



Mid-Term Review Meeting Report

23 April – 24 April 2024 (Berlin)

#OppAttune

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OppAttune mid-term review meeting report

Work Package	WP 01
Deliverable type	Report
Dissemination level	Public
Lead Coordinator (administration)	Panteion University, Greece
Lead Coordinator (scientific)	The Open University, UK
Lead Coordinator (scientific)	Glasgow Caledonian University, UK

Contributors

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Reviewer & contributing author	Professor Kesi Mahendran, The Open University, UK

Abstract

The report covers the OppAttune project mid-term review meeting, held on 23 - 24 April 2024 in Berlin, Germany. This two-day meeting brought together the consortium of 17 partners for the second time following the Inception meeting in Athens in April 2023.

Representatives from all partners attended both in person and online to share progress to date on deliverables across all eight work packages. Updates and presentations provided a detailed summary of achievements in Year 1 and identified priorities for Year 2.

Sessions were also held on Everyday Extremism, the First Year Periodic Review and Technical Report, Impact Pathways and feedback from the projects Early Career Researchers Group.



OppAttune partners gather in Berlin April 2024

List of project partners abbreviations

Project Partners Abbreviations	Description
AUP	American University in Paris
CI	Cultures Interactive
GCU	Glasgow Caledonian University
HHRO	Hammurabi Human Rights Organization
ISAC	International Security Affairs Centre
JSI	Institut Jozef Stefan
Bilgi	Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi
KCSS	Kosovar Centre for Security Studies
MAU	Malmö University
OEAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
OU	The Open University
OzU	Özyeğin University
Panteion	Panteion University
PRONI	PRONI Centre
UM	Universita Ta Malta
UCY	University of Cyprus
UC	Universidade De Coimbra

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1. Welcome to Day One

Presented by OU, Panteion and GCU

- 1.1 Professor Kesi Mahendran (OU - Scientific Coordinator) Professor Xenia Chrysoschoou (Panteion – Administration Coordinator) and Professor Umut Korkut (GCU – Scientific Coordinator) welcomed all partners to the second in person meeting of the OppAttune Consortium. The meeting was held over two days at WeiberWirtschaft eG in Berlin. Thanks to Cultures Interactive who helped organise the event.
- 1.2 The review meeting is an opportunity to reflect on where we are in the project at the end of Year 1, as we start to prepare the year one Periodic Review due in July 2024, and the Interim Report (due September). Over the next two days participants were invited to think about:
 - Impact pathways (and how to communicate with media influencers)
 - Benchmarking of everyday extremism

2. Updates from all work packages

Presented by Work Package (WP) Leads

WP1 Ethics & Management (Lead: OU & GCU)

- 2.1 Kesi Mahendran reminded research members of the consortium that Hasret Dikici-Bilgin (Bilgi) and Irimi Kadianaki (UCY) are leading on Equality Diversity & Inclusions (EDI) and that Sandra Obradović (OU) is leading on data management.

WP2 Pathways within Democracy – Rights & Protections (Lead: AUP)

- 2.2 Zona Zarić reminded partners that WP2 has three deliverables:
 - D2.1 Regulatory-rights cases toolkit
 - D2.2 Regulatory-Rights Prisms
 - D2.3 Regulatory-Rights Website
- 2.3 The toolkit developed into a book and includes 16 cases including Turkey, Cyprus, France and Northern Ireland, all to be read through regulatory-rights prisms. Work continues developing a further two cases from Iraq, to look at gender policy. The interactive website (D2.3) is due end of May (Month 14).

WP3 Re-Shoring, Protectionism & Governance (Lead: GCU)

- 2.4 Umut Korkut reported that following various delays the team at GCU is now in place. We welcomed two new team members Thulani Moyo, Lecturer in Economics and Thales Lima, Researcher Economics have stepped in/been recruited to take on the deliverables.
- 2.5 Final drafts of deliverable D3.1 Skills development and understanding cross-country labour transitions and D3.2 An economic well-being behavioural toolkit will be available shortly. Deliverables D3.3 Effective Decision-Making Report, D3.4 Offshore

vs Reshore Gaming Tool and D3.5 Interactive Map are due in months 12, 17 and 18 respectively.

WP4 Media, Machines & Mobilisation (Lead: MaU & OEAW)

- 2.6 Tina Askanius reminded partners that the objective of the WP is to identify and understand contemporary extremist narratives and to map their spread across the digital mainstream and into local ecologies. There have been some adjustments to the original work plan, notably with the first deliverable, D4.1. The report, which includes the '*Visualisation Report of Emerging Extremist Narratives across Europe*', focuses on key topics from a regional perspective (January). The upcoming European Parliament elections in May will mark the next phase of our empirical research and serve as the foundation for the D4.2 deliverable.
- 2.7 WP4 are currently producing D4.2 Three Country Translocal Articulation of Extremism & Visualisation Reports of translocal narratives (due September). D4.5 Modelling Networks of Extremist Narrative Report has two waves (due month 6 and month 22) describing 'topic modelling' from huge sets of data as the team attempt to understand what people are saying across three countries on the same topic.

WP5 Extremism and Living Democracies (Lead: OzU & CI)

- 2.8 Susan Rottman reminded the meeting that WP5 has five country partners, and that time was spent in the early months of the project discussing the concept of Everyday Extremism. WP5 are still developing a definite definition. It was noted that there was an agenda item on this later today.
- 2.9 The D5.1 Framework paper on emergence of opposition drivers across sites and shared dialogical interventions is due in a month. Led by Eleni Andreouli (OU) the paper will include multidisciplinary contributions and will be a strong deliverable. For D5.2 Five Country Good Practice Case Studies Report (due month 22) and D5.3 Five Country Methods Handbook (due month 24), fieldwork has started in Turkey, Germany and Portugal and waiting on ethics approval for Serbia and Bosnia.
- 2.10 Kesi commented that the transdisciplinarity of projects needs to be built into more narratives. Extremism goes across borders.

WP6 Attuning Public Dialogue & Narratives (Lead: OU & Panteion)

- 2.11 Kesi Mahendran welcomed new OU PhD students Evangelia Vergouli and Tania Shyriaieva. Tania's PhD will focus on shared borders relating to speaking Russian in Ukraine and the tension between people who left and those who stayed and Evangelia will be working on political actors mobilise the public towards voting for them and acts of everyday extremism.
- 2.12 Malta will be presenting on deliverables D6.1 Everyday Extremism Scale and Panteion will be presenting on D6.2 WiDE Angle Survey later in the morning. Evangelia is working on D6.3 My Democracy Vote for Me Films which are currently being produced.
- 2.13 Kesi reminded partners that WP6 will build the Attunement model in autumn 2024, based on outputs from all WPs, which WP7 will then take forward to test and implement.

WP7 Event Implementation, Dialogue & Dissemination (Lead UoM & UDC)

- 2.14 Gordon Sammut and Joana Ricarte reported that it was early days in terms of the WP deliverables. Preliminary meetings have been held with some of the WP leads to get a feel for what kind of data is emerging. More formal meetings will be held in July to begin to gather materials that will feed into WP7.
- 2.15 It is clear there is diversity in how Everyday Extremism is being defined. Can be defined in different ways for different interventions, different sites/locations will determine which technique out of the eventual toolkit will be utilised.
- 2.16 WP7 is also focused on impact and will work with policymakers, stakeholders and the public. WP5 will be working in Portugal to build a network to engage with WP7.
- 2.17 Kesi commented that WP7 is how to empirically demonstrate the before/after. We therefore need to think about 'destructive actors' – people who want to disrupt things. Harald Weilnböck (CI) trying to set up trainings for practitioners to deal with toxic communication but very challenging in small communities such as small-city town halls. The challenge is what to do in gatherings like that. How do you train people to interact with us/the OppAttune model more effectively?

WP8 Policy Recommendations & Strategies (Lead: GCU & OU)

- 2.18 Umut Korkut noted that GCU will be leading on recommendations and strategies.

3. WP6 Attuning Public Dialogue & Narratives

WiDE-Angle Survey (Appendix 2 - Presentation #1)

Presented by Dr Antonis Dimakis & Professor Xenia Chrysochoou



Participants listen to Professor Xenia Chrysochoou present.

- 3.1. We approach the disruptive potential of extremist narratives through the WiDE Lens: Worldviews, Identifications, Disaffection and Extremism.
- 3.2. The WIDE Len survey was developed collaboratively within WP6 by Panteion, Open University and Malta. 13 partners are participating in the WiDE-Angle survey across 14 countries. In addition to gender, age, degree of migration and educational level other demographics include residence, employment, citizenship, birthplace and income.
- 3.3. Climate Change, Immigration and Vaccination scenarios are used in the survey as well as the Everyday Extremism Scale developed by Gordon Sammut and Rebekah Mifsud in Malta.

4. Everyday Extremism Scale (Appendix 2 – presentation #2)

Presented by Professor Gordon Sammut & Rebekah Mifsud

- 4.1. The WP has taken a 'bottom up' empiricist approach to the development of the Everyday Extremism (EE) scale and started by looking at what people are doing.
- 4.2. The process started with using Reddit to identify 218 relevant posts, from which 350 actions were identified. The team then undertook a thematic analysis and to validate the actions, compared the analysis to media articles in Greece, UK, Malta and Kosovo (135 articles per country) and explored key words. Further work to reduce the actions, categorise them into eight themes, a ranking exercise and cognitive interviews to ensure the concepts made sense. Some examples are given below:

Deny the opposition's version, even if true, and claim the opposite, even if false (i.e., gaslighting) [+12]

Comment, criticise and/or harass (e.g., social media trolling) to provoke angry responses from the opposition that put them in a bad light, regardless of the content [+11]

Submit allegations of misconduct about the opposition, even if these are untrue [+10]

Become active in local politics [+3]

Vote for candidates who support action that is in line with your views [+2]

Actively promote and publish your personal views [+1]

High scores = high everyday extremism [Responses: 0 Not legitimate at all 1 Slightly 2 Somewhat 3 Fairly 4 Fully x Weight]

Examples from the Everyday Extremism Scale

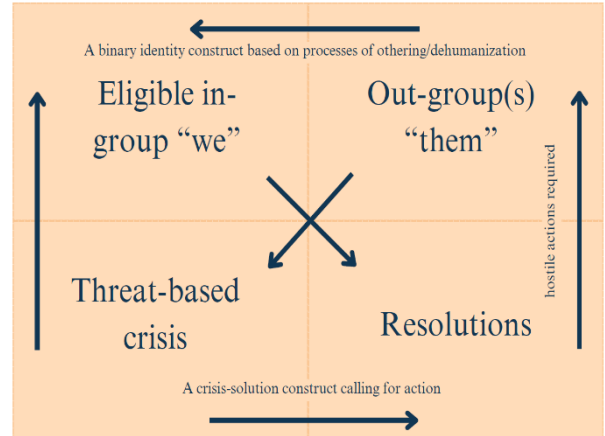
- 4.3. The consortium discussed why some statements are about engaging with disrupting others, whilst some are about how individuals promote their own position. Members of the consortium discussed the distinction between the scale as political participation and/or everyday engagement rather than an extremism scale.

WP2 Pathways within Democracy – Rights and Protections

The Rights Regulatory Toolkit (Appendix 2 – Presentation #3)

Presented by Dr Zona Zarić

5.1. This WP examines how human rights and protections have been combined across socio-political contexts to promote constructive opposition and freedom of expression. D2.1 Regulatory-Rights Toolkit for Attuning Everyday Extremism is mainly a conceptual debate on everyday extremism and how to benchmark it. An additional concept of RCP – Rights Claimed Public – has been developed. The Toolkit acts as an introduction to D2.2 Regulatory Rights Prism through Contextualized Case Studies (16 case studies).



5.2. The WP has used the following working definition of everyday extremism developed in discussion with the scientific coordinator:

“Everyday extremism refers to the manifestation of extremist behaviours, attitudes, or ideologies in the routine activities of individuals or within societal structures on a day-to-day basis. It involves the integration of extremist elements into ordinary aspects of life, potentially impacting social cohesion and interactions.”

6. WP3 Re-shoring, Protectionism & Governance

Skills development and understanding cross-country labour transitions (Appendix 2 – presentation #4)

Presented by Thales Lima and Professor Umut Korkut

The study for D3.1 Skills development and understanding cross-country labour transitions, analysed data from the Second European Skills and Job Survey, made by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training. The survey encompassed around 46,000 individuals in 29 European countries in 2021. We worked with the data by taking descriptive statistics and doing regression analysis.



WP3 discussion with Thulani Moyo & Biljana Mileva.

Conclusions included that labour transitions in the European Economic Area are being affected by automation, adoption of new technologies and offshoring and that skills development play a key role in helping workers securing employment.

Upskilling workers against the negative effects of offshoring lays the groundwork for D3.2 An economic behavioural toolkit.

Effective Decision-making on Offshoring vs Re-Shoring Decisions (Appendix 2 – presentation #5)

Presented by Dr Thulani Moyo

- 6.4 This research project aims to address the trade-offs between offshoring vs re-shoring decisions in the supply chain.
- 6.5 This will be done through the development of algorithms, using the concepts of game theory.
- 6.6 Behavioural bias is present at both the individual and group decision-making levels. This group-level decision making also influences policymaking.



Dr Thulani Moyo presenting

7. WP4 Media, Machines & Mobilisation

Update from Media, Machines & Mobilisation (Appendix 2 – presentation #6)

Presented by Professor Tina Askanius and Ursula Reeger

- 7.1. The WP will be topic, event and space driven. The first deliverable is an overview of what is already known, the synthesis of this existing knowledge secondary data and data from Reddit and Flashback forum.
- 7.2. Defining extremism as “the belief that an in-group’s success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against an outgroup (Berger 2018, p. 44).
- 7.3. Extremist narratives offer identities and subject positions around the demarcation of in-groups and out-groups, and
- 7.4. In extremist (as opposed to e.g., populist) narratives, the us/them distinction is constructed around a value proposition of **hostility and/or**
- 7.5. **violence against the outgroup which breaches democratic principles**, human rights etc., and

ultimately poses a threat to
democracy itself.

8. Everyday Extremism – round table discussion

8.1 The project is developing a set of benchmarks to benchmark everyday extremism as a key output.

8.2 Points from the round table discussions included:



- everyday extremisms are also about everyday democracy.
 - extremist elements? – what is that?
 - ‘everyday’ is the context – it’s within the everyday space / place.
 - symbolic and cultural ‘violence’ – is ‘harm’ better?
 - reducing the other / subordinating the other – everyday extremism. reducing common ground? dehumanization.
 - intergroup dynamic – majority feels it’s being ‘othered’. higher on collective narcissism.
 - Connecting to the European Democracy Action Plan (EDAP) – everyday extremism is the reduction / delegitimization of someone’s democratic capacity / ability.
- defending extreme as normal; it’s not extreme because it’s the majority view.
 - shifting the norm around what is normal and what is extreme.
 - “I’m just saying”.
 - legitimacy of everyday extremism as normal by appeal to majority

OppAttune Mapping Case Studies – vaccines, immigration and climate change

Presented by WP Leads (All)

8.3 The consortium began to map where each case study appears across the activities of all six work packages. At the moment immigration appears most frequently. They discussed the contemporary value of keeping vaccine discussions. It was noted that climate change has been included in the set of case studies, it had not been included in the original proposal but is a key site of everyday extremism.

9. Welcome to Day Two

- 9.1 Kesi Mahendran welcomed partners to Day 2 of the mid-term review meeting. An excerpt following short video was played [The Persuasive Power of Political Narratives - Open Psychology Research Centre - YouTube](#) to initiate a brief discussion around silent narratives.
- 9.2 Conspiracy theories can become persuasive because they don't explicitly articulate their argument. A lot of literature talks about 'hidden' meanings which can be a form of silence, so there is a question of whether silent narratives are explicit or implicit.
- 9.3 Extremists can claim to represent the 'silent majority', silence is given a space. Whatever is done in terms of education and training, we need exercises that go into the silence.

10. Year One Periodic Review Report

Presented by Professor Kesi Mahendran (OU), Professor Umut Korkut (GCU) & Professor Xenia Chryssochoou (Panteion)

- 10.1 Kesi led a discussion on what partners wanted to see emphasised in the Year One Periodic Review Report. The report is confidential (only the Final Report is made public). It's an opportunity to showcase issues and areas that funders might want to consider making public.
- 10.2 There was a discussion around the theme of transnationalism and the two ways in which that applies to the project – methods and in how we constitute the work packages. Whilst this isn't an explicit deliverable it is a thematic thread to help drive the narrative. Kesi encouraged WP leads to articulate how we are sharing methods, how research goes across borders and to emphasis the transnational dialogue between partners.
- 10.3 Will include in the report an articulation of a conceptualisation of Everyday Extremism based on Day 1 discussion, a series of behavioural indicators and other indicators needed.
- 10.4 Good to include details on early data sets and methodologies e.g., WiDE Angle Survey and innovative methods such as Jullietta Stoencheva and Biljana Mileva co-authored paper on the links between thick and big data.
- 10.5 Also include reference to *The Psychologist* special issue on Being Political in Divisive Times.

11. Feedback from Early Career Research Group

11.1 The OppAttune Early Career Research Group was an initiative developed by OU Postdoctoral Researcher Anthony English. The group formally met for the first time in February 2024, and currently has thirteen members from nine countries across Europe.

11.2 The aim of the OECRG is to provide those in the early stages of their career with an open forum in which to discuss issues relevant to the project and other career-related goals. Broadly speaking, these meetings offer a means of developing a cross-national and cross-disciplinary network of early career researchers across Europe.

11.3 Since its recent inception, the group has met three times and has covered a range of topics. Each meeting provides the opportunity for each member to update everyone as to their career progress and request advice or feedback on any pressing issues. For example, the group have shared presentations they were developing for future conferences and have discussed conceptual and practical challenges relating to their own research contributions to the OppAttune project.

11.4 The third OECRG meeting was a hybrid event at the mid-term review in Berlin in April 2024. Four members joined online and five in-

person from Berlin. The group session began with the opportunity for everyone to share their progress thus far within their respective work packages and reflect on what the next stage of the project would bring.

11.5 During this sharing, each member was invited to consider their own personal journey since the project's inception, with the following questions: What challenges have you encountered since working on the project? What lessons have you learnt that others may benefit from hearing?

11.6 Another key focus for the group was to elaborate on the earlier mid-term meeting morning session, which explored how to define the concept of 'everyday extremism'. Finally, the group explored the idea of future publishing collaborations in response to the opportunity raised by Dr Sandra Obradović to contribute towards a special edition.



Dr Sandra Obradović feeds back to the meeting

12. Impact Pathways & Communications

12.1 WP7 needs a sense of actors outside of the project who can support interventions. Media influencers, non-aligned journalists and civil society actors at country level will all be important. Entrepreneurial academics with a lot of followers, as long as non-

partisan, could also be useful. The consortium agreed to build a data base of key names and contacts.

13. WP5 Extremism and Living Democracies

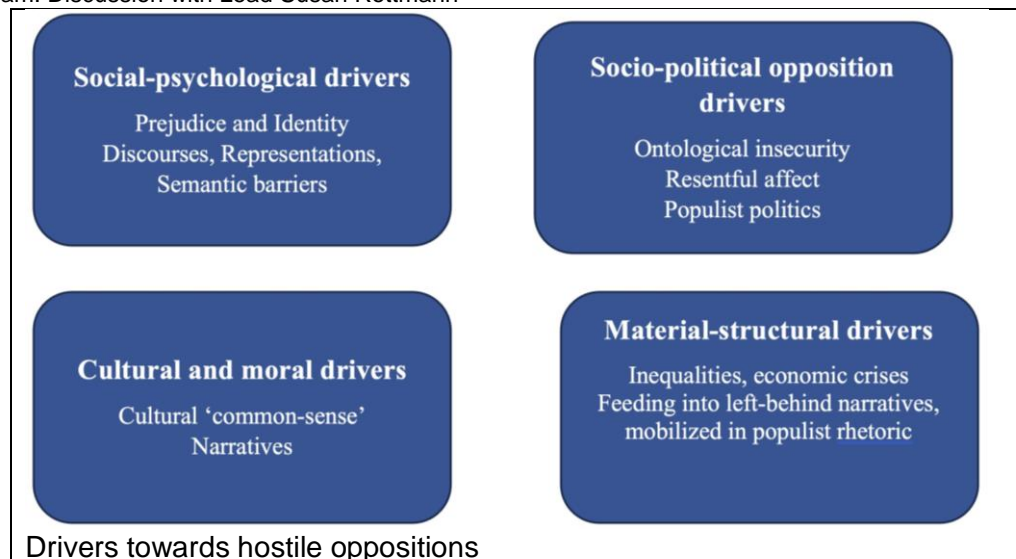
Living Democracies Framework paper (Presentation #7)

Presented by Eleni Andreouli & WP5 team.

- 13.1 WP5 aims to identify, understand and support possibilities for dialogue across difference in everyday life, with a particular focus on the issue of immigration.
- 13.2 The framework paper, D5.1, on the emergence of opposition drivers across sites and shared dialogical interventions, serves as a conceptual starting point for articulating opposition and dialogue in polarizing contexts.



WP5 Team: Discussion with Lead Susan Rottmann



14. Closing Session

- 14.1 The closing session was an opportunity for Work Package Leads to feedback from the individual WP breakout sessions and to summarise key points from the preceding two days and to look ahead to Year 2.

- 14.2 The joint coordinators thanked all partners for their active participation throughout the mid-term review meeting and all colleagues for their hard work and commitment to OppAttune over the past year.
- 14.3 The consortium brings together a rich and diverse group of experts from across multiple countries and disciplines. The depth of knowledge and expertise is exceptional. As the project moves into its second year the opportunity to deepen collaborations and build on the first year's deliverables strengthen not only the partnership but also our ability to impact on democratic capacity and resilience.



OppAttune partners gather in Berlin, April 2024.

#OppAttune

16 Appendix 1: Agenda

OppAttune- Mid-Term Review Meeting (Berlin)

Dates: 23–24 April 2024

Location: WeiberWirtschaft eG
 Anklamer Straße 38
 10115 Berlin

MEETING AGENDA

Hosted by	Open University & Cultures Interactive
Organisers	Cultures Interactive, The OU
Note Taker	Dimitris Barkas & Sandra Obradović

Monday 22 April welcome dinner, Lemongrass, Vietnamese Restaurant, Anklamer Str. 38, 10115 Berlin at 7.30.

Agenda for 23rd April		
Chair Kesi Mahendran		
Time (CET)	Agenda Item	Speaker(s)
09.30	Welcome to Mid-Term Review Meeting	
10.00	A word from the Joint-Coordinators	Kesi Mahendran, Xenia Chryssochoou & Umut Korkut.
10.30	Update from all Work Packages & Coffee	WP Leads
11.30	WP6 WIDE Angle Survey	Xenia Chryssochoou & Antonis Dimakis
12.00	WP6 Everyday Extremism Scale	Gordon Sammut
12.30	Photography	
12.45 – 13.45	Lunch at WeiberWirtschaft eG	
Chair: Umut Korkut		
13.45	WP2 – The Rights Regulatory Toolkit	Zona Zaric
14.15	WP3 – Understanding Protectionist Decision-Making.	Umut Korkut and team.
15.00	OppAttune Mapping Case Studies – Vaccines, Immigration & Climate Change	All WP leads
15.45	WP4 – Emerging Extreme Narratives Across Europe	Tina and Ursula & team.

16.30	Everyday Extremism	Round Table Discussion
17.00	Meeting Close	
19.00	Ristorante Primavera A la carte. Cash only	https://primavera-kreuzberg.com/ Mehringdamm, 72, 10961 Berlin

Agenda for 24th April		
Chair: Kesi Mahendran		
Time	Agenda Item	Speakers(s)
09.30	Welcome to Day Two	Kesi
10.00	First Year Periodic Review report – Agreeing Contents & Review Guidance.	Kesi, Umut & Xenia.
11.00	OECRG - OppAttune Early Career Research Group Meeting Chair: Sandra	Steering Group Meeting Chair: Kesi Anthony English and members
12.00	Feedback from Early Career Colleagues	Sandra Obradović
12.30	Lunch at WeiberWirtschaft eG	
Chair: Xenia Chrysochoou		
13.30	Impact Pathways & Communications – Building the contact list	All WP Leads
14.15	WP5 – Living Democracy - Framework paper on emergence of opposition drivers across sites and shared dialogical interventions	Eleni Andreouli & colleagues.
14.45	Work Package Break Out Meetings	
16.45	Return to Main Room – Any Other Business	Feedback from WP Leads
17.00	Meeting Close	
18.00	Farewell Dinner – Bauhaus.	https://brauhaus-suedstern.de/ Hasenheide 69 10967 Berlin Tel.: 030 – 69 00 16 24

11 Appendix 2: presentation slides

WP6 WiDE Angle Survey (presentation #1)

OppAttune | Countering Oppositional Political Extremism through Attuned Dialogue: Track, Attune, Limit

WiDE-Angle survey

Dr Antonis Dimakis and Prof. Xenia Chrysochoou
 Laboratory of Social and Political Psychology
 Dept. of Psychology, Panteion University
 Work Package 6, OppAttune Project, Horizon Europe

Funded by the European Union

Slide 1

Survey partners

- 13 partners participating in the WiDE-Angle survey
- UK
- Greece
- France
- Portugal
- Sweden
- Austria
- Turkey
- Sweden
- Germany
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Serbia
- Kosovo
- Malta
- Cyprus

Slide 2

WiDE Angle survey

- **W – Worldviews** (beliefs/views on social order, norms and regulations)
- **I – Identifications** (self-positioning and identifying in terms of group, status and mobility)
- **D – Disaffection** (perceptions of disintegration of the social fabric)
- **E – Extremism** (attitudes and behaviours)

Slide 3

WORLDVIEWS

- Social Order Representations (Staerklé, 2009)
- Social Mobility Beliefs (Chrysochoou, 2018)
- Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al., 1994)
- Conspiracy Theories (Staerklé & Green, 2018; Dimakis & Chrysochoou, under review)
- System Justification (Kay & Jost, 2003)
- Worldview Typology (Sammur, Mifsud & Brockdorff, 2022)

Slide 4




IDENTIFICATION

- Identification scales (adapted from Chrysochoou, 2018)
 - National/ Class/ Global/ European
- Alternative groups (S. Obradovic contributor)
 - Ethnic/ Regional/ Gender/ Religious
- Social Ladder (Adler et al., 2000)
- Political Self-positioning
- Migration Mobility Continuum (Mahendran, 2013)




Slide 5




DISAFFECTION

- Anomia (Chrysochoou, 2018)
- Dimensions of Democracy (devised for WiDE, S.W. Sawyer contributor)
- Democracy general function (adapted from ESS Round 11/2023/B30 p. 12)
- Political efficacy (Bene, & Boda, 2023, Demos project)
- Political Opinion Voicing (devised for WiDE, A. English, contributor)
- Economic Inequality (Petkanopoulou et al., 2018)
- Economic Vulnerability (adapted from ESS Round 11/F42 p.73)
- Institutional Trust (adapted from ESS Round11/2023/B6-B12 p.8)
- Everyday disaffection (devised for WiDE, S.W. Sawyer contributor)



Slide 6




EXTREMISM


- Extremism Ecological Scale - EES (Built for WiDE, G. Sammut & R. Mifsud)
- Climate Change/Immigration/Vaccination Scenarios (adapted from ESS)

(e.g. *Deny the opposition's version, even if true, and claim the opposite, even if false (i.e. gaslighting), Disrupt a formally organized event to draw attention, Actively promote and publish your personal views, Promote events for others to attend*)
- Extremist/Populist Attitudes (devised for WiDE, Panteion Lab of Social and Political Psychology)

(e.g. *Politicians' incompetence, selfishness and corruption have led society to decline, The change that society needs will come through a capable leader*)



Slide 7




DEMOGRAPHICS

STRATIFICATION

- A. Gender (50/50)
- B. Age groups (18-24/ 25-34/ 35-44/ 45-54/ 55+)
- C. Education level (ISCED – 0-3/ 4-5/ 6-8)


Other demographics

- Residence
- Employment
- Citizenship
- Birthplace
- Income




Slide 8





- Translation challenges
- Education levels
- Deadline of data collection – 12th May
- Deliverable – WiDE Angle Database, 31st May



Slide 9



OppAttune

Thank you for all the contributions
and for all the hard work!



Slide 10

WP6 Everyday Extremism Scale (presentation #2)

Slide 1

Everyday Extremism Ecological Scale

Gordon Sammut
Rebekah Mifsud

Slide 2

Concept

- 'Everyday' + 'Extremism'
- Everyday = relatively common *frequency*
- Extremism = relatively high *intensity*
- Something intense that happens frequently
- Distinguishable from high intensity that happens rarely, or common events with low intensity
- On the one side, violence = high intensity, low frequency, e.g. terrorism
- On the one side, under the radar = very common, low impact e.g. sarcastic smirk
- Everyday extremism qualitatively different both: it has the property of being legit due to its being common, but it also includes the property of being contentious and potentially inciting ('forced errors')

Slide 3

Task

- 10 steps:
 1. Reddit
 2. Coding
 3. Media
 4. Final Coding
 5. Ranking 1
 6. Analysis 1
 7. Ranking 2
 8. Analysis 2
 9. Cognitive Interviewing

Slide 4

1. Reddit

- August 23
- Domain-general and domain-specific searches
- D-G: 'activism', 'activist', 'raise awareness', 'advocacy', 'how to'
- D-S: 'LGBTIQ', 'Anarchism', 'Progun', 'abortion', 'Bernie Sanders', 'environment', 'climate', 'vegan'
- Total: 218 posts

Slide 5

2. Coding

- September
- Identify: verbs that denote action to bring about some change
- 218 posts = 350 actions
- Thematic Analysis:
 - **Activism:** Protest on the streets
 - **Violence:** Physical Assault
 - **Lifestyle:** Boycott
 - **Engage:** Call them out
 - **Lobby:** Lobby at social events
 - **Oppose:** mock them
 - **Organise:** Plan meetups
 - **Social Media:** Share posts
 - **Publicity:** Seek funding
 - **Politics:** Vote for key candidates

Slide 6

2. Coding - Example

Post	Date	Link
The idiots giving themselves to the road are getting attention. Likes and shares plus the people who need to get to places can still get places so everyone is winning really	20th April 2023	https://www.reddit.com/r/theyoungconservative/comments/13qz7euh/you-to-deal-with-climate-activists/
Personally, will no longer vote for any candidate that does not endorse democratic reform and stronger climate action.	7th July 2023	https://www.reddit.com/r/CanalPolitics/comments/146091f/i_would_not_voter_for_any_candidate_that_does_not_endorse_democratic_reform_and_stronger_climate_action/
The greater risk involved is to be more meaningful it is. You have to set aside some time, get outside and make yourself vulnerable in order to march, which is more meaningful than voting.	8th April 2021	https://www.reddit.com/r/ibazid/politics/comments/10m7y7u/you-should-get-outside-some-time-get-outside-and-make-yourself-vulnerable-in-order-to-march-which-is-more-meaningful-than-voting/
Activism doesn't have to be disruptive. Plan meetups, organize local groups. Go to hangouts, ask to put up posters for meetups. Collaborate with the community. Keep your goals realistic, encourage others to do the same & the effect will multiply if the message is compelling.	30th May 2023	https://www.reddit.com/r/Deaf/comments/13qz7euh/i-feel-like-the-best-approach-for-individual-activists-now-is-to-engage-with-people-as-much-as-possible-and-walk-through-what-the-problem-is-and-what-to-vote-for-to-help-it/
I feel like the best approach for individual activists now is to engage with people as much as possible and walk them through what the problem is and what to vote for to help it.	30th May 2023	https://www.reddit.com/r/Deaf/comments/13qz7euh/i-feel-like-the-best-approach-for-individual-activists-now-is-to-engage-with-people-as-much-as-possible-and-walk-through-what-the-problem-is-and-what-to-vote-for-to-help-it/

Slide 7

3. Media

- October
- Greece, UK, MT, Kosovo
- 1 Centre; 1 Left; 1 Right
- Keywords: *extremis+*; *activis+*; *protectionis+*; *migration*; *vaccination*
- 2021 – 2023
- Random selection of 12 articles per keyword per media source
- 135 articles per country = 540
- Extract excerpts; Repeat Step 2
- No new themes/actions

Slide 8

4. Final Coding

- October
- Eliminate duplicates
- Eliminate Violence
- Eliminate Lifestyle
- 350 items 10 themes → 113 items 8 themes

Slide 9

5. Final Themes

- Thematic Analysis: Examples
 - **Activism:** Protest on the streets
 - **Engage:** Call them out
 - **Lobby:** Lobby at social events
 - **Oppose:** mock them
 - **Organise:** Plan meetups
 - **Social Media:** Share posts
 - **Publicity:** Seek funding
 - **Politics:** Vote for key candidates

Slide 10

6. Ranking #1

- November
- Within themes: most everyday to most extreme
- Themes not visible; order within-theme randomised
- 28 valid responses

Slide 11

7. Analysis #1

- Mean-based distribution for each theme
- 25th, 50th, 75th, 100th percentile of each distribution
- Retained range with stat. sig. mean differences between each pair of scores (e.g. 1st - 50th - 100th) for each theme
- 113 items = 25

Slide 12

7. Analysis #1 - Example

Theme	Action	M _{mean}
engagement	Post comments/actions online	3.75
engagement	Develop media (podcasts/videos/pictures)	6.33
engagement	Convert neighbours and friends	6.42
engagement	Write an article for mass publication	6.42
engagement	Engage in policymaking	6.46
engagement	Support allied politicians publicly	6.63
engagement	Reach out to celebrities	6.67
engagement	Link/tag stakeholders	7.00
engagement	Support the cause openly & publicly	7.25
engagement	Send emails to stakeholders	7.33
engagement	Participate in international events	7.58
engagement	Share upcoming events for others to attend	8.38
engagement	Associate with like-minded people	9.79

Slide 13

8. Ranking #2

- December – January
- Removed themes
- Rank list from Everyday to Extreme
- 37 valid responses

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Slide 14

9. Analysis #2

- January
- Mean ranking value for each item
- Wilcoxon Rank #1: n.s.
- Distribution median = 13 (Median of 1 – 25 item range)
- EFA – 1 factor; 2 poles
- Results:
 - 12 items load significantly
 - 6 positive > 13
 - 6 negative < 13
- Wilcoxon Rank #2: n.s.

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9. Analysis #2 – Factor Loadings

Action	M _{mean}	Loading
Gaslighting (questions/deny the truth with an opposite version)	5.622	0.775
Anger troll	6.622	0.759
Submit (fake) allegations of misconduct	4.811	0.673
Undermine the opposition personality	8.469	0.595
Public shaming/criticism (e.g. social media)	7.838	0.516
Storm an event	4.297	0.459
Actively promote/publish content	16.784	-0.448
Vote for candidates that endorse particular reform and action	19.324	-0.448
Become active in local politics	17.243	-0.486
Publicly endorse (e.g. social media)	16.243	-0.491
Post stickers/signs/posters in public places	16.189	-0.560
Share upcoming events for others to attend	18.757	-0.720

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Slide 16

10. Cognitive Interviewing

- January
- Gaslighting; anger trolling; storming; actively promote/publish; share events
- Reworded for clarity

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Slide 17

Everyday Extremism Ecological Scale

- Deny the opposition's version, even if true, and claim the opposite, even if false (i.e. gaslighting) [+12]
- Comment, criticise and/or bypass (e.g. social media trolling) to provoke angry responses from the opposition that put them in a bad light, regardless of the content [+1]
- Submit allegations of misconduct about the opposition, even if these are untrue [+10]
- Undermine the opposition personality [+9]
- Publicly shame and criticise the opposition [+8]
- Disrupt a formally organised event to draw attention [+7]
- Promote events for others to attend [+6]
- Post stickers, signs, and posters in public places [+5]
- Provide public endorsement to politicians, institutions and/or influencers whose views align with yours [+4]
- Become active in local politics [+3]
- Vote for candidates who support action that is in line with your views [+2]
- Actively promote and publish your personal views [+1]

• High scores = high everyday extremism

1. Responses: 0 Not legitimate at all 1 Slightly 2 Somewhat 3 Fairly 4 Fully x Weight

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Slide 18

Everyday Extremism Concept

- Statistical Operationalisation
- Single Factor
- 2 poles
- Commences with participation promoting own views
- Positive / Negative polarity
- Promoting one's views vs Disrupting the promotion of others'
- Positive-Negative Voting; Schadenfreude

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Slide
19Thank You

- Open data repository -
https://osf.io/fv7rs/?view_only=569c83d475e34b7484a76bbe7a9edf88

WP2 Rights Regulatory Toolkit (presentation #3)

Slide 1

WP.2 Deliverables

- Part I: Regulatory Rights Toolkit for Attuning Everyday Extremism (D2.1 January 2024)
- Section A: Elucidating Extremism and Attuning Democracies
- Section B: Tools for policy
- Part II: Regulatory Rights Prism through Contextualized Case Studies (D2.2 February 2024)
- Section A: Regulatory Rights Prism Synthesis
- Section B: Contextualized Case Studies
- D2.3 Regulatory-Rights Interactive Website/toolkit (June 2024)

Slide 2

D2.1 Table of Contents

- Foreword
- Executive Summary
- Acknowledgements
- Section A: Elucidating Extremism and Attuning Democracies
- Conceptual and methodological framework
- Diverse patterns of extremism
- Orientation and perspectives
- Section B: Tools for policy
- Diagnostic tool 1 - Contexts of Regulatory-Rights Pathways
- Determining regulatory-rights contexts:
- Benchmarking regulatory-rights contexts:
- The contextual capacity to determine the potential for regulatory-rights pathways to attune
- Diagnostic tool 2 - Modes of Belonging in Regulatory-Rights Pathways
- Benchmarking the degree of everyday extremism through modes of belonging
- Diagnostic Tool 3 - Interactive Questions for Outcomes in Regulatory-Rights Pathways
- Diagnostic Tool 4 - Forming regulatory-rights prisms

Slide 3

D2.2 Table of Contents

- EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
- SECTION A: REGULATORY RIGHTS PRISM SYNTHESIS
- SECTION B: CONTEXTUALIZED CASE STUDIES
- CONTEXTUALIZED CASE STUDIES
- CASE #1: Headscarf Controversy in Turkey
- CASE #2: Turkey's Alevis
- CASE #3: Secular-Islamist Cleavage in Tunisia
- CASE #4: Secular and Islamic Feminisms in Morocco
- CASE #5: Breaking the Silence: Combating Femicide and Gender-Based Violence in Cyprus
- CASE #6: Equitable Healthcare: Unravelling Asylum-Seekers' Access in Cyprus

Slide 4

D2.2 Table of Contents (continued)

- CASE #7: Same-sex partnerships and the case of Civil Union Law in Cyprus
- CASE #8: European Parliament Elections as a democratic process strengthening the voice of the Turkish-Cypriot Community in Cyprus
- CASE #9: On Being an Ally
- CASE #10: Abnormal Justice
- CASE #11: Two Visions of Populism
- CASE #12: New Neurorights or Greater Governance of Neurotechnologies?
- CASE #13: Affirmative Action
- CASE #14: Toleration vs Compassion
- CASE #15: Northern Ireland: a case-study of bringing extremists in from the social
- CASE #16: Freedom of expression in an era of extremism
- GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Slide 5

Key terms and definitions

- **Everyday Extremism**
Everyday extremism refers to the manifestation of extremist behaviors, attitudes, or ideologies in the routine activities of individuals or within societal structures on a day-to-day basis. It involves the integration of extremist elements into ordinary aspects of life, potentially impacting social cohesion and interactions.
- **Everyday Extremism Scale**
The Everyday Extremism Scale is a relational scale ranging from 1 to 10. It serves as a tool to assess the potential impact of a specific event or policy on polarization within society. A higher score indicates a greater potential for polarization, while a lower score suggests a tendency towards integration into everyday activities without exacerbating polarization.
- **Attunement**
Attunement refers to the process of bringing elements into harmony or alignment. Attunement likely involves fostering understanding, cooperation, and cohesion within societal structures, aiming to mitigate the effects of extremism and promote shared values.
- **Rights-Contexts**
Rights-contexts refer to the specific circumstances, situations, or environments in which legal, social, or ethical principles of freedom or entitlement, commonly known as rights, are claimed. Understanding rights-contexts involves examining how rights are exercised and protected in various scenarios.

Slide 6

Key terms and definitions (continued)

- **Regulatory Response**
Regulatory response pertains to the measures, policies, or actions implemented by regulatory bodies or authorities in response to specific sets of rights claims or issues. Regulatory response in the context of this toolkit is specifically focused on addressing extremism and its potential societal impacts through legal and policy frameworks.
- **Contextual Capacity**
Contextual capacity refers to the amount of potential a given context has to be transformed by policy. It involves understanding the contextual factors that impact the effectiveness of regulatory measures and their ability to attune everyday extremism.
- **Rights-claim public**
A Rights-claim public (RCP) is a group that is formed around a specific set of rights claims. These groups may have long-standing claims or may have developed around a specific policy issue.

Slide
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WP3 Skills development and understanding cross-country labour transitions (presentation # 4)



Slide
1

Skills development and understanding cross-country labour transitions

Thales Lima and Umur Korkut






Slide 2

Summary

Introduction;
Data and Methodology;
Findings;
Conclusion.

Slide
3



Introduction

Automation, adoption of new technologies and offshoring are the main factors that are reshaping global trade of goods and services, as well as the labour market. Though enhancing productivity and reducing labour costs, these trends foster income inequality and displace workers, especially low-skilled and less educated (Acemoglu and Autor, 2011).

We follow Acemoglu and Restrepo (2022) argument that upskilling is the main solution to increase workers resilience in face of these trends.

This first deliverable aims to understand labour transitions and skills development in face of these market trends (automation, new technologies and offshoring).

Slide
4

Data and Methodology



Our study analyses data from the Second European Skills and Job Survey, made by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training. This is a periodic survey collecting information on the job-skill requirements, digitalization, skill mismatches and workplace learning of representative samples of European adult workers.

The survey encompass around 46,000 individuals in 29 European countries in 2021.

We work with the data by taking descriptive statistics and doing regression analysis.

Our variable of interest (and dependent variable) is a labour transition proxy. The proxy was calculated from the question: "What were you mainly doing before you started working in your current company or organization?" If the individuals stated that they were unemployed, they are classified as reemployed (former unemployed), and if they were employed, they are categorized as employed.

Slide
5

Findings

Companies that engage in offshoring, adopt new digital technologies and are automating hire less unemployed individuals.

These same companies seems to value more skills development. Proportionally, there are more workers (former unemployed or not) that did some kind of upskilling in these firms when comparing with companies that do not offshored or adopted new technologies, for example.

The regression analysis showed that upskilling and the adoption of new technologies increase the probability of a former unemployed to be hired, while offshoring decrease.

Also, when interacting these market trends with skills development, we found that the negative effect of offshoring disappears, while upskilling remains relevant and positive. This result highlights the importance of developing skills to enhance workers resilience.

Slide
6




Conclusion and Further Development


Labour transitions in the European Economic Area are being affected by automation, adoption of new technologies and offshoring.


Skills development play a key role in helping workers securing employment.


The next deliverable will delve deeper into relating these results with everyday extremism, through understanding how these factors affect workers welfare.

Slide
7

Thank you!


 **OppAttune** | Countering Oppositional Political
Extremism through Attuned
Dialogue: Track, Attune, Limit

 **GCU**
Glasgow Caledonian
University



WP3 Effective Decision-making on Offshoring vs Re-Shoring Decisions (presentation # 5)

Slide 1






Countering Oppositional Political Extremism through Attuned Dialogue: Track, Attune, Limit

Deliverable No. 3.3

Effective Decision-making on Offshoring vs Re-Shoring Decisions.




Dr Thulani Moyo
Glasgow Caledonian University

Slide 2

Theoretical framework

- Globalisation in supply chain and production decisions has been an integral strategy in practice to derive a competitive advantage for many firms for the last couple of decades.
- Most of the firms globalised to derive the benefits of tariff and free trade concessions, low-cost labour, capital subsidies in the international markets, access to overseas markets, close proximity to the customers, and close proximity to the suppliers.
- However, there's been a shift towards protectionism since the wake of the 2008 financial crisis.
 - Many economically developed governments have been enacting populist policies and measures encouraging the local sourcing of supplies and production, in order to protect their local industries and jobs.
- Our goal is to understand the re-shoring decisions by supply chains through the analysis of empirical literature and running econometric models.

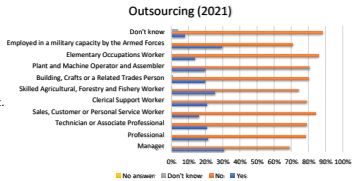




Slide 3

Skills Specialisation



- The subject of skills specialisation in the labour market is of interest in the last two decades, especially after the new technological advances and the changing format of the labour market.
- Firms have to make the decisions on skills investment or outsourcing.

Outsourcing (2021)



0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%




■ No answer ■ Don't know ■ No ■ Yes

Slide 4

Offshoring Risks




- There's been an increase in complexity and the risks that come with global and transnational supply chains.
- The financial gains obtained from offshoring can be offset by the hidden costs such as:
 - Increased logistics costs, customs duties, documentation costs, insurance costs, regulatory compliance costs and in-transit inventory carrying costs due to long logistics.
 - Product damage or loss in transit, sub-standard product quality, currency fluctuations, communication barriers, government bureaucracy etc.
- Rising fuel costs,
- Rising labour costs in emerging economies where it used to be lower,
- Growing concern over environmental risks,
- Ethical issues such as modern slavery.
- External events such as Brexit, the global pandemics like COVID19, and the Russia/ Ukraine war.

Slide 5

Present Bias Decision-Making

- Behavioural biases in off-shoring vs re-shoring decisions.
 - Present bias can lead people to make irrational decisions that favor short-term gains, often at the expense of long-term well-being.
- When making decisions people are influenced by other factors than logic.
- The behavioural biases are present not just at an individual level, but also at the group decision-making level as well.
- This group-level decision making also influences policymaking.
- This research project will be aiming to address the trade-offs between off-shoring vs re-shoring decisions in the supply chains. This would be done through the development of algorithms, using the concepts of game theory.

WP4 Update from Media, Machines & Mobilisations (presentation #6)

Slide 1

Update from Media, Machines & Mobilisations (WP4)

Tina Askanius, School of Arts and Communication
Malmö University, Sweden
Ursula Reeger,
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria

Slide 2

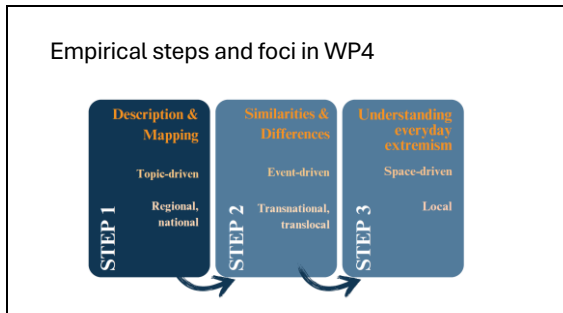
Objectives

to identify and understand contemporary extremist narratives and to map their spread across the digital mainstream, and into local ecologies. Further, to provide empirical knowledge on how extremist narratives increasingly bleed into the mainstream and critically assess the drivers behind the penetration of extremist belief systems into our everyday lives in both online and offline settings.

The objective of the WP is four-fold:

1. to identify and understand contemporary forms of online extremist narratives
2. to map their spread across the digital mainstream (local-global; fringe-mainstream; online-offline)
3. to provide thick descriptions of the interplay between online and offline articulations of extremist narratives in social movement mobilizations through three ethnographic case studies
4. to offer recommendations on designing open online public engagement that can inform future NGO action in this field

Slide 3



Slide 4

	D4.1 Visualisation report	D4.2 Translocal articulations of extremism	D.4.4 In-depth ethnographies
Aim	Identify, describe and map contemporary extremist narratives across Europe	Examine similarities and differences across three European settings and understand the ethno-cultural state of extremist叙 (narratives)	Provide thick descriptions of how extremist narratives make their way into and are negotiated in everyday, everyday across Europe
RQ	What are the key topics around which extremist narratives emerge across Europe?	What are the similarities and differences between extremist narratives across Europe, the ways in which they spread, and their reach across Europe?	How are extremist narratives negotiated in 'everyday' public spaces?
Focus	Key topics and spaces	Similarities and differences	Extremism in "everyday public spaces" → Everyday Extremism
Selection strategy	Topic-driven (connected topics) Migration as case	Translocates: the global/local interplay The networked nature of narratives	Space-driven (connected spaces)
Data	Big data (scrapes of online comments from Flashback forum + Reddit)	Big data (scrapes of online discussions of the EP24 election (suggestion: "YouTube" and European online commentary) + qualitative data from first steps of fieldwork (e.g. group documentation), documentation of online engagement and of the election	Fieldwork documentation from continued participant observations in urban and online spaces
Methods	Literature review, secondary data analysis and topic modelling (SM)	Ethnographic fieldwork + analysis of Network analysis (SN)	In-depth ethnographies combining urban and digital ethnography (hybrid ethnography). Localities
Scale	Regional/national	Transnational/translocal	

*How can topic modelling techniques help us explore the evolution of extremist narratives within online discussions surrounding migration, and what insights can be gained into the key themes, and linguistic patterns associated with these narratives? **Twitter (X) and Facebook, seen out of the picture at this point

Slide 5

D 4.1 Visualisation report of emerging extremist narratives across Europe

D 4.1 Visualisation report of emerging extremist narratives across Europe

COUNTRY-CASES

- Austria, Bulgaria, Sweden

OBJECTIVES

- Mapping of extremist narratives on offer across Europe
- Identifying where across the digital mainstream they are in circulation

HOW

- Synthesis of secondary data and key finding from previous research, data scrapes from online discussion forums around the topic of migration (Reddit and Flashback Forum)

Slide 6

Deliverable No. 4.1
Visualisation report of emerging extremist narratives across Europe

Tina Askanius, Ursula Reeger, and Adriette Nienkova
Malmö University and Austrian Academy of Sciences
19 January 2024

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Slide 7

Key findings: Extremist narratives emerging around key topics

- Key topics of OppAttune (migration, vaccination) e.g., Islamophobia, anti-Roma narratives, conspiratorial anti-elitism
- Beyond these: climate change, gender and "wokeness" (conspiratorial anti-feminism and misogyny)

Slide 8

Discussions of migration on subReddits across Europe

Slide 9

The notion of 'extremist narratives'

Defining extremism as "the belief that an in-group's success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against an outgroup" (Berger 2018, p. 44).

Extremist narratives offer identities and subject positions around the demarcation of in-groups and out-groups, and around **crisis-solution constructs** based on those group identities.

In extremist (as opposed to e.g. populist) narratives, the us/them distinction is construed around a value proposition of **hostility and/or violence against the outgroup which breaches democratic principles, human rights etc.**, and ultimately poses a threat to democracy itself.

Slide 10

Working questions to operationalise the concept in qualitative inquiries

- Who is 'we'/the ingroup?
- Who are 'they' / the out-group?
- What is the nature of the crisis/threat?
- What are the proposed solutions to the crisis/threat, and what (hostile/violent) actions are required to achieve this?

Slide 11

The notion of 'everyday extremism'

...a way of moving beyond the "extreme of the extremes"

...a way of signaling a shift in focus from an overwhelming preoccupation with explicitly anti-democratic/violent actors and organisations, often located in the margins of society and politics – and the kinds of media discourse they produce – to a focus on the more pervasive everyday forms of extremist narratives that ordinary citizens are increasingly confronted with as part of **day-to-day lives** and media consumption.

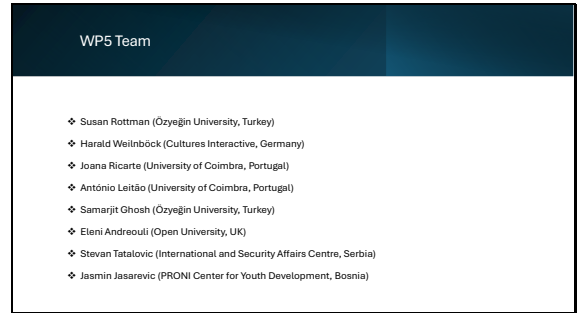
... way of moving beyond a strict focus on messages of physical violence (against people or property) to instead spotlight **symbolic and cultural violence** as key dimensions of extremism which, even if repackaged and "silent," have clear and concrete impact on violence and polarization in society. When focusing on everyday extremism we thus foreground the discursive-narrative aspects of violence that create the conditions for structural and direct violence to prevail.

WP5 Framework paper on the emergence of opposition drivers across sites and shared dialogical interventions (presentation #7)

Slide 1



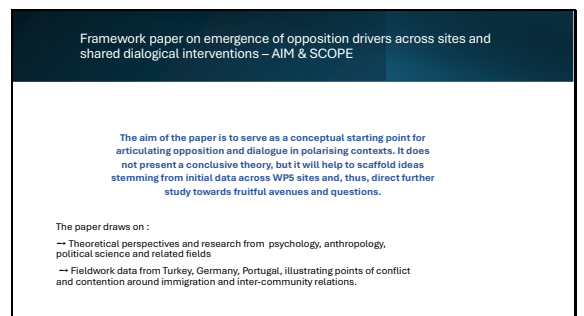
Slide 2



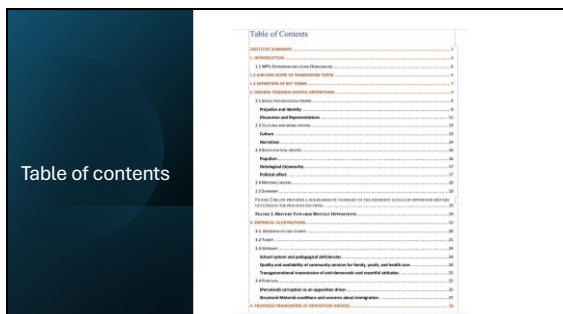
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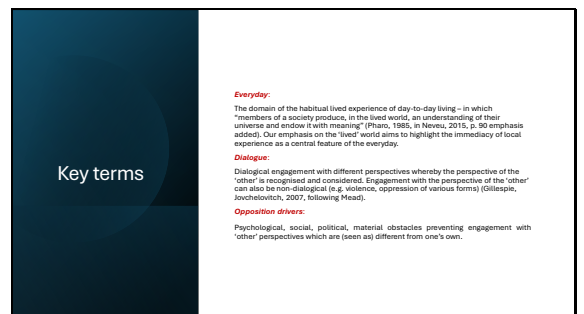
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Slide 5



Slide 6



Slide 7

Key terms (2)

Extremism:
PCVE (Preventing and Combating Violent Extremism) literature takes a state-centric approach and defines as extremist acts which are visibly disruptive, violent, and threaten the current political order. Extremism is contingent upon the contexts in which it is presented: for an act to be (seen as) extremist, it needs to violate established norms (e.g. forms of xenophobia and racism may have been accepted in the past but are seen as extremist in liberal contexts).

Everyday Extremism:
The 'ordinary', everyday discourses and practices which (re)produce hostile oppositions between 'us' and 'them'. Extreme everyday narratives are part of what may be understood as common-sensical ways of understanding the world, seen in everyday discourse and interaction. What makes such narratives extreme is not their 'abnormality', but the fact that they communicate an us/them opposition built upon a requirement for hostility to the other side(s).

Our emphasis is on hostile oppositions in the context of everyday extremism. WPP brings together cross-disciplinary evidence and theory to develop a framework that can be used to understand the emergence of hostile opposition drivers.

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Drivers towards hostile oppositions

- Social-psychological drivers**
 - Prejudice and Identity
 - Discourses, Representations
 - Semantic barriers
- Socio-political opposition drivers**
 - Ontological insecurity
 - Resentful affect
 - Populist politics
- Cultural and moral drivers**
 - Cultural 'common-sense'
 - Narratives
- Material-structural drivers**
 - Inequalities, economic crises
 - Feeding into left-behind narratives, mobilized in populist rhetoric

Slide 9

Three case studies

Turkey

- 3 strategic sites (Istanbul, Sanliurfa and Hatay)
- Focused and rapid ethnography, incl. observation and interviews
- PAR

Germany

- Schools in East Germany
- Group discussions with students
- Narrative Group Work (NGW)

Portugal:

- Multiple sites across country
- Focused and rapid ethnography, incl. observation and interviews

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Turkey

Three prominent narratives across sites

- 1) "anti-Arab" narratives
- 2) militaristic national culture and idea of disloyalty of Syrians;
- 3) economic concerns and the idea that Syrians receive too much government charity

Ontological insecurities

We think that the government has some agenda – maybe they want to dissuade Hatay with Syrians and keep the local population as it may not be Hatay for a long time. Right around off it's history is belonging to Turkey. So if the Syrian population keeps increasing then they'll choose a Syrian mayor and change the local laws and impose their way of living. So we will be like foreigners in our own country culturally.

Resentment:

"Syrians have their signs while Kurdish shops cannot have theirs."
 "I was glad to speak Arabic with Syrians at first, but I didn't like how they came to Hatay and acted like they owned the place, like it was their country."
 "The time of victimization is done. Now you should be part of the community. You should look around and see how people live here and start to live like them."

(Place-based) Resentment:

"They misuse the public space – it's not like we are bothered by them picnicking on the beach, but they don't put their blankets on the sand – they put them on the pavement (logging/walking path) so we can't take it for our walks. Many times we couldn't walk because they're blocking the way, and that's annoying. They don't obey the rules. They don't adapt. But we're not afraid of Syrian families in public spaces – they come to play in the playground, that's ok. But for example, Syrian people walking on river banks and littering, that makes us angry. It's not like Turkish people don't do it but when someone else does it in your country it's more visible."

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Germany

Material and structural drivers

- School system and pedagogical deficiencies
- Quality and availability of community services for family, youth, and health care
- Rapidly increasing social and economic injustice, across class and locality

Historical resentment

- "Transgenerational transmission" of anti-democratic and resentful attitudes

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Portugal

Far-right populist political discourse (Chega)

- Narratives of corruption
- Leader-centred rhetoric
- Resentful affect

Socio-structural drivers


- Declining health services
- Inflation and rising housing prices
- Intersecting with anti-immigration narratives
- Feeding into populist us/them rhetoric

Slide
13

An intersectional cross-disciplinary framework

<p>Cultural resources:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Narratives and Social representations▪ Communication and rhetoric <p>Social relations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Identities▪ Group processes <p>Politics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Political projects and counter-projects (e.g. populism, grievance politics)▪ Ideologies	<p>Space/Time:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Local, national, international histories (e.g. coloniality, conflicts and wars)▪ Place (e.g. international migration, local specificities) <p>Subjective experience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Political emotions and affective investments (anger, resentment)▪ Familiarity, habit▪ Sense of 'crisis' (manufactured and felt)
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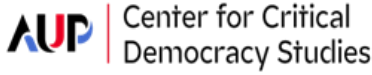
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Thank you for your attention.

13 List of attendance (in-person)

	Name	Organisation	Country
1	Kesi Mahendran	The Open University (OU)	UK
2	Sandra Obradović	The Open University (OU)	UK
3	Evangelia Vergouli	The Open University (OU)	UK
4	Tania Shyriaieva	The Open University (OU)	UK
5	Umut Korkut	Glasgow Caledonian University (GCU)	UK
6	Thales Souza Lima	Glasgow Caledonian University (GCU)	UK
7	Moyo Thulani	Glasgow Caledonian University (GCU)	UK
8	Zona Zarić	American University in Paris (AUP)	France
9	Tina Askanius	Malmö University (MAU)	Sweden
10	Harald Weilnböck	Cultures Interactive (CI)	Germany
11	Urusula Reeger	Oesterreichische Akademie Der Wissenschaften (OEAW)	Austria
12	Antonis Dimakis	Panteion University (Panteion)	Greece
13	Xenia Chrysochoou	Panteion University (Panteion)	Greece
14	Barkas Dimitrios	Panteion University (Panteion)	Greece
15	Gordon Sammut	Universita Ta Malta (UoM)	Malta
16	Susan Rottman	Özyeğin University (OzU)	Turkey
17	Samarjit Ghosh	Özyeğin University (Ozyegin)	Turkey
18	Biljana Mileva	Institut Jozef Stefan (JSI)	Slovenia
19	Joana Ricarte	Universidade De Coimbra (UC)	Portugal
20	Stevan Tatalovic	International Security Affairs Centre (ISAC)	Serbia
21	Adelina Hasani	Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS)	Kosovo
22	Mentor Vrajolli	Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS)	Kosovo
23	William Warda	Hammurabi Human Rights Organization (HHRO)	Iraq
24	Jasmin Jasarevic	PRONI Centre (PRONI)	Bosnia

14 Partner Logos



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