

Shattered Safety?

Developmental risk trajectories for conspiracy mentality
and violent extremism

Analyses in progress

6th zIReN Meeting, Bari/Italy, 2024

Hanne Duindam, Lucia Hernandez-Pena, Jessica Asscher, &
Manuel Eisner

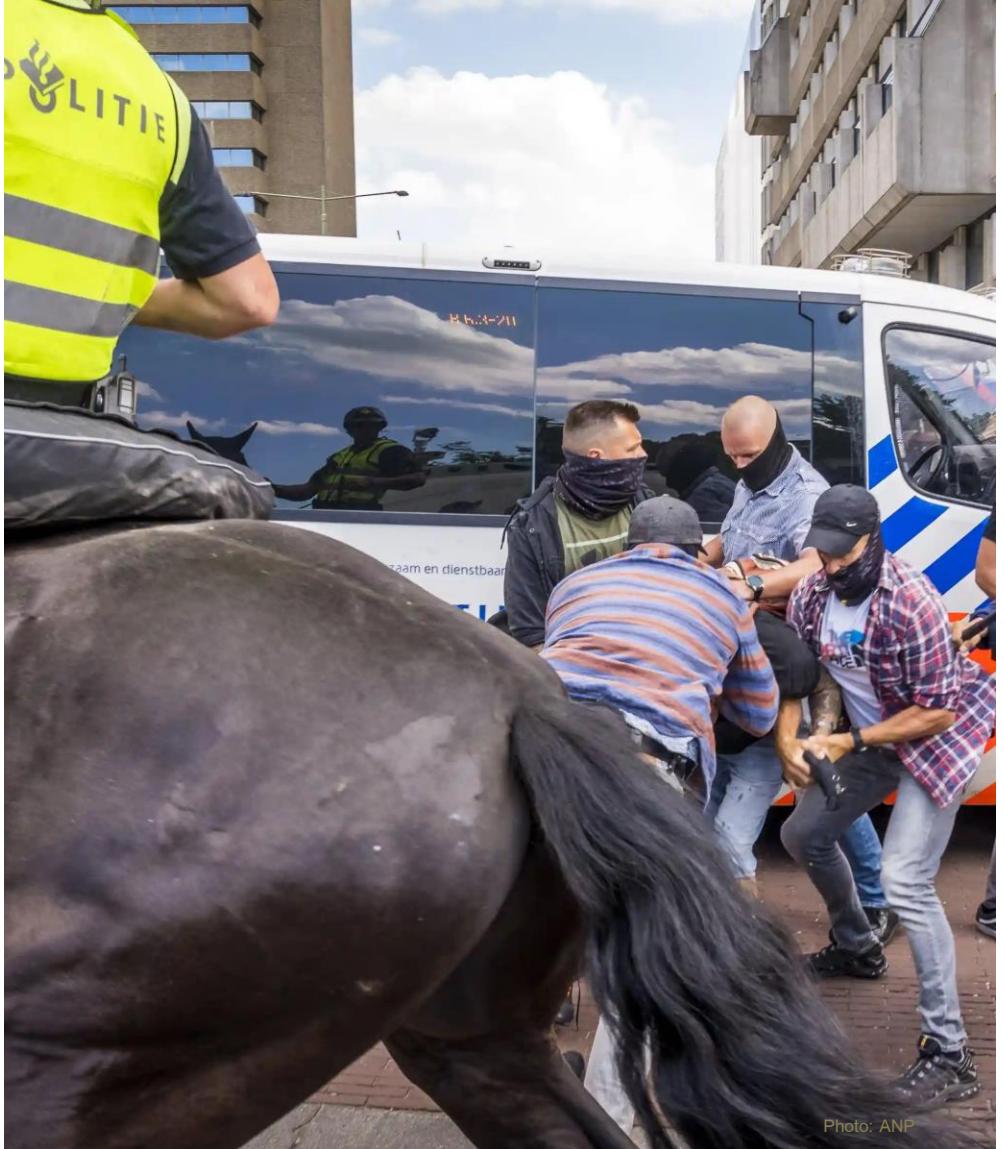


Photo: ANP

CONSPIRACY BELIEF



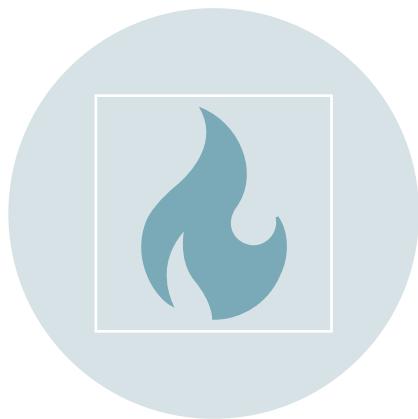
Photo: Rijdende Redactie, Shutterstock

Regardless of who is officially in charge, there is a single group
of people who secretly control events and rule the world
together



"YOU WILL OWN NOTHING,
AND YOU WILL BE HAPPY"
KLAAS SCHMID - WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

CONSPIRACY BELIEF MIGHT...



FUEL VIOLENT
EXTREMISM



UNDERMINE
DEMOCRATIC
PROCESSES



CONSPIRACY-EXTREMISM :

Storming of the US Capitol

Image: Kent Nishimura/LA Times



Threats to public figures



5G Towers



Sovereign citizen conspiracy

EXAMPLES

VIOLENT EXTREMISM & CONSPIRACY BELIEF

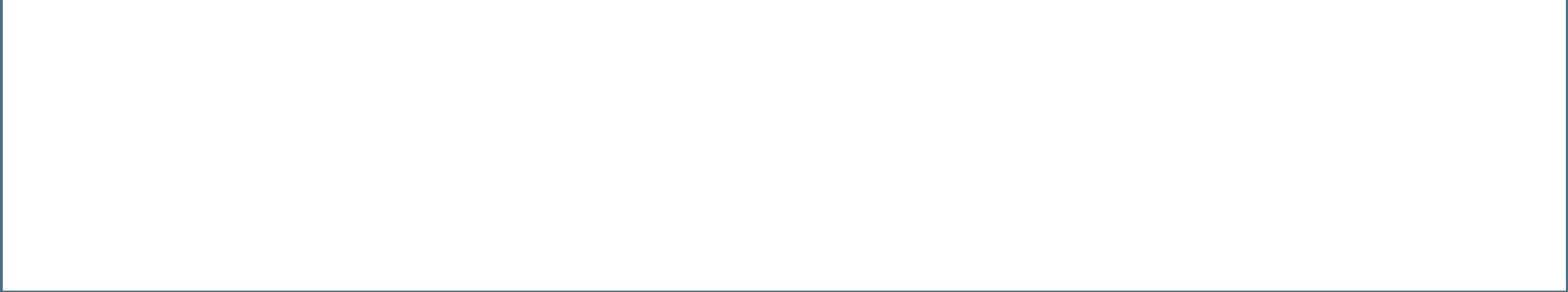
There might be a relationship...

- Both are seated in deep mistrust ('anomie');
- Rely on a perceived threat and enemies;
- Play into the need to cope with uncertainties and make sense of the world;

VIOLENT EXTREMISM & CONSPIRACY BELIEF

Common antecedents...

- Political factors (e.g., powerlessness, group deprivation)
- Personality factors (e.g., dark triad traits)
- Cognitive factors (e.g., rigid thinking style)



DO CONSPIRACY BELIEF AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM SHARE A
DEVELOPMENTAL FOUNDATION?



DEVELOPMENTAL FOUNDATION

Theoretical perspective

Conspiracy mentality

- Behavioral adaptation to adversity → Victimhood perspective

Significant threats → unsafe world → seek control through easy answers provided by conspiracy theories



DEVELOPMENTAL FOUNDATION

Theoretical perspective

Violent extremism

- Coping reaction to pervasive adversity

General Strain Theory:

- Negative treatment → strain → feel bad
- Alleviate distress → harmful corrective actions



Cottonbro Studio; Pexels.com

SHATTERED SAFETY?



Little developmental evidence

THE CURRENT STUDY

- Aim:
 1. Identify developmental trajectories of 'shattered safety'
 2. Examine to what extent distal outcomes of conspiracy belief and violent extremism differ between trajectory groups

DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORIES SHATTERED SAFETY

- Bullying victimization
 - Related to conspiracy mentality in adulthood (Jolley & Lantian, 2022)
 - Risk factor for violent extremism (Agnew, 2010, 2011; Harpviken, 2020; Sommer, 2014)
- Emotional distress
 - Repeatedly associated with conspiracy belief (Bowes et al., 2021; De Conick et al., 2021; Grzesiak-Feldman, 2013)
 - Relationship with violent extremism found (Bhui et al., 2016, 2020; Rousseau et al., 2019)
- Lack of trust
 - Seen as essential component of conspiracy mentality and violent extremism (Thielmann & Hilbig, 2023; Becker, 2021; van den Bos, 2023)

HYPOTHESES

- Aim:
 1. Identify developmental trajectories of the 'shattered safety' risk factors
 - Heterogeneity in youth's trajectories to reveal distinct groups
 2. Examine to what extent distal outcomes (conspiracy belief and violent extremism) differed between trajectory groups
 - Problematic developmental trajectories to exhibit higher levels of distal outcomes at age

SAMPLE & INSTRUMENTS

- Participants were from z-proso ($N = 1482$)
- Wave K5 (13), K6 (15), K7 (17), K8 (20), K9 (24)
- ‘Shattered safety’ risk factors (K5-K9)
 - Bullying victimization (BullVict4, 6-point scale)
 - Emotional distress (nSBQ_anxdep, 5-point scale)
 - General trust (Gtrust, 3 items, 4-point scale)
- Distal outcomes (K9)
 - Conspiracy mentality (ConspMent, 4-point scale)
 - Violent extremism (Viol, 4-point scale)

ANALYSES

- FIML to address missing data
- **Growth Mixture Model:** Identify similar subgroups within a diverse population by estimating growth trajectories (K5-K9) for each subgroup;
 1. Latent growth curve (LGC) modeling to examine change in developmental risk factors from K5-K9 for whole group (linear + quadratic)
 2. GMM run for 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-, 5-class models
 - Model-fit criteria (AIC, BIC, ...), entropy, LMRT tests, interpretability, parsimony.
- Wald tests for estimating differences between trajectory subgroups on conspiracy mentality and violent extremism

RESULTS (1): LGC

Model	Chi-square	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR	BIC	AIC
Bullying + distr + trust <i>linear</i>	4758.998	105	0.824	0.801	0.077*	0.079	34512.382	34289.734
Bullying + distr + trust <i>quadratic</i>	4758.998	105	0.954	0.927	0.047	0.034	33974.588	33608.809

RESULTS (2): MODEL FIT

Classes	AIC	Sample-size adj-BIC	Entropy	LO-MENDELL-RUBIN adj. LRT TEST		Class 1 N (%)	Class 2 N (%)	Class 3 N (%)	Class 4 N (%)	Class 5 N (%)
				Value	P-Value					
2	33454.550	33603.261	0.917	397.126	0.0004	120 (8.01%)	1362 (91.90%)	--	--	--
3	33140.107	33564.199	0.905	329.925	0.0105	1312 (88.53%)	60 (4.05%)	110 (7.42%)		
4	32941.955	33419.058	0.832	215.204	0.0143	127 (8.6%)	1194 (80.6%)	100 (6.75%)	61 (4.12%)	
5	33408.434	33544.398	0.788	67.744	0.1007	42 (2.83%)	1074 (72.47%)	180 (12.15%)	112 (7.56%)	74 (4.99%)

RESULTS (2): MODEL FIT

Classes	AIC	Sample-size adj. BIC	Entropy	LO-MENDELL-RUBIN adj. LRT TEST		Class 1 N (%)	Class 2 N (%)	Class 3 N (%)	Class 4 N (%)	Class 5 N (%)
				Value	P-Value					
2	33454.550	33603.261	0.917	397.126	0.0004	120 (8.01%)	1362 (91.90%)	--	--	--
3	33140.107	33564.199	0.905	329.925	0.0105	1312 (88.53%)	60 (4.05%)	110 (7.42%)		
4	32941.955	33419.058	0.832	215.204	0.0143	127 (8.6%)	1194 (80.6%)	100 (6.75%)	61 (4.12%)	
5	33408.434	33544.398	0.788	67.744	0.1007	42 (2.83%)	1074 (72.47%)	180 (12.15%)	112 (7.56%)	74 (4.99%)

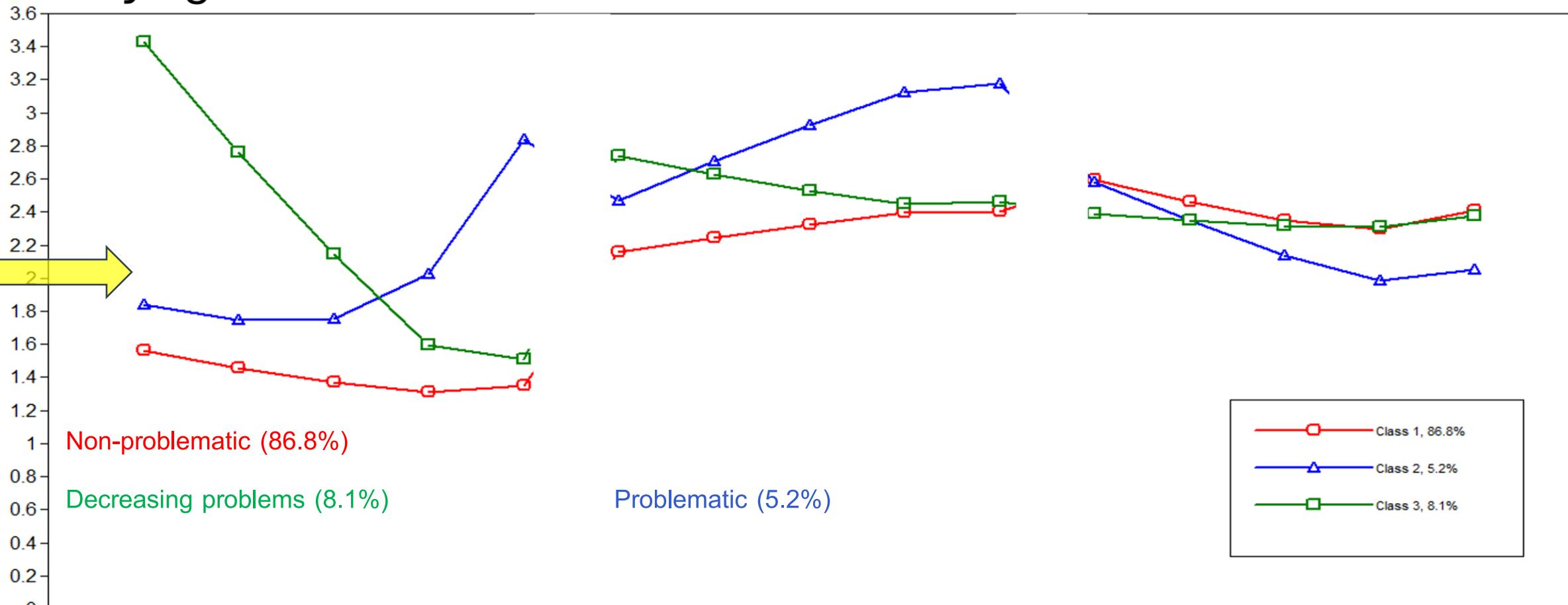
Notes. Emotional distress slope fixed at zero.

RESULTS: TRAJECTORIES (K5-K9)

Bullying victimization

Emotional Distress

Trust



RESULTS: DISTAL OUTCOMES

Group comparison on distal outcomes (K9)

Conspiracy mentality				
	Mean (SE)	n	Wald χ^2 (_{a-b})	Wald χ^2 (_{b-c})
Non-problematic (a)	2.569 (0.02)	1312	7.032***	
Problematic (b)	2.846 (0.10)	60		8.068***
Decreasing problems (c)	2.477 (0.08)	110		
Violent extremism				
	Mean (SE)	n	Wald χ^2 (_{a-b})	Wald χ^2 (_{b-c})
Non-problematic (a)	1.551 (0.021)	1312	6.068***	
Problematic (b)	1.944 (0.152)	60		2.451
Decreasing problems (c)	1.657 (0.095)	110		

CONCLUSION & GOING FORWARD

- Three classes with unique developmental trajectories
- Group with increasing problems had highest level of conspiracy mentality and violent extremism at age 24

Going forward....

- Contribution of trajectory versus end point
- Regressions (trajectory slopes, end points)
- Comparing model fit
-suggestions are welcome!

THANK YOU



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

Institute of Criminology



Zürcher Projekt zur sozialen Entwicklung
von der Kindheit ins Erwachsenenalter

RWTHAACHEN
UNIVERSITY



Utrecht
University

REFERENCES

- Agnew, R. (2010). A general strain theory of terrorism. *Theoretical Criminology*, 14(2), 131–153. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480609350163>
- AIVD. (2023). *Anti-institutioneel extremisme in Nederland*. <https://www.aivd.nl/documenten/publicaties/2023/05/25/anti-institutioneel-extremisme-in-nederland-een-ernstige-dreiging-voor-de-democratische-rechtsorde>
- Basit, A. (2021). Conspiracy theories and violent extremism: Similarities, differences and the implications. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 13(3), 1–9. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27040260>
- Becker, M. H. (2021). When extremists become violent: Examining the association between social control, social learning, and engagement in violent extremism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 44(12), 1104–1124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2019.1626093>
- Bilewicz, M. (2022). Conspiracy beliefs as an adaptation to historical trauma. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 47, 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101359>
- Borum, R. (2017). The Etiology of Radicalization. *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 2016, 17–32. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118923986.ch1>
- Bhui, K., Otis, M., Silva, M. J., Halvorsrud, K., Freestone, M., & Jones, E. (2020). Extremism and common mental illness: Cross-sectional community survey of White British and Pakistani men and women living in England. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 217(4), 547–554. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.2019.14>
- Bhui, K., Silva, M. J., Topciu, R. A., & Jones, E. (2016). Pathways to sympathies for violent protest and terrorism. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 209(6), 483–490. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.116.185173>
- Bos, K. van den. (2023). *The Fair Process Effect: Overcoming distrust, polarization and conspiracy thinking*.
- Bowes, S. M., Costello, T. H., Ma, W., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2021). Looking under the tinfoil hat: Clarifying the personological and psychopathological correlates of conspiracy beliefs. *Journal of Personality*, 89(3), 422–436. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jopy.12588>
- Brotherton, R., French, C. C., & Pickering, A. D. (2013). Measuring belief in conspiracy theories: The generic conspiracist beliefs scale. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4(MAY), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00279>
- De Coninck, D., Frissen, T., Matthijs, K., D'Haenens, L., Lits, G., Champagne-Poirier, O., Carignan, M. E., David, M. D., Pignard-Cheynel, N., Salerno, S., & Généreux, M. (2021). Beliefs in conspiracy theories and misinformation about COVID-19: Comparative perspectives on the role of anxiety, depression and exposure to and trust in information sources. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.646394>
- Duindam, H. M., Asscher, J. J., & Lösel, F. (2023). Consumed by conspiracy? Individual and social risk factors for radicalization. <https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/e46wj/>

REFERENCES

- Green, R., & Douglas, K. M. (2018). Anxious attachment and belief in conspiracy theories. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 125(January), 30–37. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.12.023>
- Grimbergen, C., & Fassaert, T. (2022). Occurrence of Psychiatric Disorders, Self-Sufficiency Problems and Adverse Childhood Experiences in a Population Suspected of Violent Extremism. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 13(February), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.779714>
- Grzesiak-Feldman, M. (2013). The Effect of High-Anxiety Situations on Conspiracy Thinking. *Current Psychology*, 32(1), 100–118. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-013-9165-6>
- Harpviken, A. N. (2020). Psychological Vulnerabilities and Extremism Among Western Youth: A Literature Review. *Adolescent Research Review*, 5(1), 0. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-019-00108-y>
- Hornsey, M. J., Bierwiaczonek, K., Sassenberg, K., & Douglas, K. M. (2022). Individual, intergroup and nation-level influences on belief in conspiracy theories. *Nature Reviews Psychology*, 2(2), 85–97. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-022-00133-0>
- Jahnke, S., Abad Borger, K., & Beelmann, A. (2022). Predictors of Political Violence Outcomes among Young People: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *Political Psychology*, 43(1), 111–129. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12743>
- Jung, T., & Wickrama, K. A. S. (2008). An Introduction to Latent Class Growth Analysis and Growth Mixture Modeling. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(1), 302–317. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2007.00054.x>
- Kruglanski, A. W., Molinario, E., Ellenberg, M., & Di Cicco, G. (2022). Terrorism and conspiracy theories: A view from the 3N model of radicalization. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 47, 101396. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101396>
- Jolley, D., & Lantian, A. (2022). Bullying and conspiracy theories experiences of workplace bullying and the tendency to engage in conspiracy theorizing. *Social Psychology*, 53(4), 198–208. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000492>
- Jolley, D., & Paterson, J. L. (2020). Pylons ablaze: Examining the role of 5G COVID-19 conspiracy beliefs and support for violence. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 59(3), 628–640. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12394>
- Logan, M. K., Windisch, S., & Simi, P. (2024). Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE), Adolescent Misconduct, and Violent Extremism: A Comparison of Former Left-Wing and Right-Wing Extremists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 36(1), 55–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2022.2098725>
- Pilch, I., Turska-Kawa, A., Wardawy, P., Olszanecka-Marmola, A., & Smołkowska-Jędo, W. (2023). Contemporary trends in psychological research on conspiracy beliefs. A systematic review. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14(February). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1075779>

REFERENCES

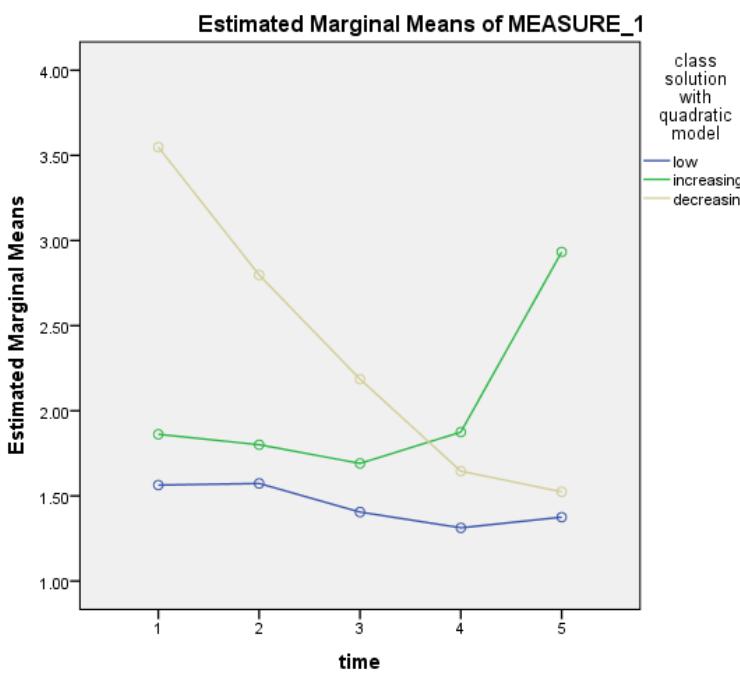
- Rousseau, C., Hassan, G., Miconi, D., Lecompte, V., Mekki-Berrada, A., El Hage, H., & Ouhote, Y. (2019). From social adversity to sympathy for violent radicalization: The role of depression, religiosity and social support. *Archives of Public Health*, 77(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13690-019-0372-y>
- Rottweiler, B., & Gill, P. (2020). Conspiracy beliefs and violent extremist intentions: The contingent effects of self-efficacy, self-control and law-related morality. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34(7), 1485–1504. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2020.1803288>
- Simi, P., Sporer, K., & Bubolz, B. F. (2016). Narratives of childhood adversity and adolescent misconduct as precursors to violent extremism: A life-course criminological approach. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 53(4), 536–563. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427815627312>
- Sullivan, D., Landau, M. J., & Rothschild, Z. K. (2010). An Existential Function of Enemyship: Evidence That People Attribute Influence to Personal and Political Enemies to Compensate for Threats to Control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98(3), 434–449. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017457>
- Thielmann, I., & Hilbig, B. E. (2023). Generalized Dispositional Distrust as the Common Core of Populism and Conspiracy Mentality. *Political Psychology*, 44(4), 789–805. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12886>
- Trip, S., Bora, C. H., Marian, M., Halmaján, A., & Drugas, M. I. (2019). Psychological mechanisms involved in radicalization and extremism. A rational emotive behavioral conceptualization. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10(MAR). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00437>
- van Prooijen, J. W., Ligthart, J., Rosema, S., & Xu, Y. (2022). The entertainment value of conspiracy theories. *British Journal of Psychology*, 113(1), 25–48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12522>
- Walter, A. S., & Drochon, H. (2020). Conspiracy thinking in Europe and America: A comparative study. *Political Studies*, 00(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720972616>
- Windisch, S., Simi, P., Blee, K., & DeMichele, M. (2022). Measuring the Extent and Nature of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) among Former White Supremacists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 34(6), 1207–1228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2020.1767604>

RESULTS (EXTRA): GROWTH PARAMETERS

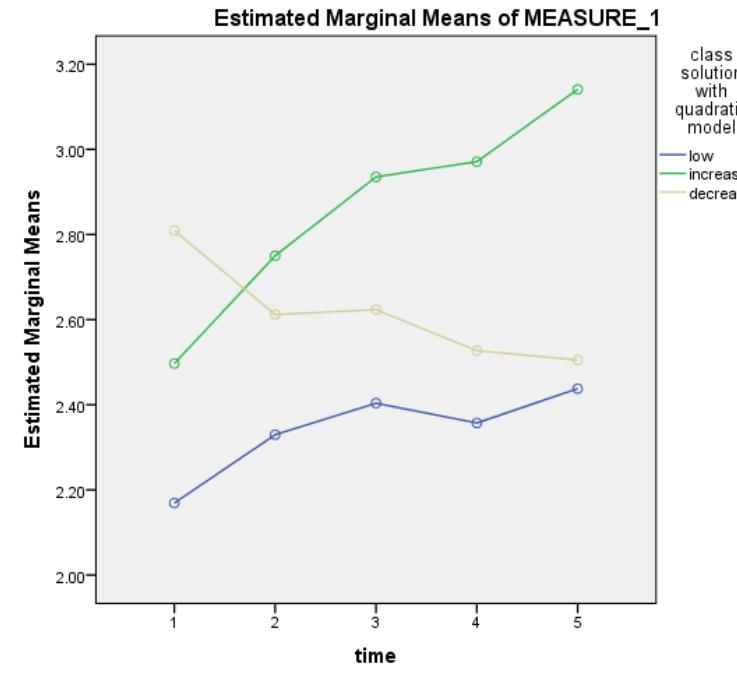
	Domain	Bullying victimization			Emotional distress			Trust		
		Intercept	L	Q	Intercept	L	Q	Intercept	L	Q
Non-problematic (86.8%)	Estimate	1.56	-0.74	0.52	2.15	0.61	-0.37	2.59	-0.96	0.78
	SE	0.03	0.10	0.08	0.02	0.09	0.08	0.02	0.08	0.07
Problematic (5.2%)	Estimate	1.84	-0.91	1.90	2.47	1.60	-0.89	2.58	-1.65	1.22
	SE	0.11	0.54	0.51	0.11	0.53	0.48	0.07	0.31	0.28
Decreasing problems (8.1%)	Estimate	3.43	-4.60	2.68	2.74	-0.79	0.52	2.39	-0.33	0.31
	SE	0.17	0.53	0.48	0.10	0.36	0.31	0.07	0.26	0.24

RESULTS (EXTRA): TRAJECTORIES

Bullying victimisation



Emotional distress



Generalized trust

