

Measuring Extremist Archetypes: Scale Development and Validation

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Author Note

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Abstract

To date, research on individual differences in susceptibility to extremism has typically focused on contextual perspectives and on clinical or maladaptive personality profiles including psychopathology. In addition, the field has mostly distinguished between the extremist and the non-extremist in a dichotomous way, paying little attention to the motivational and behavioral heterogeneity in violent extremists. Supporting the importance of this heterogeneity, “extremist archetypes” with different motivational backgrounds and behavioral roles have been identified in independent lines of qualitative research. Yet, research quantitatively testing and validating these archetypes and investigating whether and how they relate to extremism and violence is missing. The present research aimed to fill these gaps by developing and validating the Extremist Archetypes Scale. The present thesis is a product of an independent research project with original data collection. In Study 1 conducted with 303 White/Caucasian Americans, exploratory factor analysis of a preliminary item pool gave support for a scale measuring five factorially distinct archetypes: “adventurer”, “fellow traveler”, “leader”, “drifter” and “misfit.” Each of these had different associations with individual level factors such as violent intentions, ethnic identification and social dominance orientation. In a second pre-registered Study 2 conducted with 301 White/Caucasian Americans, confirmatory factor analysis supported the scale’s five-factor solution. As in Study 1, four of the extremist archetypes had positive associations with violent intentions, supporting the scale’s criterion validity. The different partial correlations found in both studies indicate that the extremist archetypes have different personality profiles and associations with individual based factors. Hence, by developing a scale that captures extremist archetypes that differ in term of personality and ideology, the present research provides the quantitative tools for future research to further investigate the diversity in motivations and roles of extremists. The findings of the present research are discussed in light of future research and societal implications.

Keywords: extremism, extremist archetypes, ideology, personality, scale development

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The rise of the “alternative right” has accelerated over the last couple of years and alternative-right associations are now ever more present in the public sphere in the West. The political and religious climate is becoming increasingly unstable and polarized and threat levels are increasing with violent attacks carried out in different parts of the world. Newly elected political leaders (e.g., Trump, Erdogan, Bolsonaro, Orbán) are nurturing and modelling this more conservative mindset, which in turn generally increases movements’ reach and political power. To date, much of the research on extremism has been based on religious extremism (Jasko & LaFree, 2019). This prominent focus may arguably have resulted from the Western post-9/11 perception that Islamist groups represent the most serious terrorist threat to our society. However, the incidents of far-right terrorism have been increasing in the West by a total of 320 per cent over the past five years (Global Terrorism Index, 2019). As an example, Islamist and right-wing extremism are found to have the same or very similar probability to perform an attack in Norway (The Norwegian Police Security Service, 2020). Furthermore, there has been a significant increase in the number of politically motivated attacks committed by right-wing extremists. In contrast, Islamist attacks have decreased in the West in 2019 (The Norwegian Police Security Service, 2020). Hence, as right-wing extremism is expected to continue to grow and increase its presence, it is of utmost importance to further research this phenomenon.

When thinking of a violent extremist it is easy to picture someone abnormal, as the action itself most certainly is. However, this is a pitfall. Research indicates that one common characteristic of terrorists tends to be that they are generally well-adjusted and normal individuals (for review see McGilloway et al., 2015). The research indicating the contrary is sometimes based on low quality of research (e.g., only use of secondary sources), as well as lack of alternative explanations. Despite the persistence of evidence to suggest extremist normality, a general claim of psychological “normality” does not permeate the individual psychology as much as one would expect (Silke, 2003). As such, most research on extremism has investigated contextual factors or psychopathology factors as the main determinate of extremism. However, “normal” personality has been argued to play a role and certain extremist archetypes with different motivational backgrounds and behavioral tendencies have been qualitatively identified (e.g., Bjørge, 2016; Nesser, 2015). Yet, research quantitatively testing these archetypes and whether they relate to extremism and/or violent intentions is missing. It is here the present thesis aims to make a contribution.

Defining Extremism

There are many definitions and understandings of radicalization, extremism and

terrorism and they all encompass different aspects of the prospect to use political motivated violence. In this thesis, radicalization is defined as a “process through which people become increasingly motivated to use violent means against members of an out-group or symbolic targets to achieve behavioral change and political goals” (Doosje et al., 2016, p. 79).

Extremism is defined as encompassing ideas, attitudes, intentions and behaviors that are in opposition to fundamental values and norms of society, including democracy and the rule of law. Terrorism is defined as violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals such as those of a political, religious, social, racial or environmental nature (Schmid, 2013, see Obaidi et al., 2020). Added together, a short working definition defines “radicalization as socialization to extremism which manifests itself in terrorism” (Alonso et al., 2008, p. 7).

Research indicates that individuals with different ideological standpoints have different backgrounds as well as behavioral and motivational tendencies. In a literature review, Chermak & Gruenewald (2015) found that violent individuals belonging to far-right, far-left and Al Qaeda and affiliated movements had different profiles. It appears that the far-rightists are much more “generalists” in their offending patterns by committing crimes of opportunity and using violence indiscriminately and situationally. Findings like these imply that one must distinguish between different religious and ideological standpoints, and conduct research on the different types, not generalize findings to all political motivated violence.

Contextual Perspectives on Extremism

Researchers that work in the field of radicalization, extremism and terrorism seem to disagree when it comes to what the best explanatory models are. This disagreement generally follows a pattern based on the controversy of the person-situation debate. To this date, a lot of the influential studies, further used as explanatory models, conclude that context is the key determinate of extreme behavior (Arendt, 1963; Haney et al., 1973; Hilberg, 1961; Milgram, 1963). This understanding implies that anyone can become violent, as long as the person is placed in a specific situation where violence and related behaviors are the norm and encouraged. This situational perspective is further reinforced by processes related to peer pressure, group identity, rules and obedience (Obaidi, 2018).

This prominent focus on situational factors is based on a rejection of earlier work which presumed that psychological disorders or psychopathy was the cause of extremism (Dernevik et al., 2009; Silke, 1998). The rejection was based on newer research and literature reviews that uncovered poor research quality (e.g., only use of secondary sources) and lack of evidence (Crenshaw, 1992; McCauley, 1991; Sageman, 2004; Silke, 1998; Silke, 2003).

However, this rejection of psychological disorders as an explanation also resulted in a rejection of non-pathological variables, and therefore the individual psychology as well (Obaidi, 2018). When reading the literature on “the extremist personality” one notices that the term personality has different meaning and rarely mean personality as adaptive, stable personalities within the normal personality traits commonly studied in psychology (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 2008). Instead, most of the research on the “extremist personality” focuses on mental disorders (for review see Corrado, 1981) and personality disorders (e.g., Cooper, 1978; Pearlstein, 1991). Some research even makes sweeping conclusions when it comes to the role of normal, non-clinical personality traits and their association with extremist behavior. To give an example, Sageman (2004) investigated a range of explanations for why some individuals join extremist networks and perpetrate terrorist acts. When looking into indicators of paranoid or authoritarian personality dynamics he concluded, based on his results and findings from others research, that “there was no *psychological profile* [emphasis added] for terrorism” (p. 91). Hence, by generalizing the more extreme personality traits to a psychological profile, the non-clinical personality perspective has generally been held back and seen as a fruitless perspective.

The “situationist” argument dominating the research on extremism often rejects the role of individual-based explanations. These types of assumptions not only ignore the fact that individual, psychological features play a significant role explaining our behavior, it also downplays the human agency to act as an independent agent that is capable of making own decisions. As such, the explanatory value is inadequate and gives only a limited insight into the field of extremism (Silke, 1998). Therefore, one may argue that individual level factors should be used together with contextual factors in order to create a better understanding of why some individuals from a certain social group in a particular context become radicalized, while others do not (Obaidi, 2018).

Individual Difference Perspectives on Extremism

The question is if the influence of context on extremist behavior is as strong as often assumed. There is little research that directly confirms the hypothesis and the results of the existing research are not unambiguous (see Cooper & Withey, 2009). In addition, radicalization is a complex, multi-factor and multi-pathway process (e.g., McCauley & Moskaleiko, 2009; Silke, 2003) which cannot be explained by one perspective only. Moreover, there is research that shows that even under the same structural and social conditions, there are observed different behaviors by different people, also in extreme situations. For example, 35% of the participants from the classic obedience experiment by

Stanley Milgram refused to obey the research leader when asked to give an electrical shock to another individual when answering a question wrong (Blass, 1991). The situational perspective falls short of explaining such findings. These findings on individual level differences can be connected to the theories on the “person-environment fit” and “push” and “pull” factors. The person-environment fit implies that environments sometimes affect different individuals in distinct ways, and that certain qualities of the environment provide a good fit (or has a positive impact) for only some individuals (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). Some of these qualities can be psychological traits which may make people prone to seek out specific environments and contexts. In other words, our psychological dispositions, such as personality traits, prone us to seek out certain social groups (Caspi et al., 2005). “Push” and “pull” factors distinguish between two influences. When considering extremism, “pull” factors are proximate triggers or opportunities to participate in violence, while “push” factors are structural conditions linked to political institutions, economic opportunities, and social context. “Pull” factors are often psychosocial considerations specific to the individual and may make someone more prone to violent extremism (Nanes & Lau, 2018). Thus, seeking out and belonging to an extremist group may be a product of self-selection, not just because of blind manipulation or situational conditions (Obaidi, 2018). Ultimately, it is reasonable to assume that a combination of pull and push factors motivate an individual to become a extremist (Silke, 2003). Many of the structural and situational “push” factors have been identified and highlighted in research. Hence, finding the individual, psychological “pull-factors” that drive individuals towards extreme groups and situations is of importance (Nanes & Lau, 2018).

In personality literature there are individual factors that provide a “push” to seek out certain contexts, which are complemented by “pull” factors within those contexts. For example, “push” factors involve self-selection based on personality traits, whereas pull factors can involve persuasion. To give an example, research on aggressive behavior show that people who score high on aggressiveness, authoritarianism, machiavellianism, narcissism and social dominance orientation are more selectively drawn to pursue volunteering for a study of prison life, such as the classic Stanford prison experiment (Carnahan & McFarland, 2007).

Personality Traits

Researchers argue that non-clinical personality traits can be useful in advancing our understanding of and explaining of extremism (Obaidi et al., 2020). In addition, a meta-analytical study has shown that the predictive value of personality traits is no lower than social-psychological factors (Roberts et al., 2007), further emphasizing the usefulness of

personality traits. In this thesis, I define non-clinical personality traits as stable traits reflecting people's characteristic patterns of thoughts, feelings and behavior (see e.g., McCrae & Costa, 2008). Recent research has established an association between basic personality characteristics and the more extreme ideological standpoints. When looking at twitter followers in a general population, the followers of the more extreme accounts (whether left or right), were found to be less agreeable, less neurotic and more open than the followers of non-extreme accounts (Alizadeh et al., 2017). The authors noted that a personality profile characterized by high levels of openness and low levels of agreeableness could form the foundation for extreme political orientation, because such individuals are less influenced by the opinion of others, but quick to spread their own. There are also studies that give empirical support for a single global personality factor that is associated with extremist ideology. For instance, a recent study found a pattern of personality traits expressed through low intellect/imagination, low extraversion and high agreeableness that seem to make people vulnerable to extremist ideology, and that the opposed pattern could be a protective factor (Trip et al., 2019). These findings are in line with previous research documenting a negative correlation between openness and center-right voters, and a positive correlation between conscientiousness and these same conservative voters (Caprara et al., 2006), as well as findings which indicate that a low level of intellect is associated with conservatism (Stankov, 2009) and right-wing authoritarianism (Heaven, 2011). In addition, new research finds associations between personality characteristics and extremism. In a study looking at the relation between fundamental personality characteristics and behavioral intentions when it comes to supporting and defending one's religious group with violence, results indicated that 13-43 percent of the individual differences in violent tendencies can be explained by differences in peoples personalities. The results from this research suggest that violent intentions are related to low openness to experience and low emotionality (Obaidi et al., 2020).

Dark Triad

In addition to the basic personality traits, extreme political attitudes can also be explained by other individual-difference variables. Research has studied the associations between the dark triad and extreme political orientation (e.g., Duspara & Greitemeyer, 2017; Jonason, 2014). The dark triad consists of the three "undesirable" personality traits of machiavellianism (interpersonal manipulation), narcissism (egocentric admiration) and psychopathy (low levels of empathy) (Paulhaus & Williams, 2002). In a study on the dark triad and political orientation, the three traits were associated with right-wing political

orientation, whereas narcissism and psychopathy were associated with political extremism (Duspara & Greitemeyer, 2017). Another study, employing American samples, has shown that narcissism and psychopathy were associated with political conservatism, whereas machiavellianism was associated with low rates of liberalism (Jonason, 2014). In addition, a recent study conducted in the US found that alt-right supporters scored significantly higher than non-alt-right non-Trump supporters on the dark triad (Forscher & Kteily, 2020).

Social Dominance Orientation and Right-Wing Authoritarianism

Other individual level variables link acceptance of violence to right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO) (Besta et al., 2015). RWA measures individual differences and the preference for uniformity in society and consists of three subcomponents, namely conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submission (Altemeyer, 1991). SDO captures individual differences in the preference for group based hierarchy and inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). A difference between these two individual level variables are under which conditions they are expected to become salient. SDO is expected to become salient in a context of competitions, whereas RWA is expected to become salient if the individual perceives the world as a dangerous place (Sibley & Duckitt, 2013). Furthermore, RWA is seen as an intra-group phenomenon with focus on submission to in-group authority figures, while SDO is considered as an inter-group phenomenon which focuses on dominance over out-groups (Altemeyer, 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). A related theory regarding in-group favoritism is ethnocentrism. Research finds that ethnocentrism may lead to negative stereotypes, negative prejudices and negative behaviors toward minorities (Bircan, 2012). These three individual level variables are expected to have positive and significant effects on right-wing extremist beliefs as threats to the status of the in-group are likely to lead to negative attitudes towards the “threatening” out-group (Besta et al., 2015). This reasoning is supported by existing research. A meta-analysis finds positive and strong associations between far-right support, authoritarianism, SDO and prejudice across Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States (Van Assche et al., 2019). In addition, a study conducted in the US found that alt-right supporters scored significantly higher than non-alt-right non-Trump supporters on factors such as authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and nationalism (Forscher & Kteily, 2020).

Taken together, in light of these theories and findings, the earlier rejection of individual factors may not be as empirically supported as assumed. This assumption is in line with Marari’s (2010) conclusion that the understanding of terrorists as someone who do not

share psychological traits is rather characterized by “missing research than by direct results” (p. 253).

Linking Individual Differences and Context: the Potential Role of Archetypes

Explaining extremism trajectories has often been approached in simplistic terms, focusing on identifying how the extremist might be different from the non-extremist (Gill et al, 2014; Silke, 2003). By relying on such an approach, the issue of behavioral and motivational variation within violent extremists has been neglected. Indeed, in a review article, Victoroff (2005) found that most studies and theories fail to take into account the fact that extremists are extremely heterogeneous, especially when it comes to temperament, ideology and cognitive capacities. Hence, there can be many causes and motivations explaining radicalization and extremism, both at the individual and collective level, and it is less fruitful to create one, unambiguous profile of extremists (Obaidi, 2018). This is partly due to the many different and complex reasons people are attracted to extremist environments, and partly due to the many different types of extremism that exist (Corner et al., 2016). Against this backdrop, it is more obvious to study possible different subtypes of violent extremists separately, since their motivations and roles vary significantly. Factors like these mentioned imply that more research should be done to disaggregate “the extremist” as well as support ongoing debates about the individual level aspects of involvement and engagement in extremism and terrorist activity. An important note from this conclusion is that heterogeneity and diversity should not obscure the fact that observable patterns and preferences of some kind(s) may well exist within and across different expressions of extremism, and that these typologies can be of great merit (Horgan et al., 2018).

Few prior studies have examined the extent to which the behavior and characteristics of extremists are related to their position within the extremist group. However attempts to profile and understand extremists have finally begun to give way to the more fruitful approaches at differentiating those who become involved in extremism. A recent study found that even though leaders were more ideologically committed to the group’s goals and ideology, they were at the same time less likely to engage in violent acts (Jasko & LaFree, 2019). Other studies distinguish between violent extremists and non-violent extremists and suggest that there are a number of shared individual and contextual factors that underlie extremism in general, and some additional factors that are distinct to different types of extremism. Findings indicate that the choice to use violence is linked to negative life-experiences, low self-esteem and resultant emotions (Knight et al., 2017). Thus, while extremist organizations usually expect all group members to strive for common goals, in

reality there is often wide variation across individual member's motivations, behavior, preferences and knowledge (Knight et al., 2017). As such, we can no longer approach who becomes involved in extremism, even within a single group, in a homogeneous fashion. These findings indicate that "at an absolute minimum, the findings from such research would appear to render the monolithic concept of 'the terrorist' as conceptually misleading as that of 'the criminal'" (Horgan et al., 2018, p. 86).

Qualitative research may provide valuable insight into how personality traits and individual level differences are connected to people's involvement in extremism. A few violent extremist typologies have been presented. For example, Bjørge (2016) identified four main types of extremists that are characterized by different backgrounds, motivations and rules for involving themselves in extremism and engaging in different roles. First, the "ideological activist" is primarily driven by political and ideological motives, and is typically resourceful and idealistic. This type of extremist often occupies the leadership role and may play an important role in radicalizing others. The "fellow traveler" is driven by a need for belonging, friendship and acceptance. This archetype gradually becomes radicalized as a consequence of being part of the group rather than it being the reason for. The third archetype is the "socially frustrated". The "socially frustrated" is not ideologically oriented, but struggles and harbors negative emotions such as anger and aggression that can be channeled at an enemy. This extremist type often has a problematic background and often finds roles in a militant group, in which he/she receives recognition for his/her violent and criminal experience. The last extremist type is the "adventurer", who primarily is involved in violent extremism because of the excitement, action and the opportunity to be a heroic fighter.

Similarly, Nesser (2015) proposed four different archetypes. However, his classification slightly deviates from the typology proposed by Bjørge. Nesser described four different archetypes of European jihadists. The typology is based on the extremists personal accounts before, during and post their involvement in terrorism activities, in addition to how others depicted them. Each type radicalizes and joins cells differently, as well as plays different roles in the extremist cell. First, the "entrepreneur" plays an important role in the planning of a terrorist attack and is often smart, well-educated, resourceful and driven by religious and political agendas. Second, the "protégé" is most often the right hand to the entrepreneur and plays an important role in recruitment. Third, the "misfit" has had a difficult childhood and has a perception of being treated unjust. The "misfit" shows greater willingness to sacrifice a lot and may commit an attack. Finally, the "drifter" is characterized as someone

who is driven by increased search for recognition, group belonging and accept, and is usually not religious or political orientated.

Although conceptually important in signaling a shift towards a more discriminate analysis of the extremist, these typologies are constructed on the researcher's observation of the sample, rather than an empirical approach. In addition, these theoretical conclusions about extremist archetypes have not been tested in quantitative research so far.

The Present Research

Currently, we struggle to understand the implications of the heterogeneity and complexity of extremist behavior. To date, quantitative tools to categorize or understand these individual differences are lacking. Developing a typology of those who become involved in extremism would be an important steppingstone to further structure the research on different extremist archetypes (Horgan et al., 2018; Victoroff, 2005). As such, the empirical approach in the present research project aimed at complementing the aforementioned typologies by constructing a scale on extremist archetypes in a group context. Furthermore, it is important to find the degrees to which different types of behavior are reflective of underlying and consistent differences in the psychological incentives that may encourage individuals to become involved in extremism. Several have argued that these are important additions to the field, and that future research should continue to investigate intragroup heterogeneity and individual level factors (Horgan et al., 2018).

Research on individual differences in susceptibility to violent extremism has typically focused on the contextual perspective and on clinical or maladaptive personality profiles. In addition, the field mostly distinguishes between the extremist and the non-extremist and therefore downplays the motivational and behavioral differences among extremists (Horgan et al., 2018). By looking into the individual level factors and the neglected role of non-clinical personality traits, I aimed to give insight in different types of individual conditions that influence motivations and behavior in extremism. As such, this research project attempted to assess extremist archetypes extracted from qualitative work in a quantitative fashion by developing a scale. Given the knowledge gaps and implications for further research as presented above, the main objective of the present research was to examine possible archetypes of extremists and inspect the associations between the extremist archetypes with individual level factors and violent intentions. The main questions that the current thesis aimed to answer were: *Can archetypes from qualitative work, theorized to explain extremist tendencies, be assessed in quantitative research? If so, do they predict extremist tendencies*

and therefore mediate the relationship between big 5 personality traits and violent extremism?

Given the research questions, two exploratory quantitative studies were conducted with White/Caucasian Americans. Study 1 constituted the first step in developing a scale to assess different extremist archetypes in a group context, The Extremist Archetypes Scale. The proposed item pool was based on the characteristics from the typologies proposed by Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015). In addition to piloting the item pool, Study 1 explored the resulting scale's reliability, criterion and convergent validity. I also tested whether the extremist archetypes predicted violent intentions, over and above well-established predictors of violence. Finally, to test for possible interaction or indirect effects between individual level factors, violent intentions and the extremist archetypes, moderation and mediation analyses were conducted.

In Study 2, the first aim was to validate the scale's factor structure obtained in Study 1. Furthermore, I explored the personality profiles of the different archetypes and investigated how the archetypes were associated with different violent intention measures (e.g., direct and indirect). Finally, for exploratory purposes, I explored possible interaction or indirect effects in the relationship between the extremist archetypes, personality and violent intentions.

Study 1

The first goal of Study 1 was to construct the extremist archetypes scale. The second aim was to validate the scale. Specifically, based on Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015), a total of 51 items were created that could assess the archetypes. This number of items was then administered to a sample of White Americans. In addition, for validation purposes, we assessed violent behavioral intentions. The general argument was that, if the archetypes assessed by the scale would be related to higher levels of violent intentions, this would support the criterion validity of the scale and would provide preliminary quantitative validation of the typologies put forward by Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015). Moreover, the extremist archetypes were expected to have different correlations with established measures associated with violence, such as social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism and ethnic intolerance. Hence, if the extremist archetypes would be related to these scales, the scale's convergent validity would be supported. In addition, established measures of nationalism and ethnic identification were used to assess group belongingness and further support the scale's convergent validity. Third, to test the predictive value, I used hierarchical regression analysis and partial correlations to test whether the archetypes would be uniquely related to violent intentions, controlling for the remaining four archetypes. For exploratory

purposes, I also conducted mediation and moderation analyses. I aimed to explore the relationship between the individual level factors and violence, and whether the archetypes mediated this relationship. Finally, to test whether the individual level factors moderated the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent behavioral intentions, moderation analyses was used.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 303 White/Caucasian Americans. The sample was relatively even in term of gender distribution (see Table 1). The majority lived in a city and nearly half of the sample had completed a Bachelor's degree. Nearly half of the participants identified as Democrats, while the remaining identified as Republicans (24.4%) or Independents (28.7%). An overview of the descriptive data can be found in Table 1.

Procedure

Data were collected through an online survey using Qualtrics Survey Software in October 2019. Participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online data collection portal. Use of crowdsourcing services such as MTurk to collect data provide a variety of advantages when compared to traditional samples, such as quick response, reduced costs, greater participant diversity and superior data quality (Goodman & Paolacci, 2017). Before participating, respondents were informed about the study's purpose, its confidentiality and the right to withdraw from participation at any given time. The complete anonymity of the study was described and the participants were debriefed at the end of their participation. Respondents were paid equivalent to 6-7USD/minute. The study was cleared in accordance with the ethical review processes of the Department of Psychology, University of Oslo.

Instruments

Unless stated otherwise, responses were rated on 7-point Likert scales, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The reliability coefficients were satisfactory across all scales and can all be found in Table 3.

Demographics. Questions assessed the participants' age, gender, ethnicity, residence area and household income. Participants were also asked to indicate their political orientation, previous criminal activity and highest completed education at the time of the data collection.

Preliminary Item Pool of the Extremist Archetypes Scale. In order to establish a preliminary item pool, I used the typologies developed by Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015). These typologies were developed in a qualitative fashion to map the motivation, role and

Table 1*Sample characteristics for Study 1 (N=303) and Study 2 (N=301).*

Charateristics		%	
		Study 1	Study 2
Gender	Male	48.2	48.5
	Female	51.5	51.5
	Other	.3	-
Age	18-29	14.5	13.6
	30-49	60.7	48.2
	50-76	24.8	38.2
Residence area	City	68.6	69.8
	Country side	31.4	30.2
Completed education	Less than high school degree	.3	.7
	High school graduate	11.6	9.3
	Some college	18.8	20.3
	Associated degree in college (2-year)	12.2	13.0
	Bachelor's degree (4-year)	44.9	40.2
	Master's degree	10.6	13.6
	Doctoral degree	.7	1.3
	Professional degree	1.0	1.7
Income	Less than \$15,000	5.6	7.0
	\$15,000 to \$24,999	11.6	8.0
	\$25,000 to \$34,999	14.2	12.3
	\$35,000 to \$49,000	17.8	15.9
	\$50,000 to \$74,999	27.1	29.6
	\$75,000 to \$99,999	10.9	12.3
	\$100,000 to \$149,000	9.6	11.0
	\$150,000 or more	3.3	4.0
Criminal activity	No previous activity	91.1	88.4
	Previous (nonviolent) minor activity	7.9	9.6
	Previous (nonviolent) serious activity	.7	2.0
	Previous violent crime	.3	-
Political orientation	Very liberal	14.9	15.9
	Very conservative	6.6	5.0
	Mean score (1-10)	4.8	4.6
Political party	Republican	24.4	27.0
	Democrat	43.6	43.3
	Independent	28.7	27.0
	Other	1.7	1.3
	No preference	1.7	1.3

backgrounds of those individuals who have been involved in extremist groups. As described earlier, Bjørgo and Nesser each distinguish between four main types of extremists. Due to some overlap between the two typologies and descriptions, I based the items on five possible extremist archetypes; the “ideological activist”/“entrepreneur” (a leader type), the “fellow traveler,” the “drifter,” the “misfit”/“socially frustrated” and the “adventurer.” I chose not to use the “protégé,” since it only refers to one possible person in a group and overlaps to a certain degree with the leader type.

Thus, building on the existing literature and descriptions of these five archetypes, I developed a pool of 51 items with 10 to 11 items in each proposed archetype category. The items were randomized and presented with the following text “Most people have some opinions regarding political issues and often support specific political movements. We would like you to think of the political group or movement you belong to or feel close to when answering the following questions. Please indicate to which extent you agree with the various statements regarding yourself.” A sample item from each archetype is “I am known as a group member that is not afraid to take any risks” (Adventurer), “To belong to a group, I am willing to do what is asked of me” (Fellow Traveler), “Most group members see me as a leader” (Leader), “Sometimes I suddenly decide to leave a group and seek a new one” (drifter), and “I am willing to do whatever it takes to get my group to accept me” (Misfit). All items can be found in Appendix A, whereas the selection retained after factor analyses can be found in Table 2.

Social Dominance Orientation. The degree of participants social dominance orientation (SDO) was measured using the short-form 8-item SDO₇ scale by Ho et al., (2015). The scale measured the preference for group-based hierarchy and inequality. On a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly oppose*) to 7 (*strongly favor*) participants were asked to show how much they favored or opposed each statement. A scale item is “An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.”

Right-Wing Authoritarianism. The 15-item version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale developed by Zakrisson (2005) was used. The scale included items such as “If the society so wants, it is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within”.

Nationalism. To measure nationalism, I modified the four-item nationalism scale by Weiss (2003) to the American context. This scale investigated the nationalist attitude (in terms of overestimating and idealizing one’s one nation, culture and history) on the emotional

level. An example of a scale item is “It is the foremost duty of each young American to honor the national history and its heritage”.

Ethnic Intolerance. A four-item version of ethnic intolerance, which included longing for ethnic homogeneity and territorial dominance, anxious mistrust and rejection of foreigners, was used (Weiss, 2003). An example item is “If there are too many foreigners in the country, one might as well let them feel that they are not welcome”.

Ethnic Identification. The self-categorization scale by Ellemers and colleagues (1999) was used to measure ethnic identification. Respondents had to indicate their agreement with three items, such as “My ethnic group is an important reflection of who I am”.

Violent Intentions. To measure violent intentions, I used a seven-item scale on violent behavioral intentions (Obaidi et al., 2018), as behavioral intentions is found to be a better predictor of behavior than are attitudes (De Weerd & Klandermans, 1999). I adjusted the items so that they assessed violent intentions in regard to one’s ethnic group, instead of religious group that the scale was originally developed for. One example of an item is “If nothing else helps, I’m prepared to use violence to defend my ethnic group”.

Analysis of Data

First, an exploratory factor analysis of all 51 items using maximum likelihood was conducted. Based on the results, subscales were computed for each factor and its reliability coefficients were estimated. Second, in order to gather information about the scale’s validity, correlation analyses were conducted to test whether the subscales were associated with the ideology and ethnic group membership variables. Moreover, in order to test whether the resulting subscales could predict participants violent intentions, controlling for well-established predictors of such tendencies (e.g., SDO, RWA, ethnic intolerance), hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. In Step 1 of the hierarchical regression, the previously established predictors were introduced, and the five proposed extremist archetypes were introduced in Step 2. Finally, I wished to explore the relationship between the variables by using mediation and moderation analyses. In the mediation analyses, I used the Lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012) in R to test whether the archetypes mediated the effect of the individual level factors on violent intentions. To test if the indirect effects were statistically significant, bootstrapping was used. In the moderation analyses, I centered the variables and used the `lm()` function in R (R Core Team, 2016). I tested whether the individual level variables moderated the effects of the archetypes on violent intentions. To control for family wise error rate, I used the holm adjustment procedure. There were no missing data. The

statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS version 26 and R version 1.2.5019 (R Core Team, 2016).

Results

Preliminary Statistics

The possibility to extract latent constructs from the item pool was supported by different criteria. Kaiser-Meyer-Oklun statistics indicated that these were satisfactory (KMO = .94). Similarly, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant at $p < .001$. Moreover, there were large enough correlations ($\pm .32$) that did not show singularity (i.e., not stronger than $\pm .90$).

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Based on eigenvalues (Kaiser criterion), exploratory factor analyses yielded an eight-factor solution. The scree plot did not give an easily interpretable result. Seeing as Kaiser's criterion often overestimates the number of factors when introducing over 30 items (Field, 2013), I used a parallel analysis that compared the eigenvalues in my sample with expected eigenvalues occurring by random for a more reliable result. According to the parallel analysis, a five-factor solution was supported. The five factors accounted for 56.52% of the total variance, where the five factors each explained 31.67% (eigenvalue = 16.15), 9.49% (eigenvalue = 4.84), 7.80% (eigenvalue = 3.98), 4.25% (eigenvalue = 2.17) and 3.31% (eigenvalue = 1.69), respectively.

Table 2
Factor loadings for exploratory factor analyses with direct oblimin rotation.

Item	Adventurer	Traveler	Drifter	Leader	Misfit
46. I am known as a group member that is not afraid to take any risks.	.88	-.05	-.03	.05	.08
45. I am known as a group member that is not afraid of facing dangers.	.85	-.07	-.01	.05	.09
44. I am willing to take more risks than other people in my group.	.81	-.13	-.09	.03	-.07
48. Other group members see me as someone who likes thrills and adventure.	.80	-.05	.02	.03	.02
43. I like groups that bring along adventure and adrenaline.	.79	.11	-.08	-.06	.06
49. I like to show other group members that I am not afraid of taking risks.	.73	-.02	-.03	.12	-.14
15. I try to find a group that accepts me.	-.12	.64	-.16	.08	.02
19. To belong to a group, I am willing to do what is asked of me.	.24	.55	.19	.04	-.11
13. I tend to "go with the flow" in group settings.	-.01	.52	-.07	-.29	.00
40. The group I belong to gives me stability in life.	.03	.50	.19	.26	-.24
25. I often join groups that others have introduced me to.	.02	.42	-.09	.21	-.18
24. I stay in a group as long as they give me what I need.	-.11	.41	-.20	.17	-.12
27. Sometimes, I suddenly decide to leave a group and seek a new one.	.11	.03	-.66	-.02	.05
35. Throughout my life I have found it difficult to find a group to belong to.	-.01	.02	-.61	-.16	.03
28. It has happened that I just replaced one group I belonged to with another.	.03	.04	-.59	.13	-.10
23. I rarely stay with one group for a longer period of time.	.04	-.18	-.59	-.02	-.08
22. I have shifted a lot between groups in my life.	.05	.13	-.59	.16	-.04
47. I get bored more easily than other group members.	.02	-.16	-.48	.04	-.15
11. Most group members see me as a leader.	.15	-.01	-.03	.82	.05
1. In a group, I often take the role of a leader.	.15	-.07	.01	.82	.00
5. Other group members turn to me for guidance.	.15	.24	-.03	.66	.13
4. I often do most of the strategic planning in the group I belong to.	.15	.18	.02	.65	.05
8. I take a central position in the group I belong to.	.12	.11	-.01	.63	-.11
6. Other group members usually do as I say.	.14	.12	.03	.62	-.09
12. I often "blindly" follow my group.	-.06	.05	-.17	-.18	-.67
16. I am willing to change my beliefs for the group I belong to.	.11	.02	.07	-.01	-.63
14. I am willing to do whatever it takes to get my group to accept me.	.06	.12	.02	.17	-.59
33. I care little about people outside my group.	.11	-.24	-.25	.01	-.52
17. I put the group first and myself second.	.12	.23	.22	-.01	-.45
41. Before I became part of my group, I had no clear direction in life.	.14	.09	-.23	-.14	-.45

Note. Factor loadings <.40 are boldface. Traveler = Fellow Traveler

After running different rotations, the direct oblimin rotation seemed to be the best choice as the structure was more parsimony, where each item had just one strong loading from only one factor and where cross-loadings were minimized. Furthermore, the resultant correlations among the factors were high enough to support an oblique rotation (DeVellis, 2017). Of the total pool of items, 41 could be identified that substantially ($>.32$) loaded on the same factor with no cross-loadings above .32, and where the factors were readily interpretable. Factor 5 (the “misfit”) had the lowest number of items, with a total of six items that met the parsimony criteria described above. I therefore chose to keep the six items from each factor with the highest factor loadings (see Table 2), ending up with 30 items. All 51 items and the corresponding factor loadings can be found in Appendix A.

Reliability Analyses

Based on the results of the exploratory factor analysis, five mean scales (“adventurer,” “fellow traveler,” “leader,” “drifter,” “misfit”) and a full scale consisting of 30 items were computed. The sum scores for each subscale were divided by the respective number of items in order to yield readily interpretable results. All five subscales showed acceptable to satisfactory reliability coefficients, ranging from .71 to .93, and the skewness values indicated normal distribution of data (see Table 4).

Criterion Validity

Based on the theories to Bjørge (2016) and Nesser (2015), I expected the different extremist archetypes to predict higher levels of violent intentions, which would support the scale’s criterion validity. Weak to moderate zero-order correlations between violent behavioral intentions and the “adventurer,” the “drifter,” the “misfit,” and the “leader” were found. “Fellow traveler” was the only archetype not correlated with violent behavioral intentions. These findings support the scale’s criterion validity, as four of the archetypes were positively correlated with violent intentions (see Table 3 for all bivariate correlations). As I wished to investigate the unique profiles of each archetype, I also estimated the partial

Table 3
Correlations between the scales.

Scale	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Adventurer										
2. Fellow Traveler	.22***									
3. Leader	.64***	.32***								
4. Drifter	.33	.11	.16**							
5. Misfit	.44***	.47***	.30***	.33***						
6. Social Domiance Orientation	.15*	-.08	.16**	.20***	.16**					
7. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.15**	.09	.14*	.10	.27***	.51***				
8. Nationalism	.28***	.21***	.28***	.25***	.31***	.50***	.69***			
9. Ethnic Intolerance	.28**	.01	.15**	.23***	.35***	.59***	.55***	.50***		
10. Ethnic Identification	.13*	.40***	.20***	-.001	.28***	.27***	.46***	.53***	.35***	
11. Violent Behavioral Intentions	.43***	.01	.23***	.30***	.25***	.40***	.30***	.37***	.47***	.13*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

correlations (see Table 4). This analysis indicated that both the “adventurer” and “drifter” had positive correlations with violent behavioral intentions, when controlling for the other archetypes. In contrast, the archetype “fellow traveler” had an unexpected negative partial correlation with violent behavioral intentions.

Table 4
Psychometric properties and partial correlations of the scales.

Scale	Items	<i>a</i>	<i>M</i>	SD	Skew	Partial correlations									
						Adventurer		Fellow Traveler		Leader		Drifter		Misfit	
						<i>r_p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r_p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r_p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r_p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r_p</i>	<i>p</i>
Extremist Archetypes															
Adventurer	6	.93	3.02	1.42	.32										
Fellow Traveler	6	.74	4.37	1.01	-.82	-.12	.039								
Leader	6	.91	3.46	1.40	.19	.60	<.001	.24	<.001						
Drifter	6	.78	3.02	1.07	.21	.21	<.001	-.04	.511	-.06	.271				
Misfit	6	.78	2.61	1.03	.58	.30	<.001	.43	<.001	-.06	.311	.22	<.001		
Ideology															
Social Domiance Orientation	8	.94	2.46	1.58	.88	-.04	.484	-.20	<.001	.15	.011	.15	.010	.15	.008
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	15	.95	2.92	1.39	.38	-.01	.869	-.06	.284	.06	.270	.01	.933	.22	<.001
Nationalism	4	.79	3.58	1.34	-.23	.03	.561	.06	.326	.13	.026	.15	.012	.14	.016
Ethnic Intolerance	4	.86	2.27	1.34	1.07	.11	.062	-.18	.002	.00	.969	.09	.134	.29	<.001
Ethnic Identification	3	.87	4.65	1.30	-.55	-.03	.575	.29	<.001	.08	.184	-.09	.129	.13	.025
Violence															
Violent Behavioral Intentions	7	.92	2.41	1.35	.92	.30	<.001	-.13	.026	-.02	.695	.17	.004	.09	.120

Note. Potential range for the scales = 1-7. *r_p* = partial correlations. Control variables in the partial correlations are the remaining archetypes.

Convergent Validity

In support of the scale’s convergent validity, the different extremist archetypes were expected to be positively correlated with the different ideology scales. The bivariate correlations supported this assumption with strongest associations between the “fellow traveler” and ethnic identification, the “misfit” and ethnic identification, and between the “misfit” and nationalism. See all the bivariate correlations in Table 3.

When examining the partial correlations controlling for the remaining archetypes, some of these results held (see Table 4). One noteworthy change was that the “adventurer” had no partial correlations with none of the ideology, prejudice or ethnic identification scales. In contrast, the “misfit” had positive partial correlations with all the variables, indicating high convergent validity. Furthermore, the archetypes “leader” and “drifter” had positive partial correlations with SDO and nationalism. By contrast, the “fellow traveler” had negative partial correlations with SDO and ethnic intolerance. Moreover, the archetype of “fellow traveler” had the highest positive partial correlation with ethnic identification.

Hierarchical Regression Analyses

To test if the different extremist archetypes predicted violent intentions, over and above ideology, prejudice and ethnic identification, hierarchical regression analyses with two steps were conducted. In Step 1, the previously established predictors were introduced (i.e., SDO, RWA, ethnic intolerance), and in Step 2 the archetypes were included. By adding the extremist archetypes, the regression model explained 11% (R square change) more of the variance in violent behavioral intentions, $F_{\text{Change}}(5,297) = 9.74, p < .001$. In the model, SDO,

ethnic intolerance, the “adventurer,” and the “drifter” significantly predicted violent behavioral intentions (see Table 5). The model explained 34% of the variance in violent behavioral intentions.

Table 5
Hierarchical multiple regression analyses predicting violent behavioral intentions.

Predictor	ΔR^2	b (SE)	β	p	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Step 1	.24***					
Social Dominance Orientation		.14 (.06)	.16	.017	.025	.245
Right-Wing Authoritarianism		-.04 (.07)	-.04	.552	-.186	.100
Nationalism		.15 (.08)	.15	.055	-.003	.296
Ethnic Intolerance		.37 (.07)	.15	<.001	.234	.499
Self-categorisation		-.10 (.06)	-.09	.122	-.220	.026
Step 2	.34***					
Social Dominance Orientation		.15 (.05)	.17	.007	.041	.253
Right-Wing Authoritarianism		.02 (.07)	.02	.771	-.116	.156
Nationalism		.03 (.08)	.03	.734	-.122	.173
Ethnic Intolerance		.26 (.07)	.26	<.001	.126	.389
Ethnic Identification		-.04 (.06)	-.04	.536	-.166	.087
Adventurer		.34 (.06)	.36	<.001	.211	.464
Fellow Traveler		-.04 (.08)	-.03	.599	-.204	.118
Leader		-.06 (.06)	-.06	.335	-.182	.062
Drifter		.13 (.07)	.11	.047	.002	.265
Misfit		-.03 (.08)	-.03	.676	-.196	.127

Note. *** $p < .001$

Mediation

To test for mediation, fully-saturated path models were used. Based on the findings from the hierarchical regression analyses, I tested whether the archetypes “adventurer” and “drifter” mediated the effects of social dominance orientation and ethnic intolerance on violent intentions. There were no statistically significant indirect effects present, indicating that the archetypes did not mediate the relationship between SDO, ethnic intolerance and violent intentions (See Appendix B for the results).

Moderation

To test for moderation, I examined whether the ideology, prejudice and ethnic identification variables moderated the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent behavioral intentions. There was only one significant interaction effect which indicated that RWA moderated the relationship between the “misfit” and violent behavioral intentions. To control for family wise error rate, I used the holm adjustment procedure. When adding Holm’s correction, the interaction effect did not stay significant. Hence, the ideology, prejudice and ethnic identification does not appear to moderate the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent intentions. See Appendix C for all indirect effects.

Preliminary Discussion

The present study constituted the first step in constructing a preliminary scale to measure different extremist archetypes in a group context. A 30-item extremist archetypes scale with five subscales (adventurer, fellow traveler, leader, drifter, misfit) was developed using exploratory factor analysis. The reliability of the subscales was acceptable to satisfactory and four of them had significant, positive zero-order correlations with violent behavioral intentions, supporting its predictive validity. The archetype “adventurer” was found to have the highest partial correlation with violent behavioral intentions and continued to predict violent intentions even after controlling for common predictors of violence (i.e., SDO and RWA). Similar findings were found for the archetype “drifter”. These findings are in line with the description of the “adventurer”, but not with the description of the “drifter” (Bjørge, 2016; Nesser, 2015). Furthermore, all five extremist archetypes had different partial correlations with established measures of ideology and group membership. These findings support the convergent validity of the scale, but also indicate that the different archetypes measure different constructs that might reflect different motivations for joining such a group. When looking at the mediation analysis, no indirect effects were present. Lastly, there were no interaction effects present, which might imply that the scale is not tied to specific right-wing ideologs or ethnic groups. Hence, this may say something about the possible scale generalizability across ideological and possibly religious standpoints. This is something for future research to explore. The findings will be further discussed in the general discussion.

Study 2

The aim of the second study was to confirm the five-factor structure of the extremist archetypes that was observed in Study 1. Study 2 was pre-registered. In addition to validating the factor structure, I pursued the question of how the archetypes were related to indirect violence (intent to motivate others to use violence) compared to direct/personal violent intentions. This is an important distinction as newer research shows that members of an extremist group may have different functions and roles when it comes to violence (e.g., Jasko & LaFree, 2019). In addition, I added a scale on radicalism intentions for validation purposes in regard of violent intentions. Moreover, in light of previous research on personality and violence (e.g., Obaidi et al., 2018), I aimed to explore the unique personality profiles (i.e. associations) underlying the different archetypes in terms of the HEXACO domains, altruism, intellect and the dark triad. Previous work in the domain of personality research (e.g., Ashton, 1998; Ashton et al., 2014; Paunonen & Ashton, 2001) indicates that the prediction of certain social and behavioral outcomes can be improved by investigating the criterion-related validity

of narrow personality facets. Some research suggest that narrow personality facets can outperform broad domains when predicting criteria in social and behavioral outcomes (Tett et al., 2003). Following this line of research, I extended my correlational analyses by also looking at all HEXACO facets with the extremist archetypes. Furthermore, I wished to explore the relationship between personality and violence, and whether the archetypes mediated this relationship. Finally, to test whether personality traits moderated the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent behavioral intentions, moderation analyses were used.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 301 White/Caucasian Americans. The sample was relatively even in term of gender distribution (see Table 1) and had an average age of 43.56 years. The majority of the participants lived in a city and almost half had completed a Bachelor's degree. Nearly half of the participants thought of themselves as Democrats, while the remaining thought of themselves as Republicans (27%) or Independents (27%). An overview of the descriptive data can be found in Table 1.

Procedure

An online survey was used to collect data in December 2019. Participants were recruited using the same procedure and ethical considerations as described in Study 1. By utilizing a mechanism in MTurk, respondents from the first study were prevented from participating in this second study. The study was pre-registered at <https://osf.io/nm8da>.

Instruments

Unless stated otherwise, responses were rated on 7-point Likert scales, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The reliability coefficients were acceptable to satisfactory across all scales and can be found in Table 8.

Demographics. Analogous to Study 1, questions assessed the participants' age, gender, ethnicity, residence area and household income. Participants were similarly asked to indicate their political orientation, previous criminal activity and highest completed education at the time of the data collection.

Extremist Archetypes Scale. Participants had to indicate their agreement with the 30 items that were retained in Study 1. See Appendix D for an overview of the items.

Personality. To measure the basic personality traits, I used the HEXACO-60. This scale is the shorter version of the HEXACO-PI-R 200, and measures the six major dimensions of personality (Ashton & Lee, 2009). The scale includes six factors and each of the six factors

includes 10 items, such as “I tend to be lenient in judging other people” (Agreeableness), “I plan ahead and organize things, to avoid scrambling at the last minute” (Conscientiousness), “I worry a lot less than most people do” (reversed Emotionality), “I rarely express my opinions in group meetings” (reversed Extraversion), “I would never accept a bribe, even if it were very large” (Honest-Humility) and “I am interested in learning about the history and politics of other countries” (Openness). Each of the factors have four underlying facets. These personality traits were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Altruism. To get a better measure of altruism/empathy I also included four items from the 100-item HEXACO-PI-R (Lee & Ashton, 2018). The scale assesses a tendency to be sympathetic and soft-hearted towards others, and represents a blend of the Honest-Humility, Emotionality and Agreeableness factors, and consists of items such as “I have sympathy for people who are less fortunate than I am.” This trait was measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Intellect. I used the intellect items from the Big Five Aspects Scale to measure this trait (DeYoung et al., 2007). It included 7 items (e.g. “I learn quickly”) and was measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Dark Triad. To measure the dark triad of undesirable personality traits I included the Dirty Dozen Scale (Jonason & Webster, 2010). The scale consists of three subscales and each of the subscales included four items. A sample item from each trait is “I tend to manipulate others to get my way” (Machiavellianism), “I tend to lack remorse” (Psychopathy) and “I tend to want others to admire me” (Narcissism).

Violent Intentions. The same scale on violent behavioral intentions (Obaidi et al., 2018) as described in Study 1 was used.

Radicalism. The Radicalism Intention Scale assesses readiness to participate in illegal or violent political action (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009) and was added for validation purposes. To adjust the items to the targeted population, I framed the items in terms of participants’ ethnic group rather than organization. Respondents had to indicate their agreement with four items, such as “I would continue to support a group that fights for my ethnic group’s political and legal rights even if the group sometimes resorts to violence”. Responses were rated on 7-point scales, ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*), 4 (*neutral*), to 7 (*completely agree*). As instructed from the authors, the intermediate values were not labeled.

Violence-Assistance. Intent to motivate others to use violence (indirect violence) was measured using a scale developed by Obaidi et al., (2020) that consists of four items (e.g. “I’m prepared to assist others carry out acts of violence to defend my ethnic group”). I adjusted the items so that they touched upon ethnic group instead of Muslims.

Analysis of data

First, to confirm the factor structure in the Extremist Archetypes scale, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using SEM was used. To fit the model, I used lavaan version .5-23 (Rosseel, 2012) in R version 1.2.5019 (R Core Team, 2016). I used robust maximum likelihood estimation (MLR) and standardized the latent factors, allowing free estimation of all factor loadings. MLR was used to provide robust standard errors and a scaled test statistic. I then tested the fit of the five-factor model found in the previous study and compared it to alternative solutions. Most of the research that differentiates between different types of extremists, does so by looking at the leader versus the follower (e.g., Jasko & LaFree, 2019). As such, I compared the five-factor model to a two-factor model differentiating between the leader and the follower. In addition, as the descriptions of the “drifter” and the “fellow traveller” (Bjørgero, 2016; Nesser, 2015) seemed to overlap to a certain degree, a four-factor solution, where these two archetypes were merged to one was also tested. Finally, to see if there were no archetypes present, I compared the five-factor model with a one-factor solution. Since Chi-square test is a less adequate fit estimate for samples with more than 200 cases, the following fit indices were used in addition to estimate the model’s fit: Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). CFI measures whether the model fits the data better than a more restricted baseline model. Higher value is better, with traditional cut-off values ranging from either .90 or .95 for a good fit (Sivo et al., 2006). RMSEA measures how closely the model reproduces data patterns. Lower values are better, with values below .06 ($N \geq 250$) typically being regarded as indicating a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). By using fit indexes and their corresponding cut-off values, Type I and Type II errors are minimized (Newsom, 2018). After the CFA, I tested for correlations between the archetypes and the violence variables to examine the criterion validity as in Study 1. For a more graphical display of the correlations, I added a radar chart using the fmsb package (Nakazawa, 2018) in R. Furthermore, I tested for partial correlations between the extremist archetypes and personality and violence to examine the unique associations of the different archetypes. To test for mediation, path modelling was used. Here, I tested whether the archetypes mediated the effects of the personality traits and of dark triad dimensions on violence. The mediation analyses were conducted using the Lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012)

in R. As in Study 1, to test if the indirect effects were statistically significant, bootstrapping was used. Finally, to test for moderation, I used the `lm()` function in R and centered the variables ahead of the analysis. I tested whether the personality traits moderated the effects of the archetypes on violent intentions. To control for family wise error rate, I used the holm adjustment procedure. There were no missing data. The statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS version 26 and R version 1.2.5019 (R Core Team, 2016).

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

As expected, all indicators showed significant positive factor loadings, with standardized coefficients ranging from .42 to .95 (see Appendix E). Chi-square tests of all models were significant. The five-factor model fit was acceptable but not excellent in terms of the fit indices (see Table 6). When looking at the modification indices, adding a covariance between item 4 and 5 from the “adventurer” archetype (i.e., “Other group members see me as someone who likes thrills and adventure” and “I like groups that bring along adventure and adrenaline”), would by far increase the model fit the most (MI = 47.50). When adding this covariance, all fit indices improved, now meeting the traditional cut-off values (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Sivo et al., 2006). Importantly, both the five-factor model and the same model with the covariance between item 4 and 5 added, did fit the data much better than a single-factor solution, a two-factor solution that distinguished between follower and leader, and a four-factor solution that combined “drifter” and “fellow traveler” together (see Table 6). Hence, all in all, the results supported the structural equivalence of the scale’s five-factor structure found in Study 1. In regard to the distribution of scores on the scales, all the scales were normally distributed (see Table 8).

Table 6
Fit Indices for structural equation models.

Model	X^2	df	X^2/df	p	CFI	RMSEA	90% CI
5 factor model solution	782.3	395	2.0	$p < .001$	.893	.057	[.052, .062]
5 factor model solution with covariance between item 4 and 5	743.0	394	1.9	$p < .001$	.904	.054	[.049, .060]
4 factor model where Drifter and Fellow Traveler are together	1022.3	399	2.6	$p < .001$	.828	.072	[.067, .077]
2 factor model which differentiates between leader and follower	1679.3	404	4.2	$p < .001$	.649	.102	[.098, .107]
1 factor model solution	2165.5	405	5.3	$p < .001$	.516	.120	[.116, .125]

Note. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. Estimator = Robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR). CI = confidence interval for RMSEA.

Common Method Variance

As some of the fit indices were acceptable, but not excellent (i.e., CFI), I checked for common method variance (CMV) as a possible explanation. CMV is present when variations in responses are caused by the instrument rather than the actual predispositions of the respondents that the instrument attempts to uncover. To make sure the results were not

contaminated by the “noise” of a possibly biased instrument, I used two techniques. The easiest way to test for common method bias (CMB) is by using the Harman’s single factor technique (Harman, 1960) which uses exploratory factor analysis where all the variables are loaded onto a single factor and constrained so there is no rotation. If the newly introduced common latent factor explains more than 50% of the variance, CMB may be present. In my dataset, the common latent factor explained 26% which indicated little evidence for CMB. A more sophisticated technique is the common latent factor (Eichhorn, 2014). This technique introduces a new latent variable in such a way that all manifest variables are related to it, those paths are constrained to be equal and the variance of the common factor is constrained to be 1. Here the model’s latent factors and their relationships are kept. When using this technique, I got a calculated variance of 46%. While being higher than when using the previous approach, this still fell below the cutoff indicating CMB in the data. Therefore, it was decided to keep the model as is without the common factor and it does not seem like CMV is the explanation for why the CFI only was acceptable.

Criterion Validity

Based on the results from Study 1 and as an assessment of the extremist archetypes scale’s criterion validity, I excepted the archetypes “adventurer”, “leader”, “drifter” and “misfit” to be positively correlated with violence. This was

Table 7
Correlations between the scales.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	
1. Adventurer	.17**																		
2. Fellow Traveler	.63***	.20***																	
3. Leader	.22***	.09	.07																
4. Drifter	.35***	.41***	.19***	.31***															
5. Misfit	-.25***	-.19**	-.20***	-.32***	-.35***														
6. Honesty-Humility	-.43***	.22***	-.36***	.01	.02	-.03													
7. Emotionality	.37***	.03	.59***	-.25***	-.09	.01	-.31***												
8. Extraversion	-.03	-.03	.03	-.28***	-.14*	.31***	-.12*	.34***											
9. Agreeableness	-.20***	-.01	.10	-.41***	-.41***	.31***	-.10	.28***	.15**										
10. Conscientiousness	.15***	-.05	.22***	-.05	-.28***	.12*	-.13*	.27***	.14*	.31***									
11. Openness to Experience	-.21***	.09	-.06	-.28***	-.33***	.35***	.31***	.41***	.14*	.27***	.24***								
12. Altruism	.21***	-.06	.33***	-.06	-.32***	.14*	-.33***	.39***	.14*	.43***	.64***	.21***							
13. Intellect	.28***	.19**	.22***	.44***	.45***	-.67***	.00	-.06	.32***	.43***	.05	.36***	.10						
14. Machivellianism	.24***	.05	.10	.45***	.37***	-.43***	-.18**	-.26***	-.32***	-.35***	-.14*	-.36***	-.13*	.62***					
15. Psychopathy	.38***	.31***	.38***	.24***	.43***	-.52***	-.02	.20***	-.24***	-.16**	-.04	-.27***	-.04	.60***	.40***				
16. Narcissism	.37***	-.02	.31***	.22***	.30***	-.18**	-.23***	.12*	-.16**	-.22***	-.04	-.30***	-.02	.23***	.29***	.29***			
17. Violent Behavioral Intentions	.34***	-.01	.31***	.22***	.35***	-.19**	-.14*	.16**	-.09	-.25***	-.08	-.22***	-.06	.23***	.23***	.29***	.29***		
18. Violence Assistance	.34***	.13*	.20***	.26***	.35***	-.21***	-.08	-.01	-.12*	-.29***	-.02	-.18**	-.04	.28***	.28***	.31***	.31***		
19. Radicalism Intentions																			.55***

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

the case, not only were the zero-order correlations with the violent behavioral intentions scale replicated, there were also positive correlations between the four archetypes and the two newly added violence scales (see Table 7). Moreover, there was a positive correlation between the archetype “fellow traveler” (the archetype not showing correlations with violent intentions in Study 1) and the scale on radicalism intentions, indicating that also this archetype might be related to participation in illegal or violent political action. To figure out which violent intentions were distinctive for each archetype, I measured the partial correlations by controlling for the remaining four archetypes. The “drifter” and “misfit” archetypes were both partially correlated with all three violence variables, where the “misfit” had the highest correlations (see Table 8). The “adventurer” continued to be associated with violent behavioral intentions and radicalism intentions, whereas the “leader” archetype was positively partially correlated with violent behavioral intentions and violence assistance. In contrast, replicating the findings of Study 1, the “fellow traveler” archetype had negative partial correlations with violence assistance and violent behavioral intentions when controlling for the remaining archetypes. The findings from Study 2 mostly exhibited the same trends as found in Study 1. One important different pattern was that the archetypes of “leader” and “misfit” had partial correlations with violent behavioral intentions in this study, which was in contrast to Study 1.

Correlations with Personality Traits

As described earlier, basic personality traits have been found to be associated with violent intentions (Obaidi et al., 2020). Such associations were supported also in this study. All of the HEXACO personality domains, except openness to new experience, had zero-order correlations with the measures of violence (see Table 7 for all correlations). As I wanted to map the unique associations between the different archetypes and principle domains of personality, I conducted partial correlations (controlling for the remaining four archetypes) between the different archetypes and the HEXACO personality profiles. On the domain-level all archetypes had a partial correlation with conscientiousness. The “fellow traveler” and “leader” had positive correlations, whereas the remaining three archetypes had negative correlations with conscientiousness. The highest partial correlations found were between the archetype “leader” and extraversion, between “misfit” and conscientiousness, and between “misfit” and openness, see Table 8 for all partial correlations. The “drifter” and “misfit” only had negative correlations with the personality traits, while the other three archetypes mostly had positive correlations. A more graphical display of the different personality profiles can be viewed in figure 1.

Table 8
Psychometric properties and partial correlations of the scales (N = 301).

Variable	Items	α	M	SD	Skew	Partial correlations									
						Adventurer		Fellow Traveler		Leader		Drifter		Misfit	
						r_p	p	r_p	p	r_p	p	r_p	p	r_p	p
Extremist Archetypes															
Adventurer	6	.93	3.39	1.41	.23										
Fellow Traveler	6	.71	4.43	0.90	-.73	-.06	.300								
Leader	6	.91	3.83	1.35	-.06	.61	<.001	.15	.012						
Drifter	6	.81	3.16	1.11	.47	.16	.006	-.04	.539	-.09	.136				
Misfit	6	.78	2.63	0.96	.79	.25	<.001	.38	<.001	-.06	.274	.25	<.001		
Personality															
Honesty-Humility	10	.80	3.54	.72	-.17	-.04	.465	-.05	.409	-.08	.168	-.23	<.001	-.20	.001
Emotionality	10	.85	3.15	.78	-.10	-.36	<.001	.30	<.001	-.13	.028	.07	.253	.09	.144
Extraversion	10	.87	3.22	.80	-.20	.16	.005	-.03	.651	.51	<.001	-.33	<.001	-.19	.001
Agreeableness	10	.81	3.31	.68	-.09	.04	.550	.01	.890	.03	.555	-.27	<.001	-.06	.349
Conscientiousness	10	.83	3.85	.63	-.23	-.21	<.001	.17	.003	.29	<.001	-.28	<.001	-.39	<.001
Openness to Experience	10	.83	3.66	.74	-.50	.12	.034	.07	.260	.16	.006	.05	.403	-.39	<.001
Altruism	4	.67	3.89	.76	-.81	-.10	.080	.26	<.001	.06	.300	-.20	.001	-.28	<.001
Intellect	7	.87	3.86	.74	-.51	.13	.031	.06	.309	.29	<.001	.05	.434	-.44	<.001
Dark Triad															
Machiavellianism	4	.84	2.66	1.31	.71	.02	.789	-.001	.981	.10	.074	.35	<.001	.30	<.001
Psychopathy	4	.74	2.56	1.16	.69	.07	.247	-.11	.050	-.02	.706	.37	<.001	.25	<.001
Narcissism	4	.83	2.81	1.33	.57	.09	.146	.13	.027	.21	<.001	.16	.007	.24	<.001
Violence															
Violent Behavioral Intentions	7	.90	2.58	1.35	.69	.14	.013	-.20	<.001	.15	.010	.14	.019	.20	.001
Violence Assistance	4	.88	2.40	1.34	.73	.07	.248	-.21	<.001	.18	.002	.12	.038	.27	<.001
Radicalism Intentions	4	.81	2.42	1.31	.65	.17	.003	-.01	.817	-.00	.950	.15	.012	.19	.001

Note. Potential range for the personality scales are 1-5, the rest range from 1-7. r_p = partial correlations. Control variables in the partial correlations are the remaining archetypes.

Based on previous findings regarding personality and violence (e.g., Heaven, 2011; Stankov, 2009), I also looked at intellect and the interstitial scale of altruism in association with the archetypes. When it came to intellect, the archetypes of “leader” and “adventurer” had positive partial correlations, while the archetype “misfit” had a negative partial correlation. When looking at altruism, the archetypes of “drifter” and “misfit” both had negative partial correlations. In contrast, the archetype “fellow traveler” had a positive partial correlation with altruism (see Table 8). Finally, I looked at the associations between the dark triad and the five

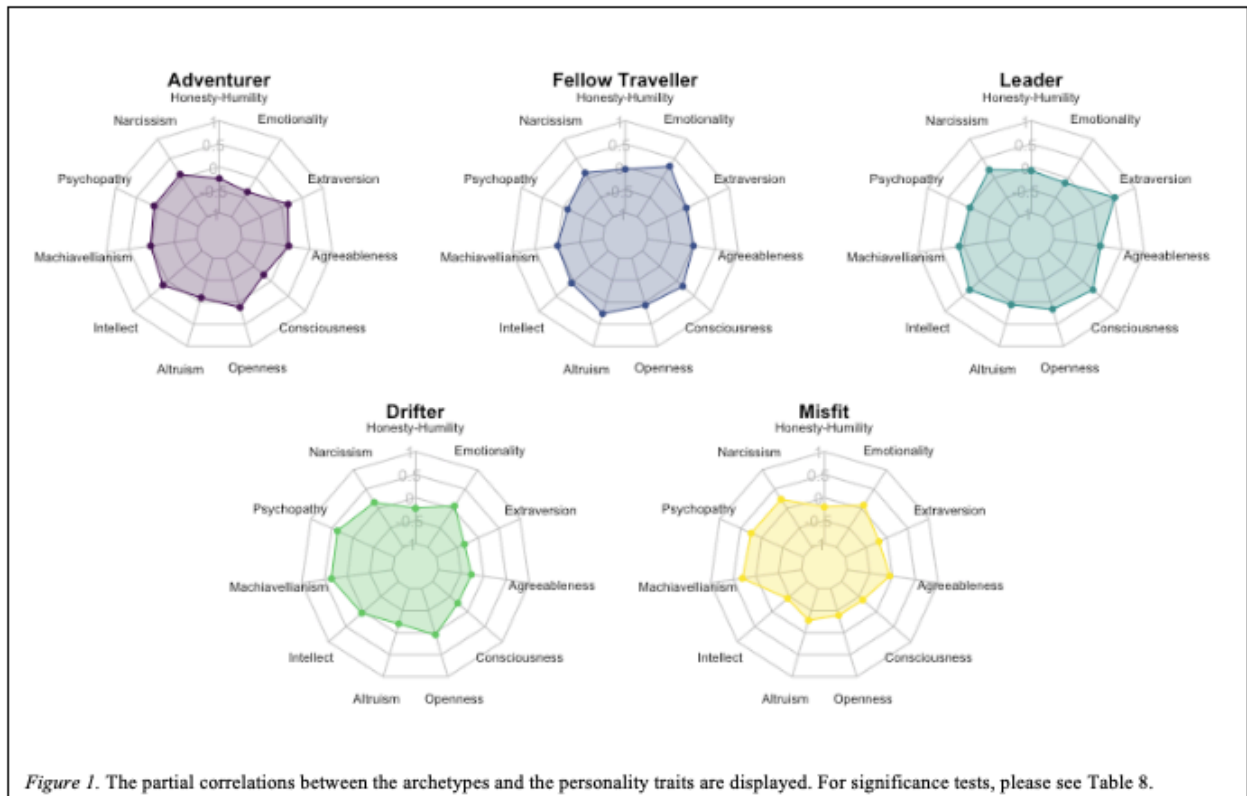


Figure 1. The partial correlations between the archetypes and the personality traits are displayed. For significance tests, please see Table 8.

archetypes. The archetypes of “drifter” and “misfit” had significant, positive partial correlations with all of the three undesirable personality traits, ranging from .16 to .37 (see Table 8). When looking at the narcissism trait, both the archetypes “leader” and “fellow traveler” had positive correlations. Other than this, no other findings regarding the dark triad were significant.

Based on research suggesting that narrow personality facets can outperform broad domains when predicting criteria in social and behavioral outcomes (Tett et al., 2003), I also examined partial correlations on the facet-level of the HEXACO. When controlling for the other archetypes, the archetypes of “drifter” and “misfit” seemed to have a similar personality profile in that they both had moderate and negative partial correlations with most of the extraversion and conscientiousness facets. However, there was a significant difference between the two archetypes. When it came to openness, the “drifter” had no correlations, whereas the “misfit” had negative partial correlations with all of the facets. In contrast to these two archetypes, the “leader” had weak to moderate positive partial correlations with all of the extraversion and conscientiousness facets, as well as positive partial correlations with three of the openness facets. The archetype of “adventurer” had negative partial correlations with all four emotionality facets. In contrast, the archetype of “fellow traveler” had positive partial correlations with all of the emotionality facets. The highest partial correlations found were between the “leader” and social boldness, the “adventurer” and fearfulness, and between the “misfit” and prudence. The remaining partial correlations can be found in Table 9.

Table 9
Psychometric properties and partial correlations between the extremist archetypes and the HEXACO facets.

Variable	Items	α/r^a	M	SD	Skew	Partial correlations									
						Adventurer		Fellow Traveler		Leader		Drifter		Misfit	
						r_p	p	r_p	p	r_p	p	r_p	p	r_p	p
Honesty-Humility															
Sincerity	3	.73	3.50	0.94	-.19	.11	.057	.01	.882	-.04	.451	-.08	.194	-.26	<.001
Fairness	3	.85	3.63	1.19	-.59	-.16	.005	-.04	.538	.05	.378	-.28	<.001	-.06	.343
Greed-Avoidance	2	.46*	3.09	1.03	-.16	-.02	.739	-.18	.002	-.06	.312	-.09	.137	.05	.381
Modesty	2	.52*	3.91	0.92	-.72	.00	.985	.10	.099	-.28	<.001	-.15	.010	-.31	<.001
Emotionality															
Fearfulness	3	.73	3.13	0.99	-.20	-.41	<.001	.19	.001	-.09	.115	.13	.024	.12	.043
Anxiety	2	.64*	3.42	1.14	-.40	-.24	<.001	.14	.016	-.17	.003	.15	.010	.05	.421
Dependence	2	.48*	2.71	1.01	.17	-.21	<.001	.20	<.001	-.09	.121	.06	.313	.17	.004
Sentimentality	3	.71	3.29	0.93	-.23	-.19	.001	.33	<.001	-.03	.567	-.12	.037	-.06	.336
Extraversion															
Social Self-Esteem	3	.78	3.71	0.93	-.68	.05	.381	-.04	.537	.31	<.001	-.27	<.001	-.25	<.001
Social Boldness	3	.76	3.01	0.97	-.04	.20	.001	-.14	.018	.62	<.001	-.18	.002	-.17	.003
Sociability	2	.58*	2.68	1.08	.14	.15	.008	.13	.027	.32	<.001	-.23	<.001	.07	.238
Liveliness	2	.62*	3.36	1.06	-.39	.09	.112	-.02	.729	.27	<.001	-.30	<.001	-.16	.005
Agreeableness															
Forgiveness	2	.70*	3.10	1.07	-.25	.08	.170	-.02	.697	-.02	.779	-.13	.023	.04	.540
Gentleness	3	.69	3.25	0.91	-.31	.09	.135	.06	.276	-.06	.286	-.27	<.001	-.07	.239
Flexibility	3	.42	3.21	0.76	-.01	-.07	.244	-.05	.372	.09	.108	-.17	.004	.01	.827
Patience	2	.51*	3.74	0.95	-.60	-.01	.870	.03	.610	.12	.043	-.22	<.001	-.16	.007
Conscientiousness															
Organization	2	.41*	3.95	0.84	-.67	-.17	.003	.19	.001	.15	.010	-.25	<.001	-.27	<.001
Diligence	2	.39*	4.03	0.80	-.82	.05	.410	.08	.187	.26	<.001	-.15	.011	-.35	<.001
Perfectionism	3	.54	3.66	0.74	-.07	-.19	.001	.18	.001	.21	<.001	-.09	.125	-.22	<.001
Prudence	3	.73	3.84	0.82	-.62	-.26	<.001	.06	.277	.25	<.001	-.36	<.001	-.37	<.001
Openness to Experience															
Aesthetic Appreciation	2	.60*	3.67	1.14	-.72	.03	.570	.00	.942	.12	.045	-.03	.595	-.23	<.001
Inquisitiveness	2	.33*	3.85	0.94	-.80	.02	.767	.11	.058	.14	.019	.02	.752	-.30	<.001
Creativity	3	.75	3.59	0.99	-.55	.07	.214	.07	.211	.24	<.001	.10	.088	-.34	<.001
Unconventionality	3	.65	3.58	0.86	-.41	.21	<.001	.02	.781	-.03	.576	.04	.498	-.30	<.001

Note. r_p = partial correlations. Control variables in the partial correlations are the remaining four archetypes. $p < .05$ are in boldface.

^aAlpha coefficients are presented for scales with more than two items. Correlation coefficients are presented for two items. * $p < .001$.

Mediation

To test for mediation, fully-saturated path models were used. I tested whether the archetypes mediated the effects of the personality traits and the dark triad dimensions of personality on violence. Based on the variables included, I used four different models. In all models, the archetypes were added as mediators. The first model had HEXACO domains together with the altruism and intellect variables as independent variables and the violent behavioral intentions scale as the dependent variable. The second model used the same dependent variable, but had the dark triad personality traits as independent variables. In Model three and four, the same indirect effects were estimated with the radicalism intentions scale as the dependent variable. As seen in Table 11, honesty-humility was indirectly associated with violent behavioral intentions and radicalism intentions as it was negatively associated with the “misfit”. In addition, psychopathy and narcissism were indirectly associated with violent behavioral intentions as they were positively associated with the “misfit”. The findings also showed that machiavellianism was indirectly associated with violent behavioral intentions as it was positively associated with the “leader”, and that psychopathy was indirectly associated with radicalism intentions as it was positively

Table 10
Direct effects from the four different models.

Variable	Direct effects					
	Violent Intentions			Radicalism intentions		
	b (se)	β	p	b (se)	β	p
Honesty-Humility	.059 (.128)	.031	.646	-.062 (.124)	-.033	.616
Emotionality	-.114 (.134)	-.066	.393	-.014 (.137)	-.008	.918
Extraversion	.072 (.132)	.042	.584	-.126 (.144)	-.074	.382
Agreeableness	-.191 (.142)	-.096	.177	-.069 (.130)	-.035	.596
Conscientiousness	-.193 (.146)	-.089	.185	-.312 (.169)	-.145	.064
Openness to Experience	.041 (.146)	.022	.781	.136 (.151)	.075	.369
Altruism	-.265 (.140)	-.150	.058	-.101 (.138)	-.058	.463
Intellect	-.024 (.155)	-.013	.876	.096 (.179)	.053	.593
Machiavellianism	-.104 (.090)	-.100	.245	-.010 (.082)	-.010	.901
Psychopathy	.215 (.085)	.183	.011	.144 (.079)	.124	.070
Narcissism	.140 (.088)	.138	.109	.139 (.079)	.137	.079

Note. $p < .05$ is in bold. Bootstrap = 5000

Table 11
Indirect effects from the four different models.

Variable	Indirect effects					
	Violent Behavioral Intentions			Radicalism Intentions		
	b (se)	β	p	b (se)	β	p
Adventurer						
Honesty-Humility	-.031 (.029)	-.017	.288	-.048 (.032)	-.026	.135
Emotionality	.018 (.021)	.010	.396	.027 (.024)	.015	.268
Extraversion	.008 (.012)	.008	.493	.013 (.015)	.012	.388
Agreeableness	.003 (.016)	.003	.854	.004 (.021)	.004	.834
Conscientiousness	-.010 (.018)	-.005	.560	-.016 (.023)	-.008	.487
Openness to Experience	.001 (.012)	.001	.931	.002 (.016)	.001	.920
Altruism	-.014 (.018)	-.010	.425	-.021 (.023)	-.016	.347
Intellect	.008 (.013)	.006	.518	.012 (.016)	.009	.430
Fellow Traveler						
Honesty-Humility	.129 (.074)	.047	.083	-.010 (.071)	-.004	.889
Emotionality	-.006 (.026)	-.002	.814	.000 (.013)	.000	.971
Extraversion	.001 (.024)	.000	.968	.000 (.012)	.000	.995
Agreeableness	.069 (.045)	.024	.121	-.005 (.038)	-.002	.891
Conscientiousness	-.005 (.024)	-.002	.830	.000 (.012)	.000	.974
Openness to Experience	.052 (.035)	.024	.141	-.004 (.029)	-.002	.892
Altruism	-.058 (.044)	-.025	.187	.004 (.035)	.002	.899
Intellect	.075 (.047)	.032	.110	-.006 (.042)	-.002	.892
Leader						
Honesty-Humility	.119 (.061)	.066	.053	.034 (.058)	.019	.560
Emotionality	.024 (.031)	.013	.437	.007 (.020)	.004	.721
Extraversion	.015 (.022)	.011	.483	.004 (.012)	.003	.719
Agreeableness	-.057 (.032)	-.033	.075	-.016 (.029)	-.009	.574
Conscientiousness	.020 (.024)	.011	.402	.006 (.015)	.003	.699
Openness to Experience	-.033 (.027)	-.020	.226	-.009 (.019)	-.006	.625
Altruism	-.053 (.032)	-.039	.096	-.015 (.027)	-.011	.581
Intellect	-.025 (.020)	-.019	.222	-.007 (.014)	-.005	.623
Drifter						
Honesty-Humility	-.015 (.023)	-.006	.516	-.007 (.024)	-.003	.773
Emotionality	-.019 (.025)	-.012	.450	-.009 (.027)	-.006	.743
Extraversion	-.005 (.012)	-.004	.648	-.003 (.012)	-.002	.831
Agreeableness	.061 (.075)	.029	.411	.029 (.086)	.014	.735
Conscientiousness	.014 (.021)	.006	.519	.006 (.023)	.003	.780
Openness to Experience	-.041 (.052)	-.019	.431	-.019 (.059)	-.009	.740
Altruism	.001 (.008)	.001	.880	.001 (.007)	.000	.936
Intellect	-.015 (.019)	-.009	.447	-.007 (.021)	-.005	.747
Misfit						
Honesty-Humility	-.178 (.080)	-.056	.025	-.197 (.095)	-.063	.039
Emotionality	.057 (.031)	.036	.068	.063 (.035)	.040	.069
Extraversion	.031 (.026)	.019	.233	.034 (.029)	.021	.242
Agreeableness	-.071 (.042)	-.025	.092	-.078 (.050)	-.028	.115
Conscientiousness	-.057 (.035)	-.026	.106	-.063 (.043)	-.029	.145
Openness to Experience	.015 (.025)	.007	.542	.017 (.029)	.008	.563
Altruism	.013 (.019)	.007	.514	.014 (.022)	.008	.515
Intellect	-.035 (.031)	-.019	.261	-.038 (.036)	-.021	.289
Adventurer						
Machiavellianism	.004 (.014)	.004	.752	.006 (.018)	.069	.744
Psychopathy	.030 (.017)	.046	.076	.038 (.017)	.060	.027
Narcissism	.037 (.023)	.040	.109	.046 (.024)	.051	.056
Fellow Traveler						
Machiavellianism	-.027 (.029)	-.014	.357	-.003 (.012)	-.002	.814
Psychopathy	-.009 (.028)	-.006	.737	-.001 (.009)	-.001	.914
Narcissism	.006 (.019)	.005	.742	.001 (.006)	.001	.014
Leader						
Machiavellianism	.058 (.028)	.054	.042	-.011 (.029)	-.010	.703
Psychopathy	-.017 (.018)	-.015	.330	.003 (.011)	.003	.760
Narcissism	.026 (.017)	.035	.124	-.005 (.013)	-.007	.705
Drifter						
Machiavellianism	.004 (.007)	.005	.575	.004 (.008)	.005	.616
Psychopathy	.028 (.033)	.023	.384	.027 (.036)	.022	.463
Narcissism	.008 (.010)	.007	.450	.007 (.011)	.007	.525
Misfit						
Machiavellianism	-.027 (.018)	-.025	.136	-.024 (.018)	-.022	.177
Psychopathy	.062 (.027)	.052	.022	.055 (.032)	.047	.083
Narcissism	.047 (.023)	.046	.043	.041 (.024)	.041	.089

Note. $p < .05$ is in bold. Bootstrap = 5000

associated with the “adventurer”. Other than these associations, there were no significant indirect effects present, indicating that the archetypes largely does not mediate the relationship between personality and violence (See Table 10 and 11).

Moderation

To test for moderation, I examined whether the personality traits moderated the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent behavioral intentions. Five interaction effects were present. The relationship between the “leader” and violent behavioral intentions was moderated by openness to experience and intellect. Furthermore, the relationship between the “adventurer” and violent intentions was moderated by honesty-humility and openness to experience. Finally, agreeableness moderated the relationship between the “drifter” and violent behavioral intentions (See Appendix F for all interaction effects). To control for family wise error rate, I used the holm adjustment procedure. When adding Holm correction to the clusters of the different archetypes (groups of the eight moderator p-values at a time for each archetype), none of the interaction effects between the different archetypes and the personality variables stayed significant. In a second model, I examined whether the dark triad moderated the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent behavioral intentions. There was only one interaction effect present which indicated that narcissism moderated the relationship between the “misfit” and violent behavioral intentions. When controlling for family wise error rate with Holm correction as in the first model, the interaction effect was no longer significant. See Appendix G for all the interaction effects.

Preliminary Discussion

When compared to alternative solutions, the fit indices supported the five-factor model identified in Study 1. Additionally, no common method bias was found. The results showed excellent fit for the RMSEA ($< .06$), but when looking at the CFI it fell below the conventional cut-off value of .95 (CFI = .904). While these fit indices and their cut-off values are a useful guide, some researchers believe that too strict cut-off values can lead to instances of Type I error (the incorrect rejection of an acceptable model) (Marsh et al., 2004). Other researchers suggest that optimal cut-off values vary considerably depending on sample size, with smaller sample sizes (i.e., $N < 150$) resulting in lower optimal cut-off values than larger sample sizes ($N > 5000$), and that a value between .90 and .95 should be accepted with smaller sample sizes (Sivo et al., 2006). In line with these less stringent cut-off values with a smaller sample size, my five-factor model is supported in regard of the fit indexes presented. Based on earlier research and existing literature I compared the five-factor structure with

other possible solutions. Most of the research that differentiates between different types of extremists in a group context, does so by looking at the leader versus the follower (e.g., Jasko & LaFree, 2019). However, when trying a two-factor solution in Study 2 the fit indices were below the traditional cut-off values, indicating that this solution did not fit the data as well as the five-factor structure. Furthermore, when examining the descriptions (Bjørgero, 2016; Nesser, 2015) and the factor loadings of the items in Study 1 (some of the proposed items from the preliminary item pool ended up belonging to another archetype than intended), I tested a four-factor solution which merged the archetypes of “drifter” and “fellow traveler” together. As with the two-factor solution, the fit indices fell below the traditional cut-off values with this four-factor structure, demonstrating that the five-factor solution seemed to be the best choice. In addition, the personality and ideology profiles of the “fellow traveler” and “drifter” are very different, further supporting that they are two distinct archetypes. Finally, when testing a one-factor solution, the fit indices fell below the cut-off values, indicating that differentiating between different archetypes is more likely accurate than having only one archetype.

In support of the scale’s criterion validity, four of the extremist archetypes showed higher levels of violent intentions when controlling for the four remaining archetypes. As expected, the correlations between violence and basic personality domains support earlier findings. The different partial correlations found between the archetypes and personality traits support the notion that the archetypes have different personality profiles and therefore dissimilar motivations and behavioral inclinations in joining an extremist group. There were few mediation effects present, where most of them were regarding the “misfit” archetype. These findings imply that the “misfit” mediated the relationship between psychopathy, narcissism and honesty-humility and violence. Other than that, the extremist archetypes didn’t appear to mediate the relationship between personality and violence. Lastly, the lack of interactional effects present after Holm’s correction indicated that the personality traits did not moderate the relationship between the extremist archetypes and violent intentions.

Discussion

Research on individual differences in susceptibility to extremism has typically focused on the contextual perspective and on clinical or maladaptive personality profiles. In addition, the field mostly distinguishes between the extremist and the non-extremist and therefore neglects the heterogeneous motivational and behavioral differences in violent extremists (Horgan et al, 2018). The present research aimed to fill this gap by developing and validating the Extremist Archetype Scale, in addition to examining the individual level factors of

ideological orientation, group membership perspectives and “normal” personality profiles of each archetype. My findings support the notion of within-group heterogeneity as different extremist archetypes were identified that had different associations with the individual factors measured.

The Extremist Archetypes and their Individual Differences

In accordance with the theoretical and qualitative work of Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015), five distinct extremist archetypes in a group context were statistically identified in both studies. The distinct descriptions of the five archetypes are mostly supported and further expanded in the associations found in my two studies. Due to the large dataset and corresponding analyses and findings, I will only discuss the associations in terms of the partial correlations (controlling for the four remaining archetypes) to highlight the unique findings for each of archetypes.

The “Adventurer”

When looking at the partial correlations and what individual level factors that make the “adventurer” unique, there are patterns worth discussing. First, the adventurer had positive associations with both violent behavioral intentions and radicalism intentions. However, when looking at violence assistance, the “adventurer” was the only archetype that didn’t have a significant partial correlation. Taken together, these findings suggest that the adventurer joins for the adrenalin and the thrill of executing the actions themselves, not motivating others to perform the violent extremist activity. Second, none of the ideology, prejudice or ethnic identification variables were associated with this archetype. These findings, together with no associations with the dark triad, support the notion that the “adventurer” is primarily involved because of the possibility for action, not because of ideology, belonging or political motives. Thus, it may be random who the “adventurer” fights for, as long as they get enough thrill and excitement from being part of the group. Third, when looking at the personality profile of the “adventurer”, it was one of a typical sensation seeking individual (Zuckerman, 1979). The “adventurer” had positive partial correlations with extraversion, openness to experience and intellect, indicating that this extremist archetype feels positively about themselves, takes interest in unusual ideas and has high ingenuity. Moreover, the “adventurer” had negative partial correlations with emotionality and consciences, indicating that they are not deterred by the prospect of psychical harm, feel little worry in stressful situations and make decisions on impulse or with little reflection (Lee & Ashton, 2009). These personality characteristics are further reinforced when investigating the facet-level. The four strongest partial correlations indicate that the “adventurer” is tough (fearfulness), acts on impulse

(prudence), experiences little stress in response to difficulties (anxiety) and is receptive to ideas that might seem radical (unconventionality). Taken together, these findings are in line with Bjørgo's (2016) description of the adventurer as an individual fascinated by violence, fighting and the possibility of being a heroic fighter. According to Bjørgo, this archetype can to a certain degree overlap with the socially frustrated (the "misfit" in my archetypes classification). However, my findings do not support this assumption. Except for negative associations with conscientiousness and positive associations with violent intentions, the "adventurer" and "misfit" had no other common characteristics, indicating that these two archetypes are different types.

The "Fellow Traveler"

Interestingly, the "fellow traveler" had negative partial correlations with the variables on violent behavioral intentions and violence assistance, indicating that the more of a "fellow traveller" a person is, the lower intentions the person has of using violence or influencing others to use violence. This negative association with violent intentions may suggest that the "fellow traveler" is a non-violent extremist (Knight et al., 2017) and may fulfill other important roles in the extremist organization or in the group setting. This is somewhat contrary to Bjørgo's (2016) understanding of the "fellow traveler" as someone easily lead into militant activities due to their need for acceptance and recognition. However, if these militant activities are explicit violent or not isn't clarified. When looking at ideology, the "fellow traveler" had negative partial correlations with both SDO and ethnic intolerance, indicating that they are more egalitarian and less intolerant. Furthermore, the "fellow traveler" had a moderate positive partial correlation with ethnic identification, indicating that group membership is of importance to this archetype. These findings are in accordance with the theoretical and qualitative work of Bjørgo (2016), where the "fellow traveler" is seen as an archetype driven by the need for belonging and friendship. When investigating the personality traits this interpretation is strengthened. When controlling for the other four archetypes, the "fellow traveler" had positive partial correlations with emotionality, conscientiousness and altruism, indicating members that need emotional support from others, deliberate carefully when making decisions and are also sympathetic and soft-hearted toward others (Lee & Ashton, 2009). When looking at the more nuanced picture by examining the facets, these personality patterns were still salient. The most prominent facets painted a picture of a person that tends to feel strong emotional bonds with others (sentimentality), wants to share their difficulties with those who will provide comfort (dependence), a tendency to seek order (organization), as well as an inclination to avoid psychical harm (fearlessness). In addition,

the “fellow traveler” had a positive association with narcissism which might be due to the narcissistic tendency of focusing on one’s own (group) interests (Duspara & Greitemeyer, 2017). These findings support the descriptions of Bjørge (2016) that these individuals join an extremist group for intrapersonal reasons, and become radicalized as a consequence of joining such a group. This might imply that individuals belonging to this extremist archetype could change to another archetype dependent on how far they have come in the radicalization process, or even exit the group if another group (extremist or not) gives them more belonging and support. These possible explanations would need further investigation, but recent research has shown that roles within violent extremist movements can change over time (Borum, 2015).

The “Leader”

When looking at the associations between violence and the “leader”, the two different studies indicated different findings. In contrast to Study 1, there was a partial correlation between the “leader” and violent behavioral intentions in Study 2. Interestingly, there was no partial correlation between radicalism intentions and the “leader” archetype, but there was an association between the “leader” and violence assistance. These findings are somewhat contradictory, but may speak of different aspects of being a leader in a violent extremist group. An explanation can be that leaders are not less violent in general, but are in a position of power where they can command other members to execute these violent actions for them. These results are in line with research that finds followers to be more motivated to use violence than the leaders (Jasko & LaFree, 2019). When examining the ideology variables, the “leader” was found to have positive partial correlations with SDO and nationalism, indicating that they prefer group-based hierarchy (Ho et al., 2015) and a nationalist attitude characterized by overestimating and idealizing one’s nation, culture and history (Weiss, 2003). These characteristics together with a negative score on the modesty facet of the honesty-humility trait (i.e., see themselves as superior and entitled to privileges that others do not have) provide an ideological foundation that help the “leader” structure the group and give them purpose and justification that fuel their extremist beliefs and the use of violence as a weapon to achieve them. When examining the associations with the personality traits, the “leader” had positive partial correlations with extraversion, conscientiousness, openness to experience and intellect. These personality traits indicate that the “leader” is confident when leading or addressing groups of people, works in a disciplined way toward their goals while carefully deliberating decisions, takes an interest in unusual ideas or people, and has high ingenuity. This interpretation is further supported when examining the partial correlations on

the facet-level and the ones of the dark triad. The “leader” scored high on narcissism and on all of the extraversion and conscientiousness facets, with highest scores on social boldness (e.g., high confidence within a variety of social situations) and sociability (e.g., enjoy talking and visiting others). These personality traits make it easy for a leader to approach possible new recruits and persuade them to join the extremist group. Taken together, these findings support the descriptions given by Bjørger (2016) and Nesser (2015) which characterize the “leader” as a smart, charismatic individual driven by political and ideological motives, and may radicalize others.

The “Drifter”

The “drifter” had some of the strongest associations with all the three violence variables, indicating that the drifter is willing to support a group that may use violence, use violence themselves, as well as motivating others in the extremist group to use violence as a mean for accomplishment. These strong associations with violence are somewhat contradictory to the description given by Nesser (2015), who states that the “drifter” plays a peripheral role in attacks. As with the “leader”, the “drifter” also had positive partial correlations with SDO and nationalism. These findings are similarly in contrast to Nesser’s (2015) understanding of the “drifter” as an individual who is not religious or political orientated. When examining the personality dimensions, there are a few patterns worth discussing. First, the “drifter” had negative partial correlations with honesty-humility, extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and altruism. These findings indicate that the more of a “drifter” a person is, the more egocentric the individual is. Individuals belonging to this archetype prefer to stay in the background, hold on to negative feelings towards others, make decisions on impulse, may be seen as hard-hearted and someone who is not upset by the prospect of hurting others (Lee & Ashton, 2009). Second, when examining the personality traits on the facet-level, these characteristics are further supported and give a more nuanced picture. The “drifter” had negative associations with all the four facets of extraversion and agreeableness, with the highest correlations between the “drifter” and liveliness (e.g., tends not to feel cheerful or dynamic), gentleness (e.g., critical in their evaluations of others) and social self-esteem (e.g., sense of personal worthlessness). Other facets worth mentioning in regard of the “drifter” are the negative associations with prudence (acts on impulse and tends not to consider consequences) and fairness (willing to gain by cheating or stealing). Third, the “drifter” had positive associations with all three of the dark triad personality traits, indicating that individuals belonging to this archetype is willing to manipulate others to get their way, experience low levels of empathy and has an egocentric admiration (Jonason & Webster

2010). Taken together, these characteristics picture an individual who is most concerned about themselves and that takes action on their own behalf. As such, this archetype may change group membership rapidly depending on fulfilment of egocentric needs. These self-centered characteristics may explain why the “drifter” rarely holds a trusted position in the cells they belong to (Nesser, 2015).

The “Misfit”

Analogous to the “leader”, the two different studies indicated different findings regarding the partial correlations with violence. In contrast to Study 1, there was a partial correlation between the “misfit” and violent behavioral intentions in Study 2. In addition, the “misfit” had positive partial correlations with radicalism intentions and violence assistance in Study 2. These differences may be explained by random variation, and future research is therefore needed to clarify the possible association. The positive partial correlations from Study 2 and the zero-order correlations from Study 1 and 2 coincide with the descriptions given by Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015). They see the “misfit” as a seeker of action and excitement and who finds roles in an extremist group in which they receive recognition for their violent and criminal competence. This higher use of violence may be explained by the fact that the “misfit” has more to gain personally from engaging in violent action. Because violence attracts attention to its perpetrators, violent actions likely make perpetrators feel noticed and powerful, which can make it an appealing behavior to the “misfit” who otherwise feel ignored or insignificant (Jasko & LaFree, 2019). Thus, the “misfit” and possibly other of the archetypes, may be psychologically incentivized for committing violent acts to the extent that such attacks increase their prestige both within and outside of the group (Bloom, 2004).

Interestingly, the “misfit” was the only archetype that had associations with all of the ideology, prejudice and ethnic identification variables. The strongest associations were with ethnic intolerance and right-wing authoritarianism, indicating that the group belongingness aspect is of most importance. These findings are in contrast to Bjørgo’s (2016) description of the misfit as an individual without ideological orientation. However, as described by Bjørgo (2016) and Nesser (2015), the “misfit” has previously struggled to fit in and has a perception of being treated unjust. Joining an extremist group providing belongingness and a common enemy might give the “misfit” a purpose in life by getting back at the people that previously have treated them badly, while at the same time allowing them to belong to a community. Thus, the “misfit” seems to be more invested than for example the “drifter” and is more committed to the cause and the specific group they belong to. The “misfit” had many similarities with the “drifter” when it came to the major personality domains (e.g., low scores

on honesty-humility, extraversion, conscientiousness and altruism), but when looking at openness to experience and intellect, both archetypes differ as the “misfit” had strong negative partial correlations whereas the “drifter” had no partial correlations. These associations imply that the “misfit” feels little intellectual curiosity and little attraction towards ideas that may seem radical or unconventional (Lee & Ashton, 2009). The strongest associations on the facet-level strengthen this picture. The “misfit” is characterized by acting on impulse (prudence), has little self-discipline (diligence), little inclination for original thought (creativity) and see themselves as superior (modesty). As with the “drifter”, the “misfit” also had positive associations with the three dark triad personality traits, which fits well with the low score on honesty-humility (Lee & Ashton, 2014). In the context of violent extremism these relations can be explained by the tendency of focusing on one’s own (group) interests where the needs of others are neglected (Narcissism), by having little empathy towards other people and not being able to suppress behavioral tendencies that are not appreciated by society (Psychopathy), and by having anti-social tendencies, immoral beliefs and cold-heartedness (Machiavellianism) (Duspara & Greitemeyer, 2017). These personality traits are in line with the descriptions by Bjørge (2016) and Nesser (2015). Finally, most of the mediation effects found when examining the relationship between the personality traits and violent intentions had the “misfit” as mediator, indicating that the “misfit” may have some explanatory value in explaining the relationship between honesty-humility, psychopathy and narcissism with violent and radicalism intentions.

Compared to Previous Findings

In sum, my findings correspond with newer research on alternative-right individuals, with positive associations between the extremist archetypes and SDO, nationalism, authoritarianism and the dark triad (Forscher & Kteily, 2020). The non-clinical personality model is also supported with associations equivalent to earlier research on normal personality and political orientation and violence (e.g., Alizadeh et al., 2017; Caparara et al., 2006; Obaidi et al., 2020; Trip et al., 2019). Furthermore, the associations found in my studies vary depending on the different archetypes, indicating that violent extremists have different motivational and behavioral inclinations for joining such groups. These different motivational and behavioral associations support the theory that there is within-group heterogeneity present in extremists with violent intentions. These findings are in line with Horgan and colleagues (2018, see also Gill & Corner, 2017) view that “at a minimum, research on terrorist heterogeneity demonstrates that while terrorist individuals cannot yet be reliably

differentiated from the general population, they can at least be differentiated from one another (...)” (p. 87).

When examining the associations between the archetypes most of them are positively correlated with each other. For example, the “adventurer” had positive bivariate correlations with all the other archetypes, indicating that the idea of thrill and fearlessness can be an underlying factor for joining an extremist group. In addition, when examining the zero-order correlations between the archetypes and the other variables, there were many associations present. For example, all of the archetypes had negative correlations with honesty-humility and positive associations with narcissism, machiavellianism, nationalism and with one or more of the violence variables. Taken together, these associations imply that there are a number of shared attributes that underlie extremism in general, in addition to individual factors that are unique for the different types of extremism (Knight et al., 2017).

When comparing the current findings to the original descriptions of the archetypes (Bjørgero, 2016; Nesser, 2015), some of the results didn’t fully support the proposed archetypes. For example, the “misfit” is described as an individual that is not ideology orientated (Bjørgero, 2016), while my findings showed otherwise. In addition, some of the proposed items from the preliminary item pool ended up belonging to another archetype than intended. An explanation for these differences may be that the items were developed on the basis of short and broad descriptions that made it difficult to create accurate and precise items.

Strengths and Limitations

A strength with a typology approach is that once a typology of violent extremists has been identified, extremist individuals can be assigned a dominant type, allowing for comparison between different violent extremists, and ideally, the identification of offender characteristics that may define those who engage in different types of extremist behaviour (Horgan et al., 2018). In this aspect, my findings corroborate the recent developments demonstrating that some extremist types likely have certain psychological traits in common (Gill & Corner, 2017). A strength with the extremist archetypes scale is that many of its subtypes correlated with violence, although none of the items mentioned violence in the item wording. As such, one can be confident that the observed associations between the extremist archetypes and violent intentions are not due to linguistic confound nor overlapping measures. This assumption also goes for the personality traits as I used the HEXACO and not measures on an “extremist personality” (Obaidi et al., 2020). Furthermore, many studies to date have focused on extremist violence based on religious extremism and does not necessarily generalize to extremism motivated by other types of ideologies (Jasko & LaFree, 2019). By

looking at right-wing extremism in this presented research, I advance the existing literature on extremism by providing primary, novel data. In addition, a lot of research on extremism has not used extremists themselves as the primary source (e.g., general population, secondary sources, court documents), including this research presented. The reason for this is that extremists are very difficult to find and convince to join in research as they are rarely open to direct observation and usually do not volunteer for scientific interviews or surveys (Groebel, 1989; Schmid, 2013). In addition, these samples are often small in size and therefore make it hard to get high statistical power. The use of other sources might seem as a limitation at first glance. However, by using a general sample and by identifying risk characteristics the goal is of preventive value. In line with community psychology and public health approaches, this perspective assumes a collective responsibility for health and prevention, identifying large numbers of individuals vulnerable for radicalization, leading to an overall decline in prevalence (Bhui et al., 2012). It is therefore important to also examine the broader determinants of radicalization in susceptible populations, rather than only perpetrators that already have engaged in extremism, as I have done in this research.

No research project is without limitations, and this one is no different. My data was cross-sectional and can therefore not speak to causality. In addition, I relied on self-report measures in the two studies. Self-report measures are quite transparent, so they raise concerns about demand characteristics and social desirability issues (Duspara & Greitemeyer, 2017). Given the sensitive nature of some of the constructs measured (e.g., violent behavioral intentions, SDO and RWA), it is possible that participants denied or under-reported these tendencies. However, consistent patterns of results that are in line with the literature were observed and variables were normally distributed.

By using the online data collection portal of MTurk, the sample is more representative than for instance using undergraduate students. However, the sample may also be prone to selection bias (e.g., only internet users could participate). Furthermore, the use of MTurk participants has been debated, especially with regard to research on political ideology (e.g., Berinsky et al., 2012). Nonetheless, liberals and conservatives in MTurk samples closely mirror the psychological divisions of liberals and conservatives in the general population and MTurk may be a valid recruitment tool for psychological research on political ideology (Clifford et al., 2015).

A limitation of the replicability and scale construction is that the typologies to Bjørge (2016) and Nesser (2015) focused on extremists, while I tested their theoretical conclusions in the general population. As such, these results need to be validated among either previous or

active extremists. It is discussable if the extremist archetypes are something more general than just existing within extremist groups. Based on the findings in this study from the general population together with the theoretical frame on extremist archetypes, my standpoint is that people join extremist groups with pre-existing archetypes that then play out differently when joining such a group. This standpoint is in line with the lack of extremist wording of the items, as well as the normally distributed variables which therefor do not reflect an extreme disposition. Future research investigating if the archetypes are something more general than just existing within extremist groups will be of importance.

As a final point, keep in mind that the correlations coefficients were either small or moderate in its magnitude. As such, the relationships between ideology, prejudice, group membership, personality traits and violence with the extremist archetypes appear to be relatively small in terms of their effect size.

Future Research

Now that the Extremist Archetypes Scale has been validated in a White/Caucasian American sample, future research should aim for samples of an extremist population, or samples from other ideological or religious standpoints so that the scale's generalizability can be tested. It would also be interesting to see if the different archetypes and the personality profiles are general dispositions, or if they are specific to particular cultural, religious or political contexts. Further research is therefore needed to replicate and extend the present findings in different contexts. To create a more comprehensive model, more research should focus on both contextual and individual level factors and link them together within the different extremist archetypes.

In line with newer developments (i.e., Horgan et al., 2018), my findings argue that future research on extremism should continue to investigate intragroup heterogeneity and individual level factors. In this capacity, I only measured a subset of interesting individual variables and therefore captured an incomplete psychological profile of the different archetypes. Further research should extend and use other individual variables to cover a larger picture of the different archetypes. Among others, it could be interesting to see how need for cognitive closure, quest for significance and cognitive abilities are related to the archetypes. It would also be interesting to test for a) how archetypes are related to each other in intragroup settings focusing on group processes, b) how archetypes make people more susceptible to join (i.e., self-selection), and c) how robust the archetypes are over time.

The results from this thesis could be incorporated in the development of more individually-based interventions and preventive measures that are used today. The developed

scale of extremist archetypes and their corresponding individual level factors (i.e., personality and ideology) could also be used in assessment strategies, offender prioritization and risk-assessments. In addition, the use of the Extremist Archetypes Scale could be valuable as a baseline which helps structure further research, as well as allowing for better comparison between violent extremists.

Conclusion

Currently, there is a strong need for empirical tools that are able to identify who is most likely to engage in extremism. Using a typology such as the one presented in this study may help the categorization of extremist archetypes. Hopefully the Extremist Archetypes Scale can help structure further research and contribute to a change towards identifying individual level differences in extremists. My findings imply that the different extremist archetypes in a group context have different personality profiles and associations with violent intentions, ideology, prejudice and group membership factors. The study therefore supports the assumption that there is within-group heterogeneity and that further research is needed to make a more comprehensive model, including both contextual and individual perspectives, of why some individuals, but not others, participate in extremism.

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Appendix

Appendix A

Factor loadings for all 51 items in exploratory factor analyses with direct oblimin rotation.

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
46. I am known as a group member that is not afraid to take any risks.	.88	-.05	.05	-.03	.08
45. I am known as a group member that is not afraid of facing dangers.	.85	-.07	.05	-.01	.09
44. I am willing to take more risks than other people in my group.	.81	-.13	.03	-.09	-.07
48. Other group members see me as someone who likes thrills and adventure.	.80	-.05	.03	.02	.02
43. I like groups that bring along adventure and adrenaline.	.79	.11	-.06	-.08	.06
49. I like to show other group members that I am not afraid of taking risks.	.73	-.02	.12	-.03	-.14
50. I often engage in group activities that others may be afraid of.	.70	-.10	.09	-.09	-.16
42. I find it exciting to join a group where there is a possibility for action.	.63	.25	.09	.04	.03
51. Compared to others in my group, I feel more drawn towards dangerous situations.	.56	-.27	.01	-.15	-.30
38. In the group I belong to I am known for being the "tough guy".	.44	-.23	.16	-.07	-.26
15. I try to find a group that accepts me.	-.12	.64	.08	-.16	.02
19. To belong to a group, I am willing to do what is asked of me.	.24	.55	.04	.19	-.11
13. I tend to "go with the flow" in group settings.	-.01	.52	-.29	-.07	.00
40. The group I belong to gives me stability in life.	.03	.50	.26	.19	-.24
25. I often join groups that others have introduced me to.	.02	.42	.21	-.09	-.18
24. I stay in a group as long as they give me what I need.	-.11	.41	.17	-.20	-.12
18. I am willing to do a lot to belong to the group.	.26	.41	.09	.20	-.32
34. I am willing to sacrifice a lot for my group.	.31	.40	.10	.18	-.27
11. Most group members see me as a leader.	.15	-.01	.82	-.03	.05
1. In a group, I often take the role of a leader.	.15	-.07	.82	.01	.00
5. Other group members turn to me for guidance.	.15	.24	.66	-.03	.13
21. I am more of a follower than a leader in group settings.	-.10	.35	-.66	-.01	-.24
4. I often do most of the strategic planning in the group I belong to.	.15	.18	.65	.02	.05
8. I take a central position in the group I belong to.	.12	.11	.63	-.01	-.11
6. Other group members usually do as I say.	.14	.12	.62	.03	-.09
7. It is important that other group members see me as an authority.	.15	-.14	.58	-.07	-.26
2. Other group members typically listen to my orders.	.22	.17	.57	.01	-.01
3. I often order others to do what needs to be done for the group.	.08	-.14	.54	-.11	-.34
20. In group settings, I typically follow the leader.	.02	.48	-.49	.08	-.19
10. I often take the role of recruiting new people into the group I belong to.	.14	.03	.49	.06	-.26
39. I am the person in my group who takes care of the tough jobs.	.36	.05	.47	-.07	.04
9. I often convince others to become part of the group I belong to.	.15	.16	.39	.05	-.27
27. Sometimes, I suddenly decide to leave a group and seek a new one.	.11	.03	-.02	-.66	.05
35. Throughout my life I have found it difficult to find a group to belong to.	-.01	.02	-.16	-.61	.03
28. It has happened that I just replaced one group I belonged to with another.	.03	.04	.13	-.59	-.10
23. I rarely stay with one group for a longer period of time.	.04	-.18	-.02	-.59	-.08
22. I have shifted a lot between groups in my life.	.05	.13	.16	-.59	-.04
36. I have often struggled to "find my place" in group settings.	.07	.19	-.36	-.50	.01
47. I get bored more easily than other group members.	.02	-.16	.04	-.48	-.15
29. If a group does not recognize my potential, I will just leave it.	.08	.13	.18	-.44	.11
12. I often "blindly" follow my group.	-.06	.05	-.18	-.17	-.67
16. I am willing to change my beliefs for the group I belong to.	.11	.02	-.01	.07	-.63
14. I am willing to do whatever it takes to get my group to accept me.	.06	.12	.17	.02	-.59
33. I care little about people outside my group.	.11	-.24	.01	-.25	-.52
17. I put the group first and myself second.	.12	.23	-.01	.22	-.45
41. Before I became part of my group, I had no clear direction in life.	.14	.09	-.14	-.23	-.45
26. I join groups to gain respect.	.01	.15	.33	-.14	-.44
37. I have a strong need to belong to a group.	.01	.37	.07	.04	-.41
30. The group I belong to needs to give me what I deserve.	.19	.16	.21	-.21	-.19
31. I seek groups that give me a sense of recognition.	.18	.31	.26	-.20	-.17
32. I have experienced injustice in my life and the group I belong to help me get recognition for this.	.18	.10	.16	-.20	-.26

Note. Factor loadings <.32 are boldface.

Appendix B

Direct and indirect effects on violent behavioral intentions

Variables	Direct effects				Indirect effects		
	b (se)	β	p		b (se)	β	p
Social Dominance Orientation	.153 (.052)	.179	.003	Adventurer			
Ethnic Intolerance	.260 (.066)	.259	<.001	Social Dominance Orientation	-.007 (.021)	-.008	.742
				Ethnic Intolerance	.021 (.014)	.032	.125
				Drifter			
				Social Dominance Orientation	.043 (.023)	.032	.066
				Ethnic Intolerance	.018 (.012)	.017	.148

Note. Mediators are the archetypes of "adventurer" and "drifter". Bootstrap = 5000.

Appendix C

Main and interactional effects of predictors of violent behavioral intentions.

Variable	b	SE	t	p value	
				uncorrected	Holm
Main effects					
Adventurer	.32	.07	4.54	<i>p</i> < .001	.001
Fellow Traveler	-.02	.09	-0.21	.836	1.000
Leader	-.05	.07	-0.78	.438	1.000
Drifter	.17	.07	2.36	.019	.133
Misfit	-.04	.09	-0.45	.650	1.000
Social Dominance Orientation	.16	.06	2.83	.005	.040
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.07	.08	0.91	.364	1.000
Nationalism	.05	.08	0.64	.523	1.000
Ethnic Intolerance	.24	.07	3.25	.001	.009
Ethnic Identification	-.07	.07	-0.95	.341	1.000
Interactional effects					
Adventurer x Social Dominance Orientation	.08	.05	1.62	.107	.370
Adventurer x Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.12	.07	-1.71	.088	.370
Adventurer x Nationalism	.14	.08	1.79	.074	.370
Adventurer x Ethnic Intolerance	.04	.07	0.64	.520	1.000
Adventurer x Ethnic Identification	-.02	.06	-0.31	.760	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Social Dominance Orientation	.04	.07	0.54	.592	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.08	.09	-0.85	.396	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Nationalism	.02	.08	0.24	.809	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Ethnic Intolerance	.03	.08	0.37	.711	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Ethnic Identification	.05	.07	0.77	.443	1.000
Leader x Social Dominance Orientation	-.09	.06	-1.56	.121	.605
Leader x Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.08	.07	1.14	.255	1.000
Leader x Nationalism	.01	.08	0.16	.871	1.000
Leader x Ethnic Intolerance	.00	.07	-0.05	.960	1.000
Leader x Ethnic Identification	-.03	.06	-0.56	.574	1.000
Drifter x Social Dominance Orientation	-.10	.06	-1.65	.101	.505
Drifter x Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.03	.08	0.34	.738	1.000
Drifter x Nationalism	.02	.07	0.21	.832	1.000
Drifter x Ethnic Intolerance	-.01	.08	-0.08	.941	1.000
Drifter x Ethnic Identification	.06	.05	1.04	.299	1.000
Misfit x Social Dominance Orientation	.02	.08	0.20	.843	.843
Misfit x Right-Wing Authoritarianism	.22	.10	2.21	.028	.140
Misfit x Nationalism	-.20	.10	-1.97	.050	.200
Misfit x Ethnic Intolerance	-.07	.08	-0.81	.417	.834
Misfit x Ethnic Identification	-.08	.07	-1.10	.272	.816

Note. *p* < .05 is in bold. Holm = Holm's correction

Appendix D. Final 30 items of the Extremist Archetypes Scale.

The scale is introduced with the following text; Most people have some opinions regarding political issues and often support specific political movements. We would like you to think of the political group or movement you belong to or feel close to when answering the following questions. Please indicate to which extent you agree with the various statements regarding yourself.

Adventurer

1. I am known as a group member that is not afraid to take any risks.
2. I am known as a group member that is not afraid of facing dangers.
3. I am willing to take more risks than other people in my group.
4. Other group members see me as someone who likes thrills and adventure.
5. I like groups that bring along adventure and adrenaline.
6. I like to show other group members that I am not afraid of taking risks.

Fellow Traveler

7. I try to find a group that accepts me.
8. To belong to a group, I am willing to do what is asked of me.
9. I tend to "go with the flow" in group settings.
10. The group I belong to gives me stability in life.
11. I often join groups that others have introduced me to.
12. I stay in a group as long as they give me what I need.

Leader

13. Most group members see me as a leader.
14. In a group, I often take the role of a leader.
15. Other group members turn to me for guidance.
16. I often do most of the strategic planning in the group I belong to.
17. I take a central position in the group I belong to.
18. Other group members usually do as I say.

Drifter

19. Sometimes, I suddenly decide to leave a group and seek a new one.
20. Throughout my life I have found it difficult to find a group to belong to.
21. It has happened that I just replaced one group I belonged to with another.
22. I rarely stay with one group for a longer period of time.
23. I have shifted a lot between groups in my life.
24. I get bored more easily than other group members.

Misfit

25. I often "blindly" follow my group.
26. I am willing to change my beliefs for the group I belong to.
27. I am willing to do whatever it takes to get my group to accept me.
28. I care little about people outside my group.
29. I put the group first and myself second.
30. Before I became part of my group, I had no clear direction in life.

Note. Distribute in a randomized order. Responses are rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree"), to 4 ("neither agree nor disagree"), to 7 ("strongly agree").

Appendix E

Standardized and unstandardized coefficients for CFA with the five-factor model solutions

Observed variable	Latent factor	Five-factor model 1			Five-factor model 2		
		β	B	SE	β	B	SE
Item 1	Adventurer	.87	1.47	.07	.88	1.48	.07
Item 2	Adventurer	.85	1.38	.06	.85	1.39	.06
item 3	Adventurer	.88	1.45	.07	.88	1.46	.07
Item 4	Adventurer	.81	1.34	.07	.79	1.32	.07
Item 5	Adventurer	.69	1.11	.08	.67	1.07	.08
Item 6	Adventurer	.88	1.40	.06	.88	1.40	.06
Item 7	Fellow Traveler	.62	.87	.10	.62	.87	.10
Item 8	Fellow Traveler	.56	.81	.10	.56	.81	.10
Item 9	Fellow Traveler	.42	.59	.12	.42	.59	.12
Item 10	Fellow Traveler	.64	.87	.10	.64	.87	.10
Item 11	Fellow Traveler	.50	.70	.10	.50	.70	.10
Item 12	Fellow Traveler	.49	.69	.11	.49	.69	.11
Item 13	Leader	.95	1.67	.05	.95	1.67	.05
Item 14	Leader	.91	1.62	.06	.91	1.62	.06
Item 15	Leader	.74	1.17	.08	.74	1.17	.08
Item 16	Leader	.75	1.22	.07	.75	1.22	.07
Item 17	Leader	.64	1.00	.09	.64	1.00	.09
Item 18	Leader	.72	1.03	.07	.72	1.03	.07
Item 19	Drifter	.77	1.14	.08	.77	1.14	.08
Item 20	Drifter	.51	.91	.11	.51	.91	.11
Item 21	Drifter	.68	1.04	.09	.68	1.04	.09
Item 22	Drifter	.69	.94	.09	.69	.94	.09
Item 23	Drifter	.73	1.14	.08	.73	1.14	.08
Item 24	Drifter	.52	.83	.11	.52	.83	.11
Item 25	Misfit	.65	.81	.09	.65	.82	.09
Item 26	Misfit	.69	1.02	.09	.69	1.02	.09
Item 27	Misfit	.68	.97	.08	.68	.97	.08
Item 28	Misfit	.50	.70	.11	.50	.70	.11
Item 29	Misfit	.45	.66	.10	.45	.66	.10
Item 30	Misfit	.70	.96	.09	.70	.96	.09

Note. CFA = Confirmatory Factor Analysis. Five-factor model 2 includes the covariance between item 4 and 5. All are significant at $p < .001$

Appendix F

Main and interactional effects of predictors of violent behavioral intentions.

Variable	b	SE	t	p value	
				uncorrected	Holm
Main effects					
Adventurer	.14	.09	1.54	.126	1.000
Fellow Traveler	-.21	.11	-1.92	.056	.728
Leader	.17	.10	1.82	.071	.781
Drifter	.11	.09	1.30	.197	1.000
Misfit	.15	.12	1.26	.208	1.000
Honesty-Humility	-.01	.13	-0.07	.939	1.000
Emotionality	-.15	.14	-1.10	.273	1.000
Extraversion	.07	.15	0.47	.639	1.000
Agreeableness	-.22	.15	-1.54	.126	1.000
Conscientiousness	-.32	.17	-1.92	.056	.728
Openness to Experience	.02	.14	0.16	.873	1.000
Altruism	-.17	.14	-1.27	.206	1.000
Intellect	.05	.17	0.32	.752	1.000
Interactional effects					
Adventurer x Honesty-Humility	.29	.11	2.69	.008	.064
Adventurer x Emotionality	.02	.11	0.15	.884	1.000
Adventurer x Extraversion	.02	.12	0.15	.883	1.000
Adventurer x Agreeableness	-.13	.13	-0.98	.328	1.000
Adventurer x Conscientiousness	.20	.17	1.17	.242	1.000
Adventurer x Openness to Experience	.27	.12	2.22	.027	.189
Adventurer x Altruism	-.09	.13	-0.70	.486	1.000
Adventurer x Intellect	-.24	.17	-1.41	.159	.954
Fellow Traveler x Honesty-Humility	.09	.15	0.60	.550	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Emotionality	-.02	.16	-0.13	.895	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Extraversion	.07	.14	0.48	.630	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Agreeableness	-.09	.17	-0.51	.609	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Conscientiousness	-.05	.19	-0.26	.798	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Openness to Experience	.01	.17	0.07	.948	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Altruism	.03	.17	0.20	.843	1.000
Fellow Traveler x Intellect	.03	.20	0.17	.869	1.000
Leader x Honesty-Humility	-.11	.10	-1.07	.284	1.000
Leader x Emotionality	.07	.12	0.63	.528	1.000
Leader x Extraversion	.00	.12	0.00	.997	1.000
Leader x Agreeableness	.08	.13	0.61	.544	1.000
Leader x Conscientiousness	-.25	.15	-1.70	.091	.546
Leader x Openness to Experience	-.25	.12	-1.99	.048	.336
Leader x Altruism	-.04	.13	-0.33	.743	1.000
Leader x Intellect	.34	.16	2.10	.037	.296
Drifter x Honesty-Humility	.02	.11	0.22	.825	1.000
Drifter x Emotionality	-.22	.13	-1.67	.097	.679
Drifter x Extraversion	.13	.12	1.08	.280	1.000
Drifter x Agreeableness	-.32	.14	-2.27	.024	.192
Drifter x Conscientiousness	.06	.14	0.42	.678	1.000
Drifter x Openness to Experience	.03	.15	0.20	.844	1.000
Drifter x Altruism	.15	.14	1.14	.256	1.000
Drifter x Intellect	-.14	.17	-0.86	.393	1.000
Misfit x Honesty-Humility	-.23	.18	-1.28	.202	1.000
Misfit x Emotionality	-.14	.18	-0.75	.452	1.000
Misfit x Extraversion	-.20	.16	-1.26	.209	1.000
Misfit x Agreeableness	.20	.24	0.86	.393	1.000
Misfit x Conscientiousness	.06	.19	0.33	.744	1.000
Misfit x Openness to Experience	.00	.19	-0.02	.987	1.000
Misfit x Altruism	.00	.16	-0.03	.978	1.000
Misfit x Intellect	-.20	.20	-0.97	.332	1.000

Note. $p < .05$ is in bold. Holm = Holm's correction. None of the effects stayed significant after Holm's correction.

Appendix G

Main and interactional effects of predictors of violent behavioral intentions.

Variable	b	SE	t	p value	
				uncorrected	Holm
Main effects					
Adventurer	.12	.07	1.78	.076	.304
Fellow Traveler	-.36	.10	-3.71	p < .001	.002
Leader	.16	.07	2.14	.033	.198
Drifter	.13	.08	1.69	.091	.304
Misfit	.27	.10	2.87	.004	.028
Machivellianism	-.05	.08	-0.57	.569	.569
Psychopathy	.16	.08	1.92	.056	.280
Narcissism	.10	.08	1.29	.198	.396
Interactional effects					
Adventurer x Machivellianism	-.08	.07	-1.10	.273	.819
Adventurer x Psychopathy	.05	.08	0.70	.484	.968
Adventurer x Narcissism	-.03	.06	-0.45	.656	.968
Fellow Traveler x Machivellianism	-.11	.11	-0.99	.324	.504
Fellow Traveler x Psychopathy	-.11	.10	-1.15	.252	.504
Fellow Traveler x Narcissism	.16	.10	1.64	.102	.306
Leader x Machivellianism	-.08	.07	-1.09	.278	.834
Leader x Psychopathy	.02	.08	0.30	.765	.834
Leader x Narcissism	.06	.06	1.04	.298	.834
Drifter x Machivellianism	.01	.08	0.08	.940	1.000
Drifter x Psychopathy	-.03	.08	-0.43	.671	1.000
Drifter x Narcissism	.10	.07	1.51	.132	.396
Misfit x Machivellianism	.18	.09	1.92	.055	.110
Misfit x Psychopathy	.01	.11	0.80	.936	.936
Misfit x Narcissism	-.18	.08	-2.21	.028	.084

Note. $p < .05$ is in bold. Holm = Holm's correction