security and confusing or conflating resilience and security agendas, this remains an under-researched theoretical, policy and program area in the Australian context. More work on how *positive* dimensions of community resilience, disarticulated from explicit security agendas, can be harnessed to counter social exclusivism and the violent harms that can arise across the political spectrum is required, not just those targeting a specific ethnic or cultural group.
7. While public health approaches to a variety of social harms (drugs, alcohol, smoking, speeding, racism, youth violence) have been successfully applied across various international and local settings, the use of public health approaches relating to countering

violent extremism remains under-researched. Further work on how public health information and communication strategies aimed at shifting behaviour and attitude towards cultural others, and towards the use of violence as a solution for problems and grievances, is urgently needed in order to develop new strategies that build on capacity for the expression of community care, solidarity and support.

Turning to the **program review**, the findings reveal a wide spectrum of preventative actions and approaches aimed at promoting social cohesion and strengthening national security against the threat of violent extremism. The insights developed below (which in some cases reinforce findings, gaps and recommendations from the systematic literature review) are derived from these programs and provide insights into approaches, methods and practices that can improve or add value program outcomes.

1. Customised interventions provide assistance that more rapidly and effectively address the complex needs of radicalised or at-risk individuals.
2. Using former extremists in de-radicalisation and disengagement practices helps promote understanding of the challenges the individual faces and establishes credibility in counter narrative activities.
3. Communities play an important role in challenging extremist narratives and messages.
4. Building community resilience programs should not be used as a tool to conduct surveillance or build intelligence databases.
5. Engaging in difficult conversations through open, honest communication helps promote critical literacies around sensitive or confronting social issues.
6. Deterrence, prevention and changing public opinion are difficult to measure and validate, requiring clear assessable program targets to be established from the outset.
7. Credibility and trustworthiness of the individual, group or institution delivering a counter extremist message is as important as the message itself.

7.2 Future Issues for Consideration

1. Promote positive and meaningful **social interaction and intergroup contact and relationships** with sustained opportunities to learn from and with each other at community level. This can be done through a range of policies and programs, including in relation to education/schooling as well as urban planning aimed at creating a supportive built environment and reducing spatially experienced divisions in urban settings.
2. Accelerate research and understanding of the ways in which electorally marginal **right-wing extremist social and political movements** can exert disproportionate influence on public debate and discourse, and the impacts and implications of this for maintaining social cohesion and community resilience.
3. Develop policies and programs that recognise and address dimensions of **'new' or cultural racism** in contemporary society to help counter arguments that 'racism' is no longer a feature of Victorian or Australian communities.
4. Recognise and further explore the potentially damaging impacts of **policymaking, political discourse and media reporting** in Australia and Victoria on social cohesion and community resilience when they support or contribute to promoting scenarios of community threat, anxiety and fear in relation to social and cultural diversity. Consider also how political rhetoric and discourse can exercise positive power to delegitimise anti-egalitarian narratives and ideologies and establish higher levels of social intolerance for the expression of racist and exclusivist views.
5. Strengthen young people's **open-mindedness, empathy and capacity for critical thinking** at school, for example by strengthening the general capability of intercultural understanding in the Australian school curriculum. Combine this with innovative educational approaches that directly tackle issues around violent extremism in culturally and context-sensitive ways, creating opportunities for dialogue and understanding rather than fear and disengagement.

6. Break down social cohesion policies into specific policy fields, agendas and strategies in order to focus on policies and programs that help:
 - a. create an **inclusive government narrative** that actively avoids marginalising minorities or groups based on ethnicity, race or religion;
 - b. promote **flexible, expansive, multi-sited identities** as a source of strength and resilience;
 - c. strengthen knowledge that **strong cultural identity and heritage** is a protective factor for community resilience and is completely compatible with strong national identification and affiliation
 - d. tackle both **interpersonal and structural forms of exclusion**, while promoting equal opportunity and access to key institutions (e.g. labour market, education housing, health and welfare services) to promote community resilience;
 - e. empower people, especially young people, to develop **strong civic and political capacity and participation**, including the capacity for dissenting citizenship and critique; and
 - f. create or enhance general **mutual trust and trust between government and communities**, including police, through adopting best practice, values-driven models of human rights, respect and valuing diversity.
7. Support further research inquiry that systematically and robustly addresses and builds knowledge relating to the seven **key gaps** identified above emerging from the review of the literature.
8. Use a **multi-level, multi-disciplinary program approach** that incorporates health, educational, police and other experts in a holistic model.
9. Incorporate **experiential learning** in education and training programs by promoting the link between 'thinking' and 'doing'.
10. Provide **education and support** to family members to increase their awareness and knowledge of reducing risks for violent extremism.
11. Build **peer interventions** into CVE programs.
12. Ensure that **training programs** use a diverse range of examples to demonstrate that terrorists and terrorist acts span ethnicity, race, gender and religion.
13. Design dedicated **programs for women** that promote leadership, empowerment, networks and skills in recognising and addressing the warning signs of radicalisation.
14. **Incorporate youth** in the planning and development of leadership training and prevention initiatives particularly focusing on marginalised and vulnerable youth.
15. **Strengthen interfaith programs** that promote leadership and foster cooperative action.
16. Promote social cohesion and resilience in youth through community programs focused on **sports, the arts, music and other creative pursuits**.
17. Foster successful **community-led program approaches** that encourage communities and their youth to organise their own activities.

18. **Incorporate social media capacity**, especially in youth programs, to train young people to use social media and the Internet to challenge and disrupt extremist messaging.
19. Strengthen the message that **terrorism is not exclusive to a single cultural group or faith system** by avoiding programs that stigmatise and alienate through exclusively targeting Muslims.
20. Foster activities that address **underlying social problems**, such as feelings of alienation, frustration and exclusion, while providing intensive exposure to counter-extremist narratives.
21. Foster approaches that develop and encourage trust between authorities and communities, particularly in social circles where extremists move.
22. Foster interventions that are directed at supporting parents.
23. Alternative narratives to extremist propaganda both online or offline must take into account different types of narrative for different audiences.

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Appendix A

Methodology

Appendix A: Methodology

The systematic stocktake encompasses two key components, each one carried out with a specific methodological approach. The first part is the systematic *literature review*, while the second refers to the identification, selection and analysis of pertinent *programs and initiatives*.

The role of the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing (CCDW, Victoria University) focuses on the first core element of the systematic review in the domain of the **research literature**. It covers research published from 2011 onwards that investigates factors that influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism and how this corresponds with socially harmful outcomes such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism. It also investigates the literature on how social cohesion and community resilience potentially addresses these factors in ways that mitigate these harmful outcomes.

The second key component of the systematic stocktake examines representative concrete **projects and initiatives** aimed at redressing exclusivism, strengthening social cohesion and inclusion and countering violent extremism. The Australian Multicultural Foundation (AMF), who carries out this part of the stocktake research project, focused on identifying and reviewing a selected representation of prevention and intervention programs both in Australia and internationally since 2011. The programs being examined are those that assist in redressing exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and counter violent extremism as these may apply in the Victorian context. The compilation and review of programs will inform the development of initiatives that are best suited to assist Victoria's efforts to build more cohesive and resilient communities.

Systematic Literature Review

Systematic literature reviews are a rigorous and transparent method for collating and interpreting large bodies of information in a way that is meaningful for answering particular research questions. They help identify what evidence there is to support claims about efficacy, where gaps in knowledge exist, areas of uncertainty or spurious claims (Petticrew and Roberts, 2006: 2). They require a multi-stage process that is clearly articulated, rigorously adhered to, and highly transparent.

The research team is using the following seven-phase process, drawing primarily from Petticrew and Roberts (2006) and Gough et al. (2013).

1. Refine the review question(s)
2. Define inclusion criteria for the review
3. Conduct the literature search
4. Screen the results
5. Appraise the quality of the results and extract data
6. Synthesize the studies
7. Disseminate the review

Refining the Research Question

The effectiveness of any systematic review rests on the development of clearly formulated research questions that shape the systematic methods used to identify, collect and appraise relevant research and studies. These questions give the 'review its particular structure' (Gough et al., 2013: 12).

The rationale that informs the development of the research questions for the stocktake research is based on investigating questions of how specific dimensions of social cohesion and community resilience (e.g. resources, networks, sense of belonging, sense of justice/opportunities, trust) correspond with factors of exclusivism (e.g. social isolation, alienation, fragile sense of identity, lack of trust, sense of vulnerability). By making explicit the potentially mitigating impact of socially cohesive and resilient communities on manifestations of

exclusivism, this literature review will help the Taskforce develop more targeted and effective strategies to redress exclusivism by strengthening multi-level protective factors ('resilience capital') on the one hand, and mitigating vulnerability and risk factors on the other (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000; Grossman et al., 2014).

As Petticrew and Roberts (2006: 29) point out, the '[r]eview questions are best defined together with potential users of the review', while having a clear rationale underpinning them. Following this recommendation, two guiding research questions for the literature review were developed that address the role that socially cohesive and resilient communities have in redressing the risk of socially harmful behaviours, including violent extremism. These drafted research questions were subsequently communicated to, and approved by, the Community Resilience Unit at the Victoria State Department of Premier and Cabinet.

1. What factors influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism?
2. How do social cohesion and community resilience address these factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?

Defining Inclusion Criteria

The research team develop a checklist (in-out protocol) for the inclusion/exclusion decisions framing the systematic literature search. In developing these criteria the research team was guided by the consideration of which types of literature and studies are most appropriate for answering the research questions (Petticrew and Roberts, 2006: 59). For example, conducting a search may locate literature about resilience amongst child sexual abuse survivors, or social cohesion within workplaces. However, this literature is unlikely to be useful for answering the research questions that have been developed. Therefore, protocols were developed to ensure that the literature that informs the final review remains highly relevant to the project.

The checklist requires that the literature:

- was published between January 2011 and the present,
- published in English,
- has undergone a peer-review process,
- is relevant to the Victorian context by reflecting research or activities undertaken in a multicultural, western context, and
- reflects evidence based on primary research.

In conducting the literature search it was necessary to develop protocols that allowed for the application of this checklist at various stages of the literature search process. For example, all databases allowed for setting date parameters and therefore this was incorporated into the initial database searches. As a result, no literature was collected outside of the specified dates.

However, not all databases allowed for the screening of geographic location, or language and therefore this inclusion/exclusion criterion is applied in Step 4 (screening the results). Inclusion/exclusion criteria related to relevance to the Victorian context, along with screening aimed at excluding literature that was captured by the search terms but was not thematically relevant to answering the research questions were also applied in Step 4. Step 4 also included screening based on the primary research criteria.

Conducting the Systematic Literature Search

Before conducting the systemic literature search, extensive work went into developing the most effective search strategy (including the specific set and combination of search terms) along with the most useful databases in order for the searches to provide highly robust, extensive and penetrating results. Initially, the research team consulted with librarian subject experts to pinpoint the databases that would be most useful for capturing a wide range of scholarly material relevant to the research questions. The databases were chosen for their particular strengths in the social sciences and to minimise the potential for gaps within the searches. Four academic databases were chosen for conducting the systematic literature review:

- 1) **Academic Search Premier** is a leading scholarly database chosen because it provides comprehensive multidisciplinary content and applies a strong international perspective;
- 2) **Informit** was included due to its strong focus on research from across Australia and the Asia-Pacific;
- 3) **JSTOR** was chosen based on its facilitation of interdisciplinary and historical research; and
- 4) **Project MUSE** was incorporated due to its strong presence in both humanities and social sciences

This carefully selected combination of academic databases enabled the research team to conduct a systematic review of high-quality (peer-reviewed) research literature. Against this backdrop, and after intensive testing of different search strategies, Google Scholar was not included as a database in the systematic literature review process due to its inherent technical weakness. During the exploratory phase, searches in Google Scholar have tended to generate an extremely large number of – often irrelevant – results, and those hits that were relevant have already been captured by the searches in the four academic databases. Keeping these shortcomings in mind, the research team did use Google Scholar, outside the framework of the systematic literature review, as a tool to identify additional key books and book chapters.

Once the aforementioned four academic databases were chosen, the research team developed a list of search terms that related to the research questions and conducted exploratory searches based on different combinations of terms. During this exploratory phase, the researchers documented problems and concerns so as to continually reflect on and refine the search process in order to understand how to combine terms most effectively in order to achieve the most comprehensive and relevant results. It was during this exploratory stage

that it became apparent that the term ‘exclusivism’ was ineffective in generating useful search results. In response to this, the research team developed key words aimed at capturing the essence of ‘exclusivism’ as this related to the research questions and incorporated these into the search terms.

During this exploratory phase, the research team also refined how to input key search terms into different databases in order to optimise the function of each database’s particular search engine. Eventually the research team developed a framework that included conducting four searches, each based on sets of words incorporated into the search engines in highly specific ways. To ensure the transparency and repeatability of the searches the research team developed a booklet to provide a framework for all researchers to follow when conducting the searches. This booklet provides a step-by-step guide of how to work within each database and how to input specific search terms. The step-by-step guide is provided in Appendix B.

The search strategy and combination of search terms reflect the thematic focus of the two key research questions. Four comprehensive and systematic searches were carried out, each one conducted separately in all four academic databases:

Search 1 identifies research literature relevant to research question 1, exploring factors that influence, lead to, or protect against socially harmful forms of racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism. This was undertaken in two steps: first, by capturing the socially harmful dimensions of racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism (search 1A using search terms like terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation, right-wing extremism, combined with racial, ethnic, or religious) ; and second by capturing the factors that lead to, influence, or protect against racial ethnic and religious exclusivism (search 1B using search terms like risk factors, prevention, or vulnerability).

¹ Initial search attempts using the search term ‘racism’ in relation to factors that may lead to, prevent against, racism did not yield good, i.e. sufficiently specific, results, assumedly due to, among other factors, the very broad and multi-faceted research in the realm of racism. As a consequence the inclusion of the term ‘racism’ in some of the searches led to an unmanageable number of hits, many of them irrelevant to the specific research question of this stocktake research.

Search 2 addresses research question 2, focussing on the effects and impact of social cohesion on exclusivism. This search combines manifestations of socially harmful forms of exclusivism (using search terms such as terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation, right-wing extremism, racism, intolerance) with terms that capture key dimensions of social cohesion (using words like social cohesion, social capital, belonging, equal opportunities, participation, recognition, multiculturalism, social bonds).

Search 3 also refers to research question 2, but, instead of social cohesion, it explores the literature on the effects and impact of (community) resilience on exclusivism; terms used to identify research on community resilience were, in addition to community resilience itself, coping, adversity, thriving, and adaptation.

These four searches (1A, 1B, 2, and 3) were conducted (between 5 and 10 November 2015) in accordance with the framework outlines in the booklet (see appendix B). These searches identified altogether 10,484 journal articles. All these results (for each search and each database) were recorded (Table A) and downloaded into the library management software Endnote. When all search results were in the Endnote library a search was done to identify and discard duplicate findings (2,956), which led to a total of 7,528 articles.

TABLE A Stocktake Project Stats

Search 1A

Database	Number of hits	Number saved to Endnote
Academic Search Premier	784	784
Informit	48	48
JSTOR*	1648	899
Project Muse	694	694
Total	3174	2425

Search 1B

Database	Number of hits	Number saved to Endnote
Academic Search Premier	1135	1135
Informit	136	136
JSTOR	683	683
Project Muse	328	328
Total	2282	2282

Search 2

Database	Number of hits	Number saved to Endnote
Academic Search Premier	1006	1006
Informit	272	272
JSTOR*	2120	900
Project Muse	1712	1712
Total	5110	3890

Search 3

Database	Number of hits	Number saved to Endnote
Academic Search Premier	425	425
Informit	64	64
JSTOR*	1414	900
Project Muse	498	498
Total	2401	1887

* On JSTOR data only the first (most relevant) 900 search results are available.

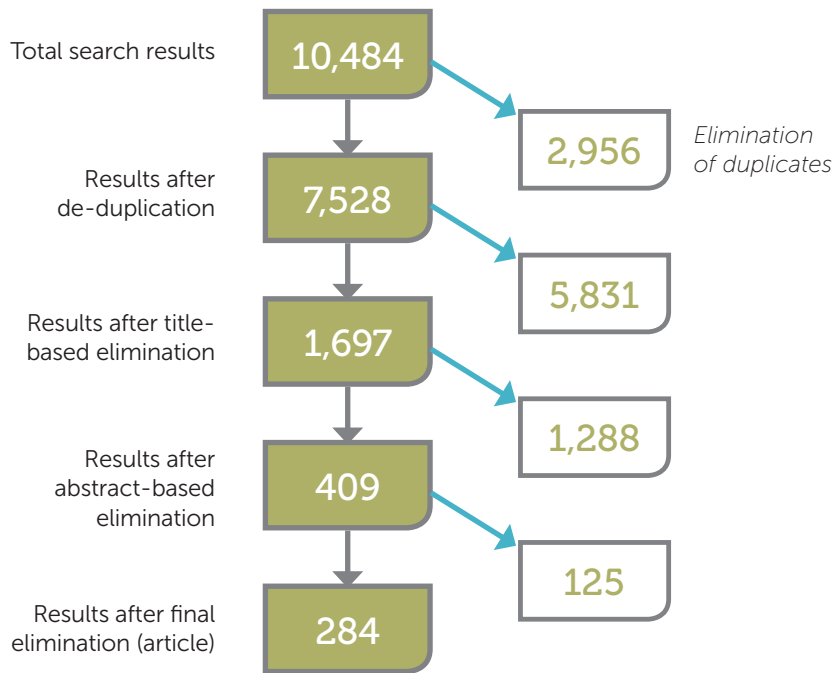
Validating the findings

Google Scholar was used to verify the robustness, effectiveness and accuracy of the systematic search conducted within the academic databases. This was done by using the same key terms used in the database searches and configuring them for the Google Scholar search engine design. Members of the research team then cross-checked randomly selected relevant results to see if they had been captured in the search of the four major databases. This was done by searching the Endnote library for the article author and title. Each random check resulted in finding the corresponding article in the existing Endnote library suggesting a very high effectiveness of the search terms within the database.

Screening the results

The research team systematically screened the results in order to identify key literature that provides empirical evidence on the two research questions. This screening process encompassed several steps of discarding initial results that do not match the previously outlined in-out criteria (see 3.2.2). First, the research team deleted those that did not match the inclusion criteria purely based on an examination of the title of all identified articles (7,528). In this phase, 5,831 articles were discarded due to their irrelevance, which reduced the number of articles to 1,697. Second, the team repeated this elimination process by discarding those that did not meet the inclusion criteria based on an examination of the abstracts. 1,288 articles were eliminated through this method, leaving 409. Third, the team assessed relevance to the inclusion criteria by reading the articles in full, resulting in a further 125 articles being discarded. A total of 284 articles were left. This screening and elimination process led to a pool of highly relevant literature that met all inclusion criteria and provided an evidence base to help answers to the two research questions of this literature review. The process is visualised in Graph A below.

GRAPH A: Flowchart



Additional literature review

While the above outlined systematic literature review, conducted in four carefully selected academic databases, constituted the most time-intensive part of the literature stocktake research and provides a comprehensive coverage of peer-reviewed journal articles, it was complemented by two additional search strategies, addressing the database-inherent omissions of academic books and grey literature. Furthermore, a manual search of highly relevant journals was undertaken to ensure that relevant literature that was not captured the search terms was not missed.

Books and book chapters

Although it is common academic practice in social science and humanities to publish research findings primarily in peer-reviewed journals, the research team decided to also include academic books into the scope of this literature review. For pragmatic and time constraint reasons, the research team decided, however, to undertake this search outside the highly rigorous methodological framework of the systematic literature review. Google Scholar

has been used to identify key academic books (both monographs and edited volumes) and book chapters that were not covered in the database search. The search strategy in Google Scholar has been thematically very similar to the one deployed in the systematic literature review in the academic databases (e.g. similar search term combinations). In addition, the research team's expert knowledge of the research areas and of key authors and scholars guided the search and identification of key books and book chapters.

Grey literature

The grey literature search was conducted in two stages: a search of key organisations the team judged would be useful, followed by an additional search to catch relevant material from other sources.

Organisations search

The research team prepared a list of relevant research institutes, think tanks, government bodies and other sources of grey literature, both within Australia and overseas. The websites of these organisations were systematically checked for any research reports that met the team’s inclusion-exclusion criteria, based on the publications’ titles and descriptions. The publications needed to be research-based, so policy documents and guides were excluded.

Several of the organisations produced a relatively small amount of material, a manual search for their relevant publications produced since 2011 was conducted. These were:

Organisation	Country	Relevant results
Living Safe Together, Attorney-General’s Department	Australia	0
Scanlon Foundation	Australia	8
Bipartisan Policy Centre	US	1
Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism	US	4
DEMOS	UK	1
Foreign Policy Research Institute	US	1
Global Center on Cooperative Security	US/UK	8
Global Counter Terrorism Forum	US	0
Hedayah	UAE	5
Institute for Strategic Dialogue	UK	12
ISD Counter-terrorism Centre	Singapore	0
International Centre for Counter Terrorism	Netherlands	6
Quilliam	UK	1
Radicalisation Awareness Network	EU	1
Resilience Research Centre	Canada	0
The Soufan Group	US	2
TSAS	Canada	5
VOX - Pol	UK	1

For organisations that produced a larger amount of material, the team ran searches for the terms “social cohesion”, “community resilience” and “violent extremism”, then manually searched the list for publications relevant to the project. These organisations were:

Organisation	Country	Relevant results
Australian Social Policy Institute	Australia	3
Lowy Institute for International Policy	Australia	1
Human Rights Watch	US	0
Home Office	UK	9
United States Institute of Peace	US	3
USAID	US	0

In the case of the UK Home Office, searches were also run for ‘community cohesion’ (a term commonly used in the UK in the manner of “social cohesion”) and ‘Prevent’ (the name of the UK’s national CVE effort).

For two organisations which had their publications listed under clear research topics, the “terrorism” section of their publications lists were searched manually. Although the project’s topic is far broader than terrorism, this did produce relevant results:

Organisation	Country	Relevant results
Brookings Institute	US	3
Rand	US	3

In four cases, the same publication appeared on multiple websites, due to co-authorship. In these cases, they are only listed in the “relevant results” box for the first website the team found the publications on.

The organisations search produced a total of 77 relevant results.

Additional grey literature search

To ensure that relevant material produced by other organisations was not missed, some additional searches were undertaken.

The team also searched the website of Australian Policy Online, which was a repository of grey literature produced by a wide range of organisations, and was known to contain material relevant to the topic. Searches were run for 'social cohesion', 'community resilience' and 'violent extremism', and the results searched for items relevant to the topic and that had not been already obtained through the organisations search. It should be disclosed that one of the team members is also employed by Australian Policy Online.

The team also made use of a collection of research resources on Australian CVE compiled on *The Murphy Raid*, a personal blog maintained by one of the team members. The collection was searched for relevant grey literature that had not been found in the earlier searches.

Finally, another of the team members had co-authored a relevant report, as part of a collaborative research project conducted by Victoria University and Victoria Police, which was not yet available to the public. This report was also included.

Source	Country	Relevant results
Australia Policy Online	Australia	6
The Murphy Raid	Australia	2
Victoria University with Victoria Police	Australia	1

The additional search produced 9 results, combining with the organisations search to produce a total of 86 results.

Manual search of highly relevant journals

One concern was that relevant articles could still be missed if they were not caught by the search terms used in the systematic database search, and if they were neither books, nor book chapters, nor grey literature. To address this concern, the team conducted a manual search of journals known to be highly relevant to the research topic. These journals were:

- Terrorism and Political Violence
- Studies in Conflict & Terrorism
- Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression,
- Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict
- Perspectives on Terrorism
- Democracy and Security
- Critical Studies on Terrorism

Every issue of these journals published from 2011 was searched, leading to 45 relevant results.

Appraising the quality of the results and extract data

Team members read all literature gathered in its entirety and coded it according to the contribution it made to answering particular aspects of the research questions, as well as for the strength of the methodology on which the literature drew. All codes, along with a précis of each piece of literature as it related to the research questions were entered into an Excel spreadsheet so as themes could be extracted and relevant literature located.

The following table (Table B) demonstrates the thematic coding:

TABLE B

	Socially harmful manifestations of...			
	Race-based exclusivism/racism	Islamist violent extremism	Other forms of exclusivism	Other forms of violent extremism
Influence or lead to	1A	1B	1E	1G
Protect against	1C	1D	1F	1H

	Socially harmful manifestations of...			
	Race-based exclusivism/racism	Islamist violent extremism	Other forms of exclusivism	Other forms of violent extremism
Social cohesion addresses	2A	2B	2E	2G
Community resilience addresses	2C	2D	2F	2H

Also included in the Excel spread sheet was a section that recorded, described and evaluated the methodologies for each article, book, book chapter, or piece of grey literature that had been coded.

Synthesizing the studies

Based on the results of the coding, team members reviewed all literature within particular codes in order to identify key themes relevant to answering each aspect of the research questions. These themes provided the structure for the final report.

Disseminating the review

The review is disseminated via the delivery of a report to the Social Cohesion and Community Resilience Ministerial Taskforce.

Limits of the approach

Systematic literature reviews have their roots in the natural sciences, particularly in the public policy areas related to medicine and health (Petticrew and Roberts, 2006: 16-20). Unlike in the natural sciences, or even areas such as economics, empirical studies within many areas of the social sciences are not written in a uniform manner that draws on consistent terminology. An extra layer of complexity is added when the systematic review is required to cover several thematic areas, each of which have their own specific vocabulary or culture of expression. This is problematic from a practical perspective for two reasons. First, the usefulness of the systematic review relies heavily on the search terms being able to capture the relevant literature. Second, unclear titles and vague, unstructured abstracts can make it more difficult to accurately assess the relevance of a study.

The research team worked to mitigate these limitations by conducting four separate searches, each focusing on a particular area of research (Set 1 words) while combining this with areas of overlap into other research areas (Set 2 words). The results of these four separate searches were subsequently integrated to form a larger library of results. As described in detail, the research team did extensive preparatory work prior to undertaking the searches in order to develop the most effective combination of search terms. Furthermore, the search terms were developed to cast a wide net with priority placed on the elimination of irrelevant results at a later date rather than on missing potentially relevant results in order to have a smaller, more manageable

set of results. Screening of the search results was developed as a multistage process in order to systematically funnel the results in order to arrive at a final pool of literature that is highly relevant to answering the review questions.

The other limitation of the systematic literature review is that it is based on results published in academic databases. Some databases have technical limitations built into them such as the number of search results that can be displayed or accessed. The only time this became an issue for this project was in regards to searches 1A and 2 conducted through JSTOR when only the most relevant 900 results were available. Furthermore, academic databases contain primarily journal articles and as a result, research published in books and grey literature is not necessarily captured. It is usual practice within academia to publish primary research in journal articles, however this is not guaranteed and publication of primary research within books or book chapters is possible. Similarly, grey literature may include relevant primary data produced by organisations that distribute their findings either outside of academic distribution channels or with lesser lead times than academic journals. In order to mitigate this limitation, the research team augmented the systematic literature review with manual searches of books (conducted through Google Scholar) and of grey literature databases.

The systematic stocktake encompasses two key components, each one carried out with a specific methodological approach. The first part is the systematic *literature review*, while the second refers to the identification, selection and analysis of pertinent *programs and initiatives*.

The role of the Centre for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing (CCDW, Victoria University) focuses on the first core element of the systematic review in the domain of the **research literature**. It covers research published from 2011 onwards that investigates factors that influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism and how this corresponds with socially harmful outcomes such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism. It also investigates the literature on how social cohesion and community resilience potentially addresses these factors in ways that mitigate these harmful outcomes.

Within the methodology applied to the research literature three complementary approaches are being utilised in order to facilitate the most comprehensive results and coverage of relevant research. The first and most important step is a highly rigorous and systematic search in several academic databases of the literature published in peer reviewed journals. This is then augmented with, second, a systematic 'grey literature' search on the websites of carefully selected (research) institutions and government bodies, and, third, a manual literature search conducted through Google Scholar, aimed at capturing relevant literature published in books. Google Scholar has proven an inadequate database for conducting a time-efficient systemic search due to inherent weaknesses in the search parameters of Google Scholar. However it has been an useful tool for validating searches undertaken in the academic databases and for identifying key literature within books that is not captured in database searches.

The second key component of the systematic stocktake examines representative concrete **projects and initiatives** aimed at redressing exclusivism, strengthening social cohesion and inclusion and countering violent extremism. The Australian Multicultural Foundation (AMF), who carries out this part of the stocktake research project, focused on identifying and reviewing a selected representation of prevention and intervention programs both in Australia and internationally since 2011. The programs being examined are those that assist in redressing exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and counter violent extremism as these may apply in the Victorian context. The compilation and review of programs will inform the development of initiatives that are best suited to assist Victoria's efforts to build more cohesive and resilient communities.

SELECTED Program REVIEW

The Australian Multicultural Foundation (AMF) focused on identifying and reviewing a selected representation of prevention and intervention programs both in Australia and internationally since 2011 in order to identify programs designed to redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and counter violent extremism as these may apply to the Victorian context.

A research question was developed by the research team that guides this review process; this question was communicated to, and approved by, the Community Resilience Unit at the Victoria State Department of Premier and Cabinet:

What can the Victorian government and communities learn from selected representative intervention and prevention programs both in Australia and overseas designed to redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and counter violent extremism as these may apply to the Victorian context?

The research methodology involved two stages. The first stage was to identify programs, conducted in Australia and overseas, that focused on redressing exclusivism, strengthening social cohesion and inclusion and countering violent extremism. The second stage involved reviewing selected representative national programs that reflect current Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments' strategies and programs developed to counter violent extremism and to review overseas social cohesion, prevention and intervention programs that had relevance and applicability to the Australian context.

The first stage of the research involved a combination of search strategies to identify relevant national and overseas programs. Within the Australian context a review was undertaken to identify community groups, non-government organisations and institutions delivering relevant programs, as well as Commonwealth and State government grants directed toward countering violent extremism or strengthening social cohesion

and to identify the recipients of these grants. Key grant programs that have been offered since 2011 were identified through agencies including the Attorney General's Department, the Department of Social Services, the Australian Federal Police and the Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship. Included in the selection process were grants that included terms such as: 'social cohesion', 'interfaith', or 'multifaith', 'multicultural', 'diversity', 'communities', 'strengthening communities', 'community resilience', or 'empowering communities', 'prevention', and 'countering violent extremism'. Selection was also limited to funding specifically allocated to programs themselves, rather than funding staff, equipment or buildings. Lists were then compiled which identified initiatives funded by the Australian Government and the State Government for each Australian State.

Overseas programs were identified largely through an Internet-based search using Google. Combinations of the key words 'social cohesion', 'counter violent extremism', 'social inclusion', 'intervention programs', and 'prevention programs' were used for the searches. Also included in the search terms were country identifiers, for example, 'counter violent extremism programs in Denmark'. This process yielded over five hundred articles.

The collection criteria allowed for programs developed, run and/or funded by government agencies, non-government agencies, and community-based groups, social cohesion and countering violent extremism projects, intervention and prevention projects, projects applicable to the Australian context and projects developed from 2011 onwards to be included in the research. In addition to sourcing online information, an interview was held with an expert source to identify further intervention and prevention programs overseas that specifically redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and counter violent extremism.

A literature search was conducted that explored good/best practices and related information on international CVE programs. This was undertaken using Internet search engines such as Google and Google Scholar. Combinations of the key words 'good practice CVE programs', 'challenges for CVE

programs', 'CVE program evaluations' and 'CVE program reviews' were used for the searches. This process yielded over eighty articles.

The next stage of the research was to review the programs that had been identified in stage one. The review was conducted using two criteria: program effectiveness and applicability to the Victorian context.

The Victorian context, in this study, refers to the Strategic Framework to Strengthen Victoria's Social Cohesion and The Resilience of its Communities (State of Victoria, 2015). The Framework sets out the vision, objectives, principles, priority themes, priority actions and indicators on how to strengthen Victoria's social cohesion and build community resilience based on the social cohesion model developed by the Scanlon Foundation, Monash University and the Australian Multicultural Foundation for the Mapping Social Cohesion longitudinal study. The social cohesion model includes five domains:

1. Belonging: Shared values, identification with Australia, trust.
2. Social justice and equity: equality of opportunity and trust in institutions.
3. Participation: Voluntary work, political and co-operative involvement.
4. Acceptance and rejection, legitimacy: Experience of discrimination, attitudes towards minorities and newcomers
5. Worth: Life satisfaction and happiness, future expectations.

A program's applicability is defined as containing aspects that may contribute towards these five domains of social cohesion in Victoria.

Program effectiveness was measured using the following four indicators (RAN, 2015)

- Deliverables: what, if any, are the concrete outputs of the practice, for example, publications, products, trainings, etc.
- Evaluation: explanation on if and how the effectiveness of the program has been measured and evaluated.
- Sustainability: indication of how the program can be sustained in the future.
- Transferability: how the program can be made applicable to other contexts.

A fifth measure of program effectiveness examines the impact of social cohesion and CVE programs on communities and individuals. Impact was measured using four indicators, taken from the Strategic Framework to Strengthen Victoria's Social Cohesion and The Resilience of its Communities (2015), to understand the extent to which:

- People, especially young people, feel a sense of belonging
- People, especially young people, feel empowered and able to actively participate in the community
- The wider community is more accepting of people from diverse backgrounds, and actively values and upholds their human rights
- Communities are empowered to support individuals to disengage from extreme views which undermine community harmony.

A component of the Stocktake project was to identify gaps in practice within the broad range of programs designed to promote social cohesion and inclusion, redress exclusivism and counter violent extremism. Gaps were identified several ways. The first approach was to compare national and overseas programs. Gaps were identified where similar programs or concepts to those overseas programs, assessed to be effective according to the criteria, were not found in Australia or Victoria.

The second approach was to review national and overseas programs primarily based on findings from community consultations, research and trainings conducted by a select number of organisations including the AMF, Victoria University, the Scanlon Foundation and the Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship. The findings were used to inform the research of current and emergent issues in order to identify insufficiencies or gaps within CVE prevention and intervention, social cohesion and inclusion activities.

Community consultations run by the AMF include national consultations with youth groups, Police, Muslim groups, non-Muslim groups, government officials and women's groups. These were conducted in the development of the program *Community Awareness Training Manual: Building Resilience in the Community*, reports on the *Lexicon of Terrorism (2009-2010)* and *Talking About Terrorism in Australia (2015)*, and the report *Community and Radicalisation: an examination of perceptions, ideas, beliefs and solutions throughout Australia (2013)* by Dr Hussein Tahiri and Prof Michele Grossman. Consultations were also completed as part of the AMF's Muslim youth leadership programs and Online Safety Training program in Victoria and across Australia.

The selected representative programs were categorised based on a typology of activities that serve the aims of CVE prevention, intervention, social cohesion, inclusion and redressing exclusivism (Neumann, 2011). The typology comprised the following:

- Messaging (through speeches, television programs, leaflets, social media, etc.);
- Engagement and outreach (town halls, roundtables, advisory councils, etc.);
- Capacity building (youth and women's leadership initiatives, community development, community safety and protection programs, etc.); and
- Education and training (of community leaders, public employees, law enforcement, etc.).

The programs have been presented in summary form, detailing the project name, its aims, target audience, type of approach, scope, and description of activities. In addition, a brief assessment of the program was included.

Findings

Following an extensive search of both national and overseas programs and related literature, the following twenty-five programs were selected based on the criteria established in the methodology and on their relation to the Victorian context as it refers to the Strategic Framework to Strengthen Victoria's Social Cohesion and the Resilience of its Communities (2015).

The following table provides a summary of the selected overseas and national programs, listing typology, target audience, deliverables, sustainability, evaluation, transferability and impact.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
International							
Mothers for Life Network, Germany	Capacity building; education and training	Women, families, community organisations	Training, guidance and counseling, global networks. The Network has been covered widely by the international press around the world.	Currently eight countries are represented in the network: Canada, USA, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and France.	Mothers for Life has not been formally evaluated. It is a very young initiative. But an informal and internal	Highly transferable.	The project brings together mothers who have experienced violent Jihadist radicalisation in their own families. to share experiences and heal wounds in a global network. It gives a strong and unified voice to these mothers to tell their stories and to create counter narratives.
Mothers School Project, Austria	Capacity building, education and training	Women, families, communities	The model includes a curriculum of background information and training exercises as well as monitoring and evaluation protocols.	Train-the-trainer approach affords the project sustainability and expansion.	Extensive evaluation and monitoring protocols have demonstrated consistently high results.	Due to its low cost, flexibility and customisation of content, the project has a high degree of transferability	The model is a pioneering family-centred security platform that strengthens existing CVE approaches by engaging and empowering mothers as an embedded security ally
HAYAT, Germany	Engagement and outreach, exit program	Families, violent extremists, local community organisations	Individual customized service, handbooks, training and academic articles, political counseling and networks.	Practice is sustainable	Regular evaluation experience and success in preventing departure to combat zones as well as in assisting returns.	Practice can be transferred to other local and national contexts. The approach and methods of HAYAT Germany has already inspired practices abroad, e.g. Canada, UK.	HAYAT is the first German counseling program for persons involved in radical Salafist groups or on the path of violent Jihadist radicalisation. Further, HAYAT is available to the relatives of a radicalized person.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
International							
Extreme Dialogue Campaign, Canada	Messaging, alternative narratives, Education and training, discussion raising	Young people between 14-18 years old	Series of short films and education resources, Website	Potential to reach large audiences. Program to be produced in the UK, Germany and Hungary in 2015-16.	The videos have been watched more than 50,000 times. Commentary on YouTube has been positive, generating counter extremist discussions amongst viewers.	Content and messaging highly transferable. Program to be produced in the UK, Germany and Hungary in 2015-16.	Engaging young people online and in educational settings to think critically about the increasing amounts of extremist material and propaganda available on the Internet and social media platforms.
Safe Spaces, USA	Engagement and outreach, capacity building	Muslim community	Training program including pre-training diagnostic to assess needs, tabletop exercises, follow-up consultations	Potential to reach large audiences.	Evidence-based values driven approach that can be used to augment existing intervention programs.	The model has expanded in the USA to 12 other states. Highly transferable concepts.	Safe Spaces aims to increase Muslim-American communities' resilience against violent extremism through community-led prevention and intervention activities.
NewGround, USA	Capacity building, leadership initiatives, community empowerment	Predominantly Jewish and Muslim school aged children through to young adults	Leadership training programs, mentors, awards for Civic Commitment, sponsoring community level public events, networking,	There are over 150 NewGround alumni who continue to dialogue and network online. Alumni have created the Muslim and Jewish Organised Relief Fund. Alumni speak publically on interfaith topics. A web-based series featuring faith leaders and alumni is currently in production.	2013 nominated as the Faith-based organisation of the Year. Invited to present best practices in interfaith at the Doha International Centre for interfaith Dialogue. Named one of the 50 most innovative organisations.	Program concepts are highly transferable.	To provide space for dialogue and community building among young Muslim and Jewish leaders as a means to create a national model for health relations, productive engagement and social change.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
International							
THINK, UK	Capacity building, leadership, education and training	A bespoke program aimed at young people aged 14-19 who may feel marginalized, hurt or who have a sense of injustice.	Training, residential courses, follow-up program, network of young leaders	Network of young leaders ensures ongoing communication and long-term interaction.	A range of research-based qualitative and quantitative methods are used to evaluate the intervention.	By having the residential element as the central, intensive component, THINK can reach nationally while being commissioned by local authorities and networks of schools.	THINK cultivates curiosity, challenges attitudes, breaks habits and increases resilience to radicalisation.
Aarhus, Denmark	Engagement and outreach, capacity building, education and training	First responders, local community, youths at risk, families	Awareness raising for professionals, school children and youth, and public through presentations and workshops. Parents' Groups, Mentoring, guidance, counseling for at-risk individuals. Method for mentoring people who are either at risk for or are radicalized – Book on Life Psychology and Training programs	Major strength of the program is the close collaboration established between different govt. agencies, including police. This multiagency approach encourages long-term investment in activities designed to	The Aarhus Model has been reviewed by the Ministry of Social Affairs and deemed an exemplary practice. It has received positive feedback from the Radicalisation Awareness Network group meetings. Evidence collected via assessment forms in the mentoring program shows promising preliminary results as a method for individual intervention.	The practice is directly transferrable to countries with a highly developed and well-functioning infrastructure. The main challenge is establishing the multi-agency cooperation the practice requires.	The essence of Aarhus model is preventing radicalisation by working with at-risk individuals to improve their inclusion in society and to develop better life skills. Its strength lies in the fact that it addresses both the underlying 'social' problems – feelings of alienation, frustration, exclusion – whilst also providing intensive exposure to a counter-narrative to the extremism narrative. It is designed to improve trust between the authorities and the social circles in which extremists move.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
International							
SMN Helpline, Netherlands	Engagement and outreach, education	Families, youth, local community organisations	Telephone Helpline, guidance, information, training key individuals in the community to provide support, information, mediation, referrals to appropriate agencies. Information campaigns to the community	The telephone Helpline provides a vital service in communities who feel insecure or uncertain in seeking assistance from mainstream agencies. Training local community players in both paid and voluntary capacities enhances its sustainability.	No evaluations have been conducted to date.	The practice is directly transferrable to the majority of CALD communities.	The Moroccan community plays a key role in the prevention of radicalisation at the local level. The empowerment and resilience of the local community are central to the Helpline and the its broader approach to raise awareness.
Together for Sweden	Education and training, capacity building	Young people from 16 upward.	Inter-religious program for young people aimed at addressing hostility towards foreigners, racism and extremism. Education manual as well as methodology used as a template for inter-faith work. Inter-faith website , sustainable interfaith network cooperating with similar organisations in Europe and internationally. International exchanges and conferences.		On the strength of the experience from 'Together for Sweden', an affiliate project, "Together for Finland", was launched.	The concept is transferable to most contexts.	"Together for Sweden" is one of the many projects at Fryshuset with a focus on inter-religious guidance and training for young people aimed at combating xenophobia, racism and extremism. The project is based on human rights and wants to show how religion can be a path to integration and vigor for young adults in the work for peace and understanding.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
International							
Women Building Peace, UK	Capacity building, education and training, leadership training	Women, families, local community organisations, NGOs	The programme consists of a highly flexible and tailored programme of interactive, accessible audio-visual non-formal learning delivered to women of any age in cohorts of 12-15, usually consisting of a 4-6 month programme of 12-14 workshops undertaken at highly accessible locations, with an added intensive residential element.	The program is sustainable with small grants or local authority funding.	External accreditation of course units is supplemented by quantitative and qualitative standard session output quality check forms and baseline/summative evaluations. In addition to accreditation of participants' learning, their portfolios provide a rich base for internal and external evaluation which is currently ongoing.	Highly transferable as it is not dependent on high intensity residential components or substantial resources or equipment.	'Women Building Peace' is a leadership programme for women that aims to build skills, confidence and capacity to proactively tackle conflict and build peace in their lives, homes and communities. The programme works with participants to explore the transformational role women can play in promoting peace and better community relations. It provides training and support towards active citizenship, results in a qualification in leadership and peace building and leads to membership of a new International Network for Women Peacebuilders..

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
International							
EXIT, Sweden	Education and training, engagement and outreach	Violent extremists, former extremists, first responders or practitioners	Individual support for people wanting to leave violent extremism. Staff training, production of two handbooks for first-line practitioners, one for preventing violent extremism and one for learning about disengagement and interventions.	Tailor made intervention programs	Extensively evaluated. On the strength of the experience from EXIT, an affiliate project, Passus was launched. Exit has also been the subject of a PhD thesis. Swedish authorities have endorsed Fryshuset's Exit project for its credibility. According to interviewees, EXIT is well led and capable of reaching young men deemed "in the risk zone."	The idea behind Exit is to support individuals who are motivated to make a change and leave the White Power environments. Since the target group is not a homogenous group in terms of age, level of activism, experiences or distance from society, Exit has adapted the support to meet the individual's specific needs. Exit strategies, therefore, can be adapted to local, political, and cultural settings since the core of the work is individually based.	
Beyond Skin	Capacity building, leadership, empowerment, training	Youth	Workshops, festivals, networks, global links, bespoke diversity training, radio and media training, rural global village experience.	The program is sustainable with small grants or local authority funding.	Internal evaluations	The concept is highly transferrable.	On average, Beyond Skin delivers 170 events/ workshops annually, with a target weekly reach of 180 people. These workshops continue to allow a safe environment for young people to learn about other cultures and breakdown stereotypes and misconceptions, aided by artistic elements of music and radio recordings.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
Community Awareness Training Manual: Building Resilience in the Community	Education and training	Communities, families, service providers	Community Awareness Training is delivered in two formats: train the trainer and information sessions. Train-the-trainer sessions are conducted over 2–3 hours and information sessions between 1.5–2 hours for community, family members and service providers. 10 individuals have been casually employed to deliver the program around Australia.	With funding support, training continues to be conducted across Australia. The training successfully raised awareness and provided skills, resources and networks to support and assist the community to deal with issues relating to violent extremism in the future. The program continues to increase the number of people equipped to deliver the training, an essential element for sustainability.	The train-the-trainer and information sessions were evaluated using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Participants' knowledge, abilities skills and confidence levels were evaluated to assess any changes that may have occurred as a result of the Community Awareness Training Program intervention. Findings from an evaluation of the program in 2015 showed that the program successfully achieves its objectives.	An appeal to the broader community is the adaptability of the program in identifying a range of other anti-social behaviours that have a common root that can lead to violent extremism. This unique aspect of the prevention Program offers a grounded and holistic approach to the issue that can be applied to a range of anti-social behaviours.	Participants feel empowered and show a greater willingness to engage in activities to counter violent extremism. An increasing number of people have the knowledge and/or are equipped to deliver the training in communities across Australia.
Salam Alaykum "Darebin's Muslims Reaching Out"	Engagement and outreach, capacity building	Local youth, Muslim community and wider community	A range of activities which provided Darebin's Muslim communities and the wider community with an avenue for the non-violent expression of views and the dispelling of myths through dialogue, education, and collaboration with a cross-section of the community.	The project concluded in 2011. The links built throughout the community and skills developed in local young people will be of ongoing value to the individuals and community.	Internal evaluation was conducted in reports to the Australian Government.	Events, forums and courses as were run in this program, while specifically tailored to the Darebin community, are adaptable to local contexts.	This project strongly links community and social cohesion with countering violent extremism. In running these activities many facets of the community were engaged and key partnerships were formed between the organisations and the community that will enhance community and social cohesion in the City of Darebin into the future.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
Engage (Engage, Challenge Grow)	Capacity building	Muslim community in Sydney, primarily youth	Three training programs: the first to build leadership, advocacy, project management and media skills; the second to foster personal development; the third to empower young Muslims already training in areas such as advocacy, media and feature writing, and equip them with the resources to intellectually tackle issues facing their generation today.	The skills built through each of the training programs will be of use to young participants into the future.	Internal evaluations	Concepts of capacity building, training and personal development that recognise the needs of local youth and that are tailored towards youth including Muslim youth are transferable.	The range of youth leadership initiatives provided skills, knowledge and resilience to young Muslims in Sydney, broadly addressing social cohesion and building resilience amongst youth in the community. These programs encouraged young people to remain involved in their communities and created leaders within those communities who will act as positive role models for other young people.
Community Action for Preventing Extremism (CAPE)	Messaging	Young men	Online platform offering counter-narratives to far-right violent extremism in Australia. Online forum allowing visitors to have two-way conversations with experts. Resources for front-line workers to support those at risk.	While the advertising and discussion boards are no longer active, the messages and website continues to provide a resource to counter the narratives of white supremacist groups. Providing advice to front-line workers on how to work with young people at risk of radicalisation is vital creates a long term source of knowledge amongst likely to encounter these issues first.	Evaluations have been conducted to monitor the spread of CAPE's messaging online and to assess the success of tactics and whether the program is reaching its target audience.	The CAPE program is based upon research and similar best practice initiatives in Europe and North America such as EXIT Deutschland and EXIT Sweden.	Provides counter-narratives and discredits white supremacist groups and ideologies among young men at risk; provides information on the destructive nature of white supremacist ideologies to friends, family and community leaders of young men at risk so they can confidently intervene in the lives of those young men.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
CONNECT 2	Capacity building	Local young people, primarily from Horn of Africa communities, aged 15-26 years with leadership potential	An experiential leadership program to empower young people at risk of marginalisation and disengagement through leadership, sport, critical thinking, technology, vocational training, and other key skills such as governance, budgeting and leading groups.	As a capacity building program, the experiential leadership and project management course delivered practical, relevant community development opportunities that are of direct and ongoing benefit to participants, their families and their communities.	The Huddle conducted internal evaluations in reports to the Australian Government.	CONNECT 2 uses a diverse and unique mix of activities and program tailored to young people in their local area. The combined concepts of leadership, training and sport for local at risk youth are transferrable.	CONNECT 2 created 20 young leaders all capable of driving change in their communities, developing their skills and in turn supporting local communities to take action to counter violent extremism and promote an inclusive and safe Australia.
Different People, Different Voices	Education and training	Schools aged children and young people in NSW, mostly Western Sydney	A board game My Australia Our Australia and youth services maps as educational resources. The program also provided training for young people, to develop leadership and peer facilitation skills, as well as prepare them to deliver the board game in high schools.	While the project has largely concluded, 5 schools and more than 600 young people played the board game, which helped students develop an understand the link between cultural intolerance and violent extremism, identify cultural bullying and intolerance.	An external evaluation was conducted to assess if the objectives were achieved.	While the game and maps were specific to Australia and local areas, games and youth services maps as educational tools are transferrable.	Improved youth coping and response mechanisms and helped students understand the link between cultural intolerance and violent extremism. An external evaluation found that there was a drop in bullying at the high schools which took part, with teachers reporting that the decrease was directly related to the board game.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
National Imams Consultative Forum (NICF)	Engagement and outreach	Imams, academics, government, general public	A network that holds workshops to discuss issues and share experiences relating to community safety, radicalisation and violent extremism in Australia. A webpage which includes a range of resources that challenge terrorism and other forms of extremism from an Islamic perspective. Media releases and communiques have also been added to the site.	Built communication between Imams, academics, policymakers and government on important issues.	Internal evaluations	Concepts of capacity building, training and personal development that recognise the needs of local youth and that are tailored towards youth including Muslim youth are transferable.	The range of youth leadership initiatives provided skills, knowledge and resilience to young Muslims in Sydney, broadly addressing social cohesion and building resilience amongst youth in the community. These programs encouraged young people to remain involved in their communities and created leaders within those communities who will act as positive role models for other young people.
	Capacity building, education and training	Junior AFL players aged 10-17 from an Islamic background, wider Islamic community	The pillars of the program include the Bachar Houli Cup, Bachar Houli Academy, Mentoring and the AFL Ramadan dinners.	Since 2012 the program has continued and expanded across Australia with funding from the AFL and government. The Academy builds football and leadership skills, forms relationships and provides pathways into AFL that will continue that last beyond the program.	The program has been reported on and internally evaluated. In 2015 the BH Academy was evaluated, focusing on the leadership development, game/football education and will recommended ideas for next years program based on participant feedback. The evaluation used pre and post program surveys, quantitative and qualitative data for the 34 respondents.	Many aspects of the program are unique to Australia, the program, community and AFL, based upon the mentoring of Bachar Houli and others. However the broader concepts of sporting competitions, academies and community engagement using sport and transferable.	10,000 participants and 30 Islamic Colleges were able to engage with football and their wider community in a fun, non-competitive environment. The program fosters greater cultural education, social cohesion, relationships and respect. 2.7% of participants transitioned into community clubs. Academy participants develop leadership skills, fast-track their football development, build brotherhood and lifelong relationships between participants, receive opportunities and a pathway to play AFL football.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
Dialogue Across Sectarian Divide	Capacity building, messaging, education and training, engagement and outreach	Mainly young people from Alawi, Alevi, Sunni, Kurdish and Shia communities in Victoria	Resources, leadership training for Muslim youth, professional training for community sector workers, and a Community Leaders Forum to increase awareness, promote positive discussion and relations and develop community based strategies for eliminating intolerance and building inter-sectarian and religious harmony.	The project concluded in 2014/2015. The project established a critical mass of leaders to continue efforts around intercommunity harmony.	The AMWCHR had an independent report conducted, with data collected between October 2013 – October 2014, comprising interviews, project documentation, participant observations and focus groups. The report assessed relevance, validity of design, program effectiveness, effectiveness of management arrangements, and impact and sustainability.	The project established an evidence base around the following transferable concepts: young peoples' potential to build bridges across diverse Muslim communities, their ability to work together to manage conflict and promote harmony, their vital role as stakeholders in peace-building and as influential agents of change. The project showcased the critical role that young women play as community members and leaders and their ability to play an influential role in preventing violent extremism and enhancing inter-sectarian harmony in the Australian context.	The evaluation found that the key project outcome was the contribution it made to building community capacity and fostering change. The project established a critical mass of leaders to continue efforts around intercommunity harmony and re-directed vulnerable youth from isolation to inclusion through opportunities for dialogue, interaction and team based efforts to apply learnings in community building settings.

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
Boyspace	Capacity building	Newly arrived young men in Victoria, primarily Unaccompanied Humanitarian Minors (UHM) and Unaccompanied Minors (UAM)	A variety of sporting programs and activities designed to support the settlement of UHM and UAM: Soccer tournaments, Pop Up Park weekly soccer sessions, kite making, AFL, basketball sessions, Youth Day event and social events such as a breakdancing competition and barbeques.	The program is sustainable with ongoing grants and funding. The connections and friendships, referrals to other services and sporting clubs should assist with ongoing positive settlement outcomes for participants in the future.	Internal evaluations conducted. Feedback from participants continues to be positive. Challenges are assessed and strategies created for those that can be addressed.	While this program is specifically tailored to the local context for newly arrived UHM and UAM in Victoria, the activities, structure and positive benefits of the program could be applied in other locations and for other target groups.	<p>A sense of belonging in the community; stronger connections and friendships with other young men; improved mental health and wellbeing;</p> <p>increased knowledge and better connections with available support services;</p> <p>and greater ability to manage stress, sleep better and feel more positive about the future.</p>
National Community Hubs Program	Capacity building, Education and training	Families, mothers, fathers, and carers - including migrant/refugee women and pre-school children	57 Community Hubs offering services such as skills training, English classes, sewing and breakfast clubs as well as volunteering opportunities and community events. They bring local information and services spanning education, health, community and settlement.	The program is sustainable with funding from government and NGOs. The Community Hubs have been successful in adapting to the needs of local families and children to increase their access to services and foster social cohesion. These will continue in the long term. In the coming years, Community Hubs aims to expand to 100 locations across Australia.	A number of evaluations have been undertaken, including an evaluation of 6 Hubs for government, an Independent Evaluation of the initial Community Hubs program involving the 30 selected sites. This addressed the process of service delivery, including both the level of service provided and the manner in which the services are being provided. A customised Outcomes Evaluation Framework is currently being piloted in sample Hubs in Melbourne and Sydney.	Each Community Hubs is tailored to the local community. With 57 Hubs across communities in Victoria, Queensland and NSW, with plans for expand, such a model can be transferred and tailored to different communities.	<p>Stronger connections made between families, educators, local government and service providers.</p> <p>Families are more connected with other families, their school, local community and service system.</p>

Project Name	Typology	Target Audience	Deliverables	Sustainability	Evaluation	Transferability	Impact
Australia							
The Western Sydney – Youth United	Capacity building, Education and training	CALD youth and their community in Granville, Auburn, Chester Hill, Holroyd, Liverpool and Fairfield in Sydney NSW	<p>1) Resilience and leadership building program for youth by providing coaching training, Life skills, Community coordination and event management courses.</p> <p>2) Delivering weekly football coaching programs and gala days led by trained youth leaders for younger generation to build friendships and exchange with peer mentors in a supportive and healthy environment.</p> <p>3) Facilitating group mentoring program.</p> <p>4) Creative technology and multimedia training.</p>	Youth become mentors, offering positive influences for the next generation of children from their own cultural backgrounds. FFA Accredited Coaching courses for youth leaders and volunteers provide future opportunities of casual employment with Football United as football coaches.	Internal evaluation was conducted in reports to the Australian Government.	The use of sport, events and training are transferrable. FFA Accreditations are available across Australia also.	<p>- 18 senior youth leaders become life skills facilitators and now using Football United's life skills integrated football coaching curriculum in weekly football coaching program in 2013</p> <p>After school coaching program : made connections with peers, coaches and community. Participants learnt on-field fair play values that can be applied off-field.</p>

A combination of multiple search strategies was used to identify relevant programs and initiatives directed to countering violent extremism or promoting social cohesion within Australia and overseas.

Within the Australian context a review was undertaken to identify community groups, non-government organisations and institutions delivering relevant programs, as well as Commonwealth and State government grants directed toward countering violent extremism or social cohesion, and to identify the recipients of these grants. Key grant programs that have been offered since 2011 were identified through agencies including the Attorney General's Department, the Department of Social Services, the Australian Federal Police and the Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship. Included in the selection process were grants that included terms such as: 'social cohesion', 'interfaith' or 'multifaith', 'multicultural', 'diversity', 'communities', 'strengthening communities', 'community resilience' or 'empowering communities', 'prevention', and 'countering violent extremism'. Selection was also limited to funding specifically allocated to programs themselves, rather than funding staff, equipment or buildings. Lists were then compiled which identified initiatives funded by the Australian Government and State Governments for each Australian State.

To identify programs in Europe, North America, Canada, Asia and the Middle East a primarily Internet-based search was undertaken. A variety of keyword descriptors were used, including: 'social cohesion', 'counter violent extremism', 'social inclusion', 'intervention programs', and 'prevention programs'. Also included in the search terms were country identifiers, for example, 'counter violent extremism programs in Denmark'. The collection criteria allowed for programs developed, run and/or funded by government agencies, non-government

agencies, and community-based groups, social cohesion and counter violent extremism projects, intervention and prevention projects, and projects developed from 2011 onwards to be included in the research. Projects that solely focused on de-radicalisation practices and that were commenced pre 2011 were excluded from the research. In addition to sourcing online information, an interview was held with an expert source to identify further intervention and prevention programs overseas that specifically redress exclusivism, strengthen social cohesion and inclusion and counter violent.

- The next stage was to review the programs that had been identified as meeting the criteria for inclusion. This included limiting the programs to those that demonstrated the most pertinent elements in regard to the Victorian context and had developed innovative and effective approaches to prevention and intervention, social cohesion and inclusion. For the preliminary report the sample programs have been presented in summary form, detailing the project name, its aims, target audience, type of approach, scope, and description of activities (Appendix C). In addition a brief assessment of the program was included based on the following indicators:
- Community engagement and participation
- Credible research
- Address community needs
- Logical program planning
- Expert facilitation

The sample of programs from Australia and overseas (Appendix C) show a range of CVE prevention and intervention, social cohesion and inclusion approaches targeting different groups

from youth in general to specific individuals and communities at risk. At this stage of research, the following overarching themes have emerged from the selected representative programs as markers for good practice:

- **Building prevention capacities in communities:** it is critical that education, resources and support aimed at preventing radicalisation as early as possible are delivered to communities at risk. Women and mothers in particular have a key role in prevention activities.
- **Developing tailored intervention programs:** Assisting on a case-by-case basis, families and individuals who require support services such as health care, education, counselling, and mentoring to disengage from the processes of radicalisation.
- **Creating partnerships between communities and multi-agencies:** A broader and more concerted approach to preventing radicalisation by creating a whole of community approach where information and resources are shared between health, education, social services, NGOs and community representatives.

Appendix B

Guidelines for
undertaking
systematic
literature search

GUIDELINES FOR UNDERTAKING SYSTEMIC LITERATURE SEARCH

Center for Cultural Diversity and Wellbeing 2015/16

Research questions

1. **What factors influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism?**
2. **How do social cohesion and community resilience address these factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?**

Step 3: Undertake Literature Search

Step 3 comprises a comprehensive search of the literature from 2011 to the present relevant to the established research questions. A systemic search of relevant academic databases forms the foundation of the literature search (Step 3a). This is designed to capture quality, peer reviewed academic knowledge relevant to answering the research questions. A thorough search using Google Scholar (Step 3b) is designed to capture academic work published as books or book chapters. In order to find relevant literature that may not have been captured in key words, a search of relevant specialty journals (Step 3c) is undertaken manually. Finally, a comprehensive search of open source grey literature databases (Step 3d) is included in order to identify relevant knowledge generated through selected expert think tanks, community groups and government agencies, both nationally and internationally.

1. Undertake Systematic Literature Search of Library Databases (3a)
2. Undertake Literature Search using Google Scholar (3b)
3. Undertake Literature Search using Selected Journals (3c)
4. Undertake Literature Search using Grey Literature (3d)

Step 3a: Undertake Systematic Literature Review of Library Databases

Search no 1A and 1B

- **These searches are related to research question**
 - (What factors influence, lead to, or protect against racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism?)
- The logic is to have 3 sets of search terms
 - The first set (Set 1) is to capture socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism
 - The second set (Set 2a) is to capture the racial, ethnic and religious dimensions of exclusivism
 - The third set (Set 2b) is to capture the factors that lead to, influence, or protect against racial ethnic and religious exclusivism

Set 1 words: terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation, right-wing extremism

Set 2a words: racial, ethnic, religious

Set 2b words: risk factors, prevention, vulnerability

- Search 1A is conducted using Set 1 + Set 2a words
- Search 1B is conducted using Set 1 + Set 2b words

Search 1A:
Academic Search Premier / Ebsco

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation
OR "right-wing extremism"

Set 2a words:

racial OR ethnic OR religious

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on Academic Search Premier
6. CLICK on heading Academic Search Premier
7. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
8. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND)
9. Go to 'Limit Your Results' and ENTER the years 2011 – 2016
10. CLICK green 'Search' button at top of page
11. On result page find 'Source Types' (left hand side) and CHECK box "Academic Journals"
12. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED –AND date of search**
13. Go to 'Page Options' (top right-hand side) and CHOOSE 50 results per page
14. CLICK on "Folder" symbol for EACH article to turn it from blue to yellow
15. Continue for EVERY page of results
16. Once all results are in the "Folder" CLICK Go to: Folder View (Right-hand side of page)
17. CLICK "Export" (Right-hand side of page)
18. Ensure that - Direct Export in RIS Format (e.g. CITAVI, EasyBib, EndNote, ProCite, Reference Manager, Zotero) is selected (first option)
19. CHECK "Remove these items from folder after saving" and CLICK SAVE
20. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
21. CLOSE Ebsco Host tab

**Search 1A:
Informit**

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation,
right-wing extremism

Set 2a words:

racial, ethnic, religious

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on APA-FT (no. 41)
6. CLICK on heading APA-FT
7. CLICK on Advanced Search Tab
8. CLICK Change Databases
9. CLICK Select by Subject
10. EXPAND "Social Science" by using ARROW on Right-hand side
11. SELECT "Humanities and Social Sciences Collection" and MAIS - Multicultural Australia and Immigration Studies (ENSURE APFT is NOT selected)

12. CLICK 'Update selection'
13. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
14. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND) followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
15. Go to Limit Your Results and SELECT Journal from the dropdown box and select the years 2011 – 2016 (Need to use dropdown selection)
16. CLICK red Search button at top of page
- 17. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
18. On result page go to Black Bar Heading and CLICK 'Select All'
19. Go to next results page and repeat until all results are selected
20. CLICK on Save (Black Bar Heading)
21. In Output Format CHOOSE Endnote Direct
22. CLICK Save
23. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
24. CLOSE Informit Tab

Search 1A:
JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation
OR "right-wing extremism"

Set 2a words:

racial OR ethnic OR religious

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on J
5. CLICK on JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
6. CLICK on heading JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
7. CLICK on 'Advanced Search'
8. CYT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line (Full-text)
9. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Full-Text)
10. Check the field is AND
11. Go to 'Narrow by' section
12. SELECT 'Articles'
13. ENTER date range From 2011 To 2016

14. GO to JOURNAL FILTER - NARROW BY DISCIPLINE AND/OR JOURNAL:
15. SELECT subjects (**REFER TO ATTACHED PAGE FOR SELECTIONS**)
16. After selecting subjects CLICK 'Search' at bottom of page
17. On results page SELECT 'All Content' (instead of 'Content I can access')
- 18. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
19. Select each result on page
20. CLICK 'Export Selected Citation'
21. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
22. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
23. RETURN to Search Results and Go to next page and SELECT each result
24. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
25. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
26. REPEAT until all results are selected (CROSS CHECK – ARE the number of new or imported entries the same as recorded in step 18?)
27. Close JSTOR Host tab

**Search 1A:
Project MUSE**

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism "violent extremism" radicalisation "
right-wing extremism"

Set 2a words:

racial ethnic religious

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on P
5. CLICK on Project Muse
6. CLICK on heading Project MUSE
7. CLICK on 'Advanced Search' (Top right-hand corner)
8. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
9. SET first line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms
10. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line
11. SET second line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms

12. UNSELECT Only content I have full access to (Under Access – left-hand side search will start – let it complete)

13. SELECT Articles (Under Content Type – left-hand side- search will start – let it complete)

14. Under 'Research Area' select 'Social Science' search will start – let it complete

15. Scroll down to 'Year' on left-hand side

16. SELECT the years 2011 – 2015 (2016 if available) and CLICK 'Submit'

17. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED

18. Go to 'Items per page' and SELECT 100

19. CLICK 'Save all Citations' (Orange button under results line)

20. Go to next page of results

21. CLICK 'Save all Citations'

22. REPEAT until all citations are 'saved'

23. CLICK 'Saved Citations' (Blue – top Right-hand corner)

24. SELECT 'Option 2 (Export to Endnote)

25. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote

26. CLOSE Project MUSE Host tab

Search 1B:
Academic Search Premier / Ebsco

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation
OR "right-wing extremism"

Set 2b words:

"risk factors" OR prevention OR vulnerability

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on Academic Search Premier
6. CLICK on heading Academic Search Premier
7. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
8. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND)
9. Go to 'Limit Your Results' and ENTER the years 2011 – 2016
10. CLICK green 'Search' button at top of page

11. On result page find 'Source Types' (left hand side) and CHECK box "Academic Journals"
12. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
13. Go to 'Page Options' (top right-hand side) and CHOOSE 50 results per page
14. CLICK on "Folder" symbol for EACH article to turn it from blue to yellow
15. Continue for EVERY page of results
16. Once all results are in the "Folder" CLICK Go to: Folder View (Right-hand side of page)
17. CLICK "Export" (Right-hand side of page)
18. Ensure that - Direct Export in RIS Format (e.g. CITAVI, EasyBib, EndNote, ProCite, Reference Manager, Zotero) is selected (first option)
19. CHECK "Remove these items from folder after saving" and CLICK SAVE
20. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
21. CLOSE Ebsco Host tab

**Search 1B:
Informit**

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation,
right-wing extremism

Set 2b words:

risk factors, prevention, vulnerability

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on APA-FT (no. 41)
6. CLICK on heading APA-FT
7. CLICK on Advanced Search Tab
8. CLICK Change Databases
9. CLICK Select by Subject
10. EXPAND "Social Science" by using ARROW on Right-hand side
11. SELECT "Humanities and Social Sciences Collection" and MAIS - Multicultural Australia and Immigration Studies (ENSURE APFT is NOT selected)
12. CLICK 'Update selection'
13. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
14. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND) followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
15. Go to Limit Your Results and SELECT Journal from the dropdown box and select the years 2011 – 2016 (Need to use dropdown selection)
16. CLICK red Search button at top of page
17. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
18. On result page go to Black Bar Heading and CLICK 'Select All'
19. Go to next results page and repeat until all results are selected
20. CLICK on Save (Black Bar Heading)
21. In Output Format CHOOSE Endnote Direct
22. CLICK Save
23. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
24. CLOSE Informit Tab

Search 1B:
JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation
OR "right-wing extremism"

Set 2b words:

"risk factors" OR prevention OR vulnerability

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on J
5. CLICK on JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
6. CLICK on heading JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
7. CLICK on 'Advanced Search'
8. CYT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line (Full-text)
9. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Full-Text)
10. Check the field is AND
11. Go to 'Narrow by' section
12. SELECT 'Articles'
13. ENTER date range From 2011 To 2016

14. GO to JOURNAL FILTER - NARROW BY DISCIPLINE AND/OR JOURNAL:
15. SELECT subjects (**REFER TO ATTACHED PAGE FOR SELECTIONS**)
16. After selecting subjects CLICK 'Search' at bottom of page
17. On results page SELECT 'All Content' (instead of 'Content I can access')
- 18. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
19. Select each result on page
20. CLICK 'Export Selected Citation'
21. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
22. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
23. RETURN to Search Results and Go to next page and SELECT each result
24. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
25. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
26. REPEAT until all results are selected (CROSS CHECK – ARE the number of new or imported entries the same as recorded in step 18?)
27. Close JSTOR Host tab

**Search 1B:
Project MUSE**

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism "violent extremism" radicalisation "
right-wing extremism"

Set 2b words:

"risk factors" prevention vulnerability

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on P
5. CLICK on Project Muse
6. CLICK on heading Project MUSE
7. CLICK on 'Advanced Search' (Top right-hand corner)
8. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
9. SET first line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms
10. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line
11. SET second line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms

12. UNSELECT Only content I have full access to (Under Access – left-hand side search will start – let it complete)

13. SELECT Articles (Under Content Type – left-hand side- search will start – let it complete)

14. Under 'Research Area' select 'Social Science' search will start – let it complete

15. Scroll down to 'Year' on left-hand side

16. SELECT the years 2011 – 2015 (2016 if available) and CLICK 'Submit'

17. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED

18. Go to 'Items per page' and SELECT 100

19. CLICK 'Save all Citations' (Orange button under results line)

20. Go to next page of results

21. CLICK 'Save all Citations'

22. REPEAT until all citations are 'saved'

23. CLICK 'Saved Citations' (Blue – top Right-hand corner)

24. SELECT 'Option 2 (Export to Endnote)

25. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote

26. CLOSE Project MUSE Host tab

Search no 2.

• **This search is related to research question 2**

- (How do social cohesion and community resilience address these factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?)
- The logic is to have 2 sets of search terms
- The first set is to capture socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism
- The second set is to capture social cohesion

Set 1 words:

terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation, right-wing extremism, racism, intolerance

Set 2 words:

social cohesion, social capital, belonging, equal opportunities, participation, recognition, multiculturalism, social bonds

- Search 2 is conducted using Set 1 + Set 2 words

Search 2: Academic Search Premier / Ebsco

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation
OR "right-wing extremism" OR racism OR
intolerance

Set 2 words:

"social cohesion" OR "social capital" OR belonging
OR "equal opportunities" OR participation OR
recognition OR "multiculturalism" OR "social bonds"

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on Academic Search Premier
6. CLICK on heading Academic Search Premier
7. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
8. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND)
9. Go to 'Limit Your Results' and ENTER the years 2011 – 2016

10. CLICK green 'Search' button at top of page
11. On result page find 'Source Types' (left hand side) and CHECK box "Academic Journals"
12. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
13. Go to 'Page Options' (top right-hand side) and CHOOSE 50 results per page
14. CLICK on "Folder" symbol for EACH article to turn if from blue to yellow
15. Continue for EVERY page of results
16. Once all results are in the "Folder" CLICK Go to: Folder View (Right-hand side of page)
17. CLICK "Export" (Right-hand side of page)
18. Ensure that - Direct Export in RIS Format (e.g. CITAVI, EasyBib, EndNote, ProCite, Reference Manager, Zotero) is selected (first option)
19. CHECK "Remove these items from folder after saving" and CLICK SAVE
20. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
21. CLOSE Ebsco Host tab

Search 2: Informit

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation,
right-wing extremism, racism, intolerance

Set 2 words:

social cohesion, social capital, belonging, equal
opportunities, participation, recognition,
multiculturalism, social bonds

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on APA-FT (no. 41)
6. CLICK on heading APA-FT
7. CLICK on Advanced Search Tab
8. CLICK Change Databases
9. CLICK Select by Subject
10. EXPAND "Social Science" by using ARROW on Right-hand side
11. SELECT "Humanities and Social Sciences Collection" and MAIS - Multicultural Australia and Immigration Studies (ENSURE APFT is NOT selected)

12. CLICK 'Update selection'
13. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
14. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND) followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
15. Go to Limit Your Results and SELECT Journal from the dropdown box and select the years 2011 – 2016 (Need to use dropdown selection)
16. CLICK red Search button at top of page
- 17. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
18. On result page go to Black Bar Heading and CLICK 'Select All'
19. Go to next results page and repeat until all results are selected
20. CLICK on Save (Black Bar Heading)
21. In Output Format CHOOSE Endnote Direct
22. CLICK Save
23. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
24. CLOSE Informit Tab

Search 2: JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)

JSTOR search capabilities do not allow for a combination of Set 1 and Set 2 words within an advanced search. In order to search the same terms within the same sets the following format needs to be used including brackets.

Format to input words

(terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation OR "right-wing extremism" OR racism OR intolerance) AND ("social cohesion" OR "social capital" OR belonging OR "equal opportunities" OR multiculturalism OR "social bonds")

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on J
5. CLICK on JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
6. CLICK on heading JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
7. CUT and PASTE words into the search line (Full-text)
8. Go to 'Narrow by' section
9. SELECT 'Articles'
10. ENTER date range From 2011 To 2016

11. GO to JOURNAL FILTER - NARROW BY DISCIPLINE AND/OR JOURNAL:
12. SELECT subjects (**REFER TO ATTACHED PAGE FOR SELECTIONS**)
13. After selecting subjects CLICK 'Search' at bottom of page
14. On results page SELECT 'All Content' (instead of 'Content I can access')
15. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
16. Select each result on page
17. CLICK 'Export Selected Citation'
18. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
19. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
20. RETURN to Search Results and Go to next page and SELECT each result
21. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
22. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
23. REPEAT until all results are selected (CROSS CHECK – ARE the number of new or imported entries the same as recorded in step 18?)
24. Close JSTOR Host tab

Search 2: Project MUSE

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism "violent extremism" radicalisation
"right-wing extremism" racism intolerance

Set 2 words:

"social cohesion" "social capital" belonging "equal
opportunities" participation recognition
"multiculturalism" "social bonds"

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on P
5. CLICK on Project Muse
6. CLICK on heading Project MUSE
7. CLICK on 'Advanced Search' (Top right-hand corner)
8. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
9. SET first line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms
10. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line
11. SET second line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms
12. UNSELECT Only content I have full access to (Under Access – left-hand side search will start – let it complete)
13. SELECT Articles (Under Content Type – left-hand side- search will start – let it complete)
14. Under 'Research Area' select 'Social Science' search will start – let it complete
15. Scroll down to 'Year' on left-hand side
16. SELECT the years 2011 – 2015 (2016 if available) and CLICK 'Submit'
- 17. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
18. Go to 'Items per page' and SELECT 100
19. CLICK 'Save all Citations' (Orange button under results line)
20. Go to next page of results
21. CLICK 'Save all Citations'
22. REPEAT until all citations are 'saved'
23. CLICK 'Saved Citations' (Blue – top Right-hand corner)
24. SELECT 'Option 2 (Export to Endnote)
25. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
26. CLOSE Project MUSE Host tab

Search no 3.

- **This search is related to research question 2**

- (How do social cohesion and community resilience address these factors in ways that mitigate socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism?)
- The logic is to have 2 sets of search terms
- The first set is to capture socially harmful dimensions of exclusivism such as racism, intolerance and violent extremism
- The second set is to capture community resilience

Set 1 words:

terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation,
right-wing extremism, racism, intolerance

Set 2 words:

community resilience, coping, adversity,
thriving, adaptation

- Search 3 is conducted using Set 1 + Set 2 words

Search 3: Academic Search Premier / Ebsco

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation
OR "right-wing extremism" OR racism OR
intolerance

Set 2 words:

"community resilience" OR coping OR adversity OR
thriving OR adaptation

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on Academic Search Premier
6. CLICK on heading Academic Search Premier
7. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
8. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND)
9. Go to 'Limit Your Results' and ENTER the years 2011 – 2016
10. CLICK green 'Search' button at top of page

11. On result page find 'Source Types' (left hand side) and CHECK box "Academic Journals"

12. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED

13. Go to 'Page Options' (top right-hand side) and CHOOSE 50 results per page
14. CLICK on "Folder" symbol for EACH article to turn it from blue to yellow
15. Continue for EVERY page of results
16. Once all results are in the "Folder" CLICK Go to: Folder View (Right-hand side of page)
17. CLICK "Export" (Right-hand side of page)
18. Ensure that - Direct Export in RIS Format (e.g. CITAVI, EasyBib, EndNote, ProCite, Reference Manager, Zotero) is selected (first option)
19. CHECK "Remove these items from folder after saving" and CLICK SAVE
20. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
21. CLOSE Ebsco Host tab

Search 3: Informit

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism, violent extremism, radicalisation,
right-wing extremism, racism, intolerance

Set 2 words:

community resilience, coping, adversity, thriving,
adaptation

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on A
5. CLICK on APA-FT (no. 41)
6. CLICK on heading APA-FT
7. CLICK on Advanced Search Tab
8. CLICK Change Databases
9. CLICK Select by Subject
10. EXPAND "Social Science" by using ARROW on Right-hand side
11. SELECT "Humanities and Social Sciences Collection" and MAIS - Multicultural Australia and Immigration Studies (ENSURE APFT is NOT selected)
12. CLICK 'Update selection'
13. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
14. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line (Check the field is AND) followed by 'All Fields' 'Any Terms'
15. Go to Limit Your Results and SELECT Journal from the dropdown box and select the years 2011 – 2016 (Need to use dropdown selection)
16. CLICK red Search button at top of page
17. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
18. On result page go to Black Bar Heading and CLICK 'Select All'
19. Go to next results page and repeat until all results are selected
20. CLICK on Save (Black Bar Heading)
21. In Output Format CHOOSE Endnote Direct
22. CLICK Save
23. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
24. CLOSE Informit Tab

**Search 3:
JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)**

JSTOR search capabilities do not allow for a combination of Set 1 and Set 2 words within an advanced search. In order to search the same terms within the same sets the following format needs to be used including brackets.

Format to input words

(terrorism OR "violent extremism" OR radicalisation OR "right-wing extremism" OR racism OR intolerance) AND (adaptation OR "community resilience" OR coping OR adversity OR thriving)

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on J
5. CLICK on JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
6. CLICK on heading JSTOR (Arts and Science Collection)
7. CUT and PASTE words into the search line (Full-text)
8. Go to 'Narrow by' section
9. SELECT 'Articles'
10. ENTER date range From 2011 To 2016
11. GO to JOURNAL FILTER - NARROW BY DISCIPLINE AND/OR JOURNAL:
12. SELECT subjects (**REFER TO ATTACHED PAGE FOR SELECTIONS**)
13. After selecting subjects CLICK 'Search' at bottom of page
14. On results page SELECT 'All Content' (instead of 'Content I can access')
15. **RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED**
16. Select each result on page
17. CLICK 'Export Selected Citation'
18. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
19. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
20. RETURN to Search Results and Go to next page and SELECT each result
21. CHOOSE 'Export a RIS file'
22. OPEN file to ensure it has been saved to Endnote
23. REPEAT until all results are selected (CROSS CHECK – ARE the number of new or imported entries the same as recorded in step 18?)
24. Close JSTOR Host tab

**Search 3:
Project MUSE**

Format to input words

Set 1 words:

terrorism "violent extremism" radicalisation
"right-wing extremism" racism intolerance

Set 2 words:

"community resilience" coping adversity thriving
adaptation

1. Open Endnote
2. Go to library homepage
3. Select 'Databases A-Z'
4. Go to Browse Alphabetically and click on P
5. CLICK on Project Muse
6. CLICK on heading Project MUSE
7. CLICK on 'Advanced Search' (Top right-hand corner)
8. CUT and PASTE set 1 words into the first search line
9. SET first line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms
10. CUT and PASTE set 2 words into the second search line
11. SET second line fields to 'Content' for 'ANY' of these terms

12. UNSELECT Only content I have full access to (Under Access – left-hand side search will start – let it complete)

13. SELECT Articles (Under Content Type – left-hand side- search will start – let it complete)

14. Under 'Research Area' select 'Social Science' search will start – let it complete

15. Scroll down to 'Year' on left-hand side

16. SELECT the years 2011 – 2015 (2016 if available) and CLICK 'Submit'

17. RECORD NUMBER OF RESULTS IN SHEET PROVIDED

18. Go to 'Items per page' and SELECT 100

19. CLICK 'Save all Citations' (Orange button under results line)

20. Go to next page of results

21. CLICK 'Save all Citations'

22. REPEAT until all citations are 'saved'

23. CLICK 'Saved Citations' (Blue – top Right-hand corner)

24. SELECT 'Option 2 (Export to Endnote)

25. OPEN FILE to ensure it has been saved to Endnote

26. CLOSE Project MUSE Host tab

Eliminating results

In-out/exclusion criteria

For title-based elimination:

- Geographic context: article refers to Western multicultural context
- Language: English language
- Broad thematic relevance: related to racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism, social cohesion, community resilience

For abstract-based elimination:

- Geographic context: article refers to Western multicultural context
- Thematic relevance
 - Relevance to racial, ethnic or religious exclusivism, social cohesion, community resilience
 - Relevance for research question: Does the article appear to contain at least some information to answer either or both the researcher questions?
 - Relevance to the Victorian context by reflecting research or activities undertaken in a multicultural, western context, and
- Peer-reviewed
- Evidence based research

Appendix C

Samples of
Programs from
Australia and
overseas

APPENDIX C: SAMPLES OF PROGRAMS FROM AUSTRALIA AND OVERSEAS

Project name/Country:

Mothers for Life Network, Germany

Initiative of the German Institute on Radicalisation and Deradicalisation Studies a non-profit, independent organisation

Aims/Objectives:

To provide support, counseling, healing, training, and empowerment for women who have experienced violent jihadist radicalisation in their own families through activities and guidance. To create strong and convincing counter narratives in order to challenge extremist ideas.

Target Audience:

Families, local community organisations

Approach:

Family support, community engagement/empowerment, prevention

Scope:

International and national in scope currently eight countries are represented in the Network: Canada, US, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden and France.

Description/ Activities:

Mothers for Life comprises a global network of mothers who have experienced violent jihadist radicalisation in their own families. The program brings together mothers to present a strong and unified voice to counter extremist narratives. A recent project of the network titled *“Open Letter to Islamic State”* saw the international Mothers for Life write and publish an open letter to Islamic State on June 3, 2015. The letter aims to address Jihadi fighters and adolescents in the process of radicalisation from the perspective of the mothers left behind and to encourage them to reflect about the consequences of their motivation to join the conflict. The letter was posted on Facebook, Tumblr and the GIRDS homepage.

Key Points:

- The overarching aim of the initiative is to promote the engagement of women as key players in prevention and intervention.
- The initiative delivers training and supports women whose lives have been touched by violent extremism.
- The initiative gives the mothers the safety of a secure network of people who share similar experiences, and a place to heal.

Assessment:

The program is considered to demonstrate strong community engagement and participation, expert facilitation and address the immediate psycho-social needs of the women involved through empowerment, connection and proactive engagement. The program *“Open Letter to Islamic State”* is seen as an innovative approach that has international impact through social media.

Project name/Country:

Mothers School Project, Austria

Initiative of SAVE: Sisters Against Violent Extremism, an NGO

Aims/Objectives:

To empower mothers' self-awareness and confidence to recognise and respond to potential early warning signals in their children's behaviour.

To provide training to mobilise mothers to respond to their children's needs and provide appropriate support.

Target Audience:

Families, Local community organisations/NGOs, youth/pupils/students

Approach:

Family support, community engagement, prevention

Scope:

Tajikistan: Kujand, India: Mewat, Srinagar Kupwara, Pakistan: Islamabad and Rawalpindi, Tanzania: Zanzibar, Indonesia: Jember, and Nigeria: Jos, Austria: Vienna

Description/ Activities:

The Mothers School pilot was launched in Tajikistan in 2012 with a three-day train-the-trainer workshop. The curriculum includes ten modules taught by trained local leaders who conduct home-based meetings with groups of mothers in communities at-risk. The Model seeks to empower and enable mothers to become agents of peace and stability in their families and communities as cornerstones of an embedded security paradigm.

Ten local trainers subsequently founded mothers' groups with five meetings in rural villages over three months in a first phase ending in April. After the introduction to the Mothers School programs, the immediate response was very positive; all participants found the workshops powerful and that the Mothers School concept was very timely.

Key Points:

- The idea of empowering mothers for security as an 'ally' in the home is considered a new angle in counter-radicalisation efforts.

- Mothers felt relieved to be able to play role on the home front.
- Following the positive feedback, the Mothers School concept was expanded to additional target countries including India (Kashmir), Nigeria, Pakistan, Indonesia and Zanzibar.
- The Mothers School Model is seen as a pioneering family-centred security platform that strengthens existing countering violent extremism (CVE) approaches by engaging mothers as an embedded security ally.
- The Mothers School curriculum facilitates critical dialogue and targeted training to strengthen women's confidence and competence to recognise and react to early warning signs of radicalisation in their children.
- The Mothers School Model is envisaged as an emerging international network implemented through SAVE partnership with community-based organisations.
- SAVE provides the concept, training and monitoring tools and supports the curriculum delivery to assist the local partners and ensure impactful, quality controlled Mothers School workshops on the ground.
- The organisation of the mothers' meetings and the content of the training are highly flexible, low cost and can be customised and integrated into the ongoing programmes and frameworks of the local partner.

Assessment:

There is substantial evidence and evaluation to support the positive outcomes of this project². The project encompasses community engagement, participation and ownership, credible research, identification of community needs, logical program planning and expert facilitation. As a result of the flexibility, low cost and customisation, the project is considered to have a high degree of transferability and sustainability.

²Preventing Radicalisation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism, RAN (Radicalisation Awareness Network) Collection: Approaches and Practices, 2015 Edition

Project name/Country:

HAYAT, Germany

Aims/Objectives:

To help families create an environment around a radicalised individual that is likely to direct him/her away from violence.

Target Audience:

Families, violent extremists, local community organisations

Approach:

Family support, exit strategies, intervention

Scope:

National in scope, including wide-ranging support services. Counselling services are available in German, English and Arabic.

Description/ Activities:

HAYAT (Turkish and Arabic for 'Life') is the first German counselling program for persons involved in or on the path to violent extremism and for their relatives and concerned individuals. The project is essentially a family-counselling program that helps relatives steer a radicalised person away from the violent trap of simplistic Islamist extremist ideology. Counsellors coach families on what to do and say to keep the lines of communication open and undermine the extremist narrative. Many of Hayat's current cases involve German foreign fighters who are preparing to leave for Syria. The goal is to use family bonds to prevent them from going. But Hayat also has cases involving those who have already left for battle zones. Throughout the process, the counsellor deals with police, keeping the authorities informed but at a distance while the family tries a softer alternative to such law enforcement actions as searches and arrests.

Key Points:

- HAYAT can utilise a nationwide network of partners on various levels.
- HAYAT is a bridge between the family and other relevant institutions such as schools, social services and, if applicable, prosecution, police or employer and assist in communicating with various parties with the primary goal of catering to the specific needs of the respective person and family.
- Other countries are now seeking Hayat's help. The group will be starting a program in London and plans to set up one in the Netherlands and Canada.
- Provides individual customised services.

Assessment:

Since 2012: 127 counselling cases have been conducted with 50 cases considered closed. The program has led to an array of outputs including handbooks, training, and academic articles. Due to its customisation and flexibility, HAYAT is considered a sustainable project that can be transferred to other national contexts.

Project name/Country:

The Extreme Dialogue Campaign, Canada

Funded by Public Safety Canada

Aims/Objectives:

- To reduce the appeal of extremism among young people by offering a positive alternative to the increasing amounts of extremist material and propaganda available on the Internet and social media platforms
- To promote active discussion by young people of the challenges posed by violent extremism.
- To help young people develop essential critical thinking skills in the face of the threat from violent extremist propaganda and recruitment.

Target Audience:

The campaign targets teens between the ages of 14 to 18 involving the cooperation of teachers, youth and community workers.

Approach:

Delivering alternative narratives, prevention and outreach

Scope:

With support from the EU Commission, further short films and education resources will be produced in the UK, Germany and Hungary in 2015 and 2016.

Description/ Activities:

Extreme Dialogue comprises a unique series of short films and education resources featuring the stories of real people impacted by violent extremism. The films and resources tell the personal stories of Canadians profoundly affected by violent extremism. The education resources provide tools for teachers, youth and community workers, helping them to open up vital discussions with young people.

Key Points:

- Social alternative narratives by former violent extremists to promote the message that there is nothing heroic about violent extremism.
- The power of testimony, the courage and honesty of people who have been personally involved in violent extremism, is powerful and engaging.
- The potential to reach large audiences that may never have been reached before.
- Extreme Dialogue is made available to teachers, parents and community leaders as a source for educating young people.

Assessment:

This campaign engages young people online and also in educational settings to view and discuss the films. The films contain personal stories with factual content enhancing the relevance and impact of the alternative narratives. The initial phase of the campaign would be both time and resource intensive, however, the dissemination phase is considered to be relatively cost and time effective with the campaign reaching wide audiences.

Project name:

**People Against Violent Extremism,
Western Australia**

*Funded by Attorney-General's Department -
Building Community Resilience Program*

Aims/Objectives:

PaVE is an independent, non-governmental organisation committed to addressing violent extremism in Australia and the region. PaVE focuses on all forms of violent extremism, regardless of religious, ideological, political and/or social affiliation.

Target Audience:

Youth, general public, government

Approach:

Enhancing awareness/understanding of violent extremism, research, influencing policy, online campaign to counter extremist narratives.

Scope:

National in scope, and the wider region. PaVE is affiliated with Against Violent Extremism (AVE), an international organisation based in the UK, that involves a group of former extremist and victims.

Description/ Activities:

1. To enhance public awareness and understanding of violent extremism and how to counter it: social media campaigning, publishing editorials, creative works, public education and training initiatives ranging from schools to government agencies, and PaVE's interactive website with links to learning resources. PaVE commissions creative works such as films to highlight counter narratives and issues central to violent extremism, titled 'Walk Away', 'Offline' and 'The Strongest Among You'. My Hack is PaVE's national program that brings together young people, aiming to empowering them to come up with online solutions to counter propaganda from violent extremists.

2. Research into violent extremism: PaVE seeks to identify where research is most needed and how this research can help it and other groups to counter violent extremism more effectively.

3. To influence government policy direction: PaVE links research, policy and community, promoting evidence-based policy making, effective community driven programs effective in addressing violent extremism, and that research is translated into practice.

Key Points:

- The organisation was designed as a platform from which to springboard innovative projects that help to counter violent extremism.
- It was built with the objective of developing the capacity of communities and government to challenge violent extremism and to combat home grown terrorism in Australia.
- PaVE is driving online dialogue between thought leaders and community members about violent extremism.
- PaVE uses its website, films and social media to counter narratives presented by violent extremists.

Assessment:

PaVE is considered to be innovative platform in Australia, encompassing research, advocacy, and awareness building. Most notably, through its website, films, social media and MyHack project, PaVE seeks to harness a wide range of online resources to challenge and counter extremist narratives.

Project name:

**Community Awareness Training Manual
– Building Resilience in the Community, National**

Australian Multicultural Foundation, funded by the Attorney-General's Department – Building Community Resilience Program

Aims/Objectives:

to create a more informed and resilient community that will have the information, resources and practical strategies to reduce the threat of violent extremism and seek help where necessary.

Target Audience:

Communities, families, service providers

Approach:

Prevention, training, information sessions

Scope:

National, with the manual delivered to groups across Australia.

Description/ Activities:

The Australian Multicultural Foundation developed a Community Awareness Training Manual designed for Australian communities:

- To assist in building resilience to help identify anti-social behaviours and prevent engagement into violent extremism
- To increase awareness and understanding about processes of anti-social behaviours and engagement into violent extremism using the Behavioural Indicators Model, developed by Monash University using information from historical case studies, existing theories and those who have experienced radicalisation first hand.
- The model is not specific to any particular national, political, religious or ideological group and applies regardless of the ideology or motivation for radicalisation.
- To dispel some of the misconceptions and misinformation about radicalisation

The AMF has trained people from around Australia to deliver the training of the manual. The training is delivered in two formats: a) as an information session, and b) a train the trainer session. Information sessions are for those who want

to increase their knowledge and understanding designed for people such as parents, friends, peers and mentors. The train-the-trainer sessions are for those who will be able to train others either formally or informally.

Key Points:

- The AMF program was designed after consultation with youth groups, Police, Muslim groups, non-Muslim groups, government officials and women's groups.
- The train-the-trainer and information sessions provide the knowledge, understanding and skills required for participants to deliver information in the community on: recognising anti-social behaviours, processes that can lead to engagement into violent extremism, prevention strategies and where to go for support.
- The program is being developed online for further accessibility.

Assessment:

The manual and training delivered by the AMF reaches those people who are well placed to deliver information, build resilience and provide support to those at risk. Evaluation reports are available with measures. To date, over 130 people have completed the train-the-trainer sessions as volunteers, and over 1000 people, including community and family members and service providers, have attended information sessions. 10 individuals have been casually employed to deliver the program around Australia.

Project name:

**Salam Alaykum "Darebin's Muslims Reaching Out",
Victoria**

Initiative of the City of Darebin and Islamic Society of Victoria, funded by Attorney-General's Department - Building Community Resilience Program

Aims/Objectives:

1. To foster community participation, community cohesion, and engagement between Darebin's Muslim community and the broader Darebin community.
2. To enable members of Darebin's Muslim communities to participate in a range of activities which will provide participants with an avenue for the non-violent expression of views and the dispelling of myths through dialogue, education, and collaboration with a cross-section of the community.
3. To assist in addressing cultural isolation by encouraging participants, in particular young people, to share and work together in the implementation of the project's activities.

Target Audience:

Youth, local Muslim community, wider local community

Approach:

Community engagement

Scope:

Local activities conducted in the City of Darebin and as part of the City of Darebin's Community Engagement Framework 2012-2017.

Description/ Activities:

1. Darebin IFTAR Dinner, 2011.
2. Darebin Interfaith Peace Poles launch.
3. Forum on freedom of expression vs. religious sensibilities.
4. Preston Mosque Open Day.

5. Information sessions on working with Muslim community for local service providers and schools.
6. Workshop for Imams from Victorian Board of Imams on 'Family Violence and the Law'.
7. Interfaith forum on human rights – Standing up for our human rights in our everyday lives and relationships.
8. Peer-mentoring and leadership course for young men and women, including their coordination of the Darebin Intercultural Cup Soccer Tournament.
9. Boys' and girls' youth camps.

Key Points:

- The City of Darebin and Islamic Society of Victoria (Preston Mosque) identified the need to work more closely with the broader community, and in particular with young people facing disadvantage and isolation in the community.
- Both were concerned by the emergence and increasing incidence of extremist and radicalised views in the community.
- The program built community connections between Darebin's Muslim community and the wider Darebin community.
- It also aimed to build Omar bin Al-Kattab Mosque's capacity to create strategies that prevent the development of extremist views which can threaten community cohesion.

Assessment:

This project strongly links community and social cohesion with countering violent extremism. In running these activities it is considered that key partnerships were formed between the organisations and the community that will enhance community and social cohesion in the City of Darebin into the future.

Project name:

“Engage” stream of Engage, Challenge, Grow, NSW

Lebanese Muslim Association, was funded by the Department of Social Services –Community Development and Participation grant

Aims/Objectives:

To encourage young people to become involved in all aspects of their local community and create a sense of belonging by helping communities work towards a spirit of inclusiveness and shared identity. To provide opportunities to participate fairly in Australian society and understand the rights and responsibilities shared by all members society. To encourage the community to be law abiding citizens, and contribute to the society in which they live in.

Target Audience:

Muslim community in Sydney, primarily youth

Approach:

Youth leadership, personal development, mentoring

Scope:

Local in scope, being largely confined to Sydney.

Description/ Activities:

1. Hedayah Leadership Program: for aspiring young Muslim leaders who are passionate about their faith and driven to develop and further their skills in order to give back to their community and portray Muslims in Australia in a positive light. Participants completed training in areas such as advocacy, project management and media.
2. Positive Intellect Program: six week intensive program for Youth to develop skills, knowledge and confidence required to positively impact others.
3. Think Again: LMA Youth Think Tank recruited 11 young Australian Muslims, with training in areas such as advocacy, media and feature writing. Members completed the Positive Intellect Program, going on to develop events and programs such as the Creating Connections Iftaar and discussion panel titled *Iraq to Gaza: Politics of Fear*.

Key Points:

- The Engage, Challenge, Grow initiative is a set of projects looking to promote mutual respect, fairness, inclusion and a sense of belonging.
- Projects hope to address some of the root causes of the problems facing the Australian Muslim community such as cultural, racial and religious intolerance.
- Hedayah participants organised projects and charity events such as completing City to Surf, holding the LMA's first interfaith panel, and co-founding and editing an online magazine with the LMA titled *YouThink* - a platform for Young Australians to be heard and highlight the variety of talent, diversity and aesthetics which exist in the Australian Muslim community.
- Positive Intellect Program aims to build the theological fundamentals that counter ideological readings and dispel misconceptions to develop participants as citizens, leaders and constructive role models.

Assessment:

The range of youth leadership initiatives are designed to provide skills, knowledge and resilience to young Muslims in Sydney, broadly addressing social cohesion and building resilience amongst youth in the community. These programs are considered to assist in encouraging young people to remain involved in their communities and also create leaders within those communities who will act as positive role models for other young people.



