LASER PULSE

MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES TO ENGAGE, JOIN, OR SUPPORT VIOLENT GROUPS—MONITORING, EVALUATION, & LEARNING (MEL)

Jessica Baumgardner-Zuzik | Shaziya DeYoung | Allyson Bachta | Shreya Gautam

Authors

Suggested Citation

Baumgardner-Zuzik, Jessica, Shaziya DeYoung, Allyson Bachta, and Shreya Gautam. 2023. Motivations and Incentives to Engage, Join, or Support Violent Groups Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning (MEL). West Lafayette, IN: Long-term Assistance and Services for Research – Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine (LASER Pulse Consortium).

About LASER PULSE

LASER (Long-term Assistance and Services for Research) PULSE (Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine) is a 10-year, $70M program funded by USAID's Innovation, Technology, and Research Hub, that delivers research-driven solutions to field-sourced development challenges in USAID partner countries.

A consortium led by Purdue University, with core partners Catholic Relief Services, Indiana University, Makerere University, and the University of Notre Dame, implements the LASER PULSE program through a growing network of 3,700+ researchers and development practitioners in 86 countries.

LASER PULSE collaborates with USAID missions, bureaus, and independent offices, and other local stakeholders to identify research needs for critical development challenges, and funds and strengthens the capacity of researcher-practitioner teams to co-design solutions that translate into policy and practice.

Disclaimer

ACRONYMS

AC&V	Armed Conflict and Violence Prevention
AfP	Alliance for Peacebuilding
AIR	American Institutes for Research
CPS	Bureau of Conflict Prevention and Stabilization
CS	Conflict Sensitivity
CVP	Center for Conflict and Violence Prevention
CVP LAIT	Conflict and Violence Prevention Learning Agenda Implementation Team
LASER PULSE	Long-term Assistance and Services for Research Partners for University-Led Solutions Engine
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning
PI	Principal Investigator
QED	Quasi-Experimental Design
RCT	Randomized Control Trial
ToC/s	Theory/ies of Change
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VE	Violent Extremism

RESEARCH SUMMARY

This research aims to better understand the current state of measurement with regard to motivations and incentives to engage, join, and/or support violent groups. The resulting report explores the general characteristics of relevant resources to date—including research outcomes, explicit indicators, common measurement trends, and indicator examples. This report analyzed 73 resources, from which 261 indicators were extracted for analysis.

The findings of this report underscore the intricate measurement landscape associated with motivations and incentives, highlighting the diversity of indicators across three primary thematic outcome categories: violent extremism (VE), crime and violence, and violence prevention and resiliency building settings. Themes assessed across indicators included perceptions on levels of violence; violent group engagement and recruitment mechanisms; motivations and incentives for engaging with violent groups; proximity to violence; social cohesion; and resiliency/risk factors; amongst others. The findings in this report include existing indicators and measures as examples of the current state of measurement. While included resources aim to better understand motivations that incentivize engagement with violent groups and actors across various conflict contexts and forms of violence, the indicators employed extend beyond merely measuring motivations and incentives, touching upon multiple aspects of the conflict context.

To advance the state of measurement, researchers and implementers need to establish explicit indicators to monitor and evaluate changes in motivations and incentives. To obtain a more holistic and accurate understanding of the underlying phenomenon, it is imperative to develop and assess indicators across the micro, meso, and macro levels with equal rigor. A deeper understanding of the contribution of these various factors and elements in relation to violence, including its potential disruption, could be achieved through more focused, context-specific assessments.

INTRODUCTION

As part of the Conflict and Violence Prevention Learning Agenda Implementation Team (CVP LAIT), the Alliance for Peacebuilding (AfP) carried out a scoping and synthesis of indicators and relevant forms of measurement for incentives that motivate involvement with violent actors to complement other research as part of the CVP LAIT portfolio. The CVP LAIT was tasked with co-creating and implementing a Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Stabilization (CPS) learning agenda that:

- **Establishes the evidence base for effective approaches to armed conflict and violence prevention;**

- **Identifies opportunities for Center for Conflict and Violence Prevention (CVP) investments that would produce new knowledge to fill gaps in the existing literature;**

- **Provides USAID staff with events, tools, resources, and/or guidance to incorporate learning agenda findings into their work; and**

- **Conducts original research into armed conflict and violence prevention (AC&V).**

Through an intensive, multi-stakeholder consultation process with USAID Washington and mission staff, incentives motivating engagement with violent actors and associated Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning (MEL) was identified as an effort that, if backed by sound evidence and guidance, could benefit program design, outcomes, policy, and knowledge generation.

The landscape of incentives that motivate individuals to engage, support, and/or join violent groups is vast and continues to evolve with changing conflict dynamics. Mirroring this vastness, a multitude of programming across many sectors aims to address these motivations—creating multiple opportunities to disrupt the pathways to violence. If one can better understand incentives that motivate individuals to engage with violent groups and actors, then it would be possible to better design programs that early on disrupt pathways and relationships to violence. To better understand the various motivations and incentives, rigorous MEL is needed along with designated research to continue to build the evidence base for what works and does not.

Contributing to this growing body of research and evidence, this report aims to better understand the current state of measurement related to programs and research efforts that address motivations and incentives across multiple conflict contexts and violence types. By exploring the characteristics of related resources that include research outcomes, methodologies, explicit indicators, and related measurement information, this report addresses the following Learning Agenda Question: *What are evidence-based approaches for measuring the impact of armed conflict and violence prevention, mitigation, and reduction programming (across different levels individual-community-national-system)?*

MEL BRIEFER METHODOLOGY

This research conducts a scoping and synthesis of indicators and associated measures included in studies that aim to better understand the motivations and incentives behind engaging, supporting and/or joining violent groups. The approach to this research involved: (1) resource scraping and determining eligibility of collected resources; (2) indicator scraping; and (3) conducting thematic coding analysis and synthesis.

1. **Resource Scraping and Eligibility:** This report is meant to supplement research conducted by the CVP-LAIT. As such, the research parameters were defined by the included resources finalized for the *Evidence Review on the Motivations and Incentives to Engage, Join, or Support Violent Groups* conducted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR). This evidence review included an extensive scraping process, which resulted in a total of 129 resources retained for thematic analysis.

2. **Indicator Scraping:** Across the 129 resources, AIR's research team conducted a primary scoping of indictors, wherein they manually scraped each resource to collect indicators and related MEL information, including the measure,[1] measure options,[2] data collection tools used, research design, and analysis methods. AfP then conducted a secondary scoping of this data to finalize the resources and relevant indicators for the scope of this research report.

    Of the 129 resources, a total of 73 resources that contained explicit indicators and relevant MEL information were retained and included for this study. A total of 261 indicators were identified and included from the retained resources. AfP used MS Excel to track references and code key characteristics documented for each resource. This method allowed researchers to quickly access information in one place, check each other's work to avoid duplication, and efficiently evaluate characteristics of each resource against the eligibility criteria.

3. **Thematic Analysis and Synthesis:** Following full-text coding of all 261 indicators, AfP employed a thematic analysis approach, paired with computerized theme and descriptive analyses of the included resources to synthesize findings across relevant resource characteristics. These characteristics include research outcomes, methodologies, and indicator categories and examples. Two coding teams separately conducted thematic analysis using a traditional card-sort theme extraction method across relevant characteristics.[3] Through this process, thematic categories relating to each characteristic were created inductively through a method of open coding. Once thematic categories were developed, the data was coded and restructured within relevant thematic categories for final category-based analysis. The two thematic analyses were compared and minor differences between the two were reconciled using cross-team discussion.

While best practices were adhered to as part of this research, there are limitations. The findings of this report are limited to the scoping criteria defined by the *Evidence Review on the Motivations and Incentives to Engage, Join, or Support Violent Groups* conducted by AIR. As such, additional relevant MEL-specific resources and evaluations that apply to this research may have been excluded from this review. Similarly, given that only 57% of the catalogue contained relevant MEL information and indicators, the findings might not be representative of the entire catalogue. However, despite these limitations, this research effort provides valuable information that can strengthen the knowledge base on incentives that motivate engagement with violent groups and actors.

INCLUDED RESOURCES

The finalized catalogue contained 129 resources, of which 73 (57%) contained explicit indicators. In total, 261 indicators were extracted for further analysis.

Understanding the context and methodological approach of resources is crucial for assessing the current measurement landscape. A study's context impacts the indicators' applicability and universality. Furthermore, a study's methodology speaks to the indicators' reliability and validity. By examining these, one gains insights into the strength of the evidence behind the indicators and their adaptability in the ever-evolving AC&V landscape. A deep dive into these study characteristics provides a clearer picture of current measurements and paves the way for future advancements, helping to refine shared definitions

---

1 Indicator measure is the exact question (either quantitatively or qualitatively administered) that collects data to evaluate a specific indicator.

2 Indicator measure options are the exact options provided to answer an indicator measure, such as a Likert scale or specific coded answers. Close-ended questions typically have explicitly stated measure options.

3 Meline, Timothy. 2006. "Selecting Studies for Systemic Review: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria." *Contemporary Issues in Communication Science and Disorders* 33 (Spring): 21–27.

of motivation and incentives. This section provides information related to the geographic context, research methodology, and publication timelines of the 73 resources.

Geographic Reach

The finalized catalogue covered 47 unique countries and 10 global or other thematic geographic areas.[4] Of the countries represented, the United States (N=19), Germany (N=5), and Colombia (N=5) emerged as the primary locations representing at least 5% of the sample each. Canada, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo had equal representation in the catalogue, reflecting 4% each. The total number of countries may not match the number of projects or resource areas, as some focus on multiple countries. On a broader regional scale, Europe and North America led in frequency, followed by Africa (see Figure 1).
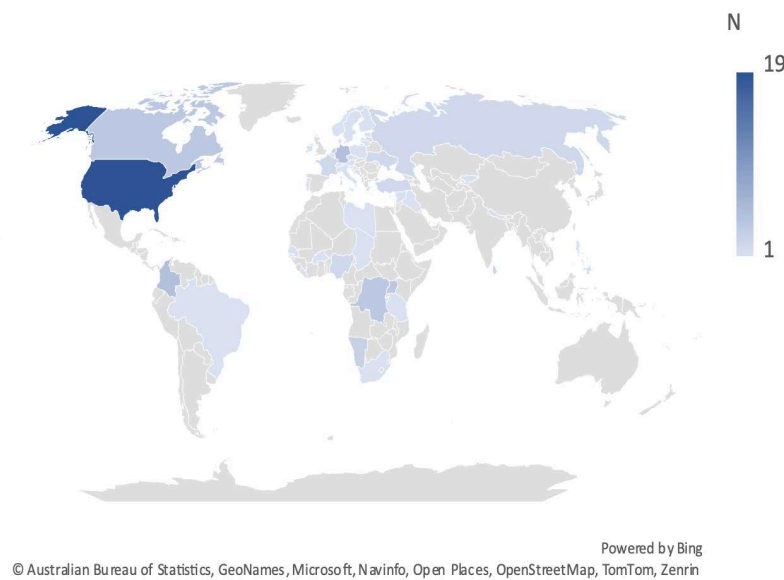

Powered by Bing
© Australian Bureau of Statistics, GeoNames, Microsoft, Navinfo, Open Places, OpenStreetMap, TomTom, Zenrin

Figure 1: Geographic spread of projects/research subjects

Timeline of Publication

Most included resources were published in the last six years, with 55% (N=40) published between 2018-2023. The pinnacle of research was 2020 with 18% (N=13), followed by 2022 reflecting 14% (N=10) of the catalogue. In general, there has been a steady increase in resources studying motivations behind engagement with violent groups since 2012, which is the first year of publication of the resources included in this catalogue.

Methodology: Research Design, Analysis, and Limitations

A little less than half of the included resources were non-experimental correlation studies. Non-experimental case studies also had a prominent presence across the catalogue, reflecting 29%, followed by experimental studies (14%) and quasi-experimental studies (12%). Only one systematic review existed in the catalogue.

---

4 This includes six resources with global programs or study subjects and four resources that did not specify geographical reach.

Overall, half of the included resources explicitly mention the data collection methods that were used. Of the resources that did mention data collection methods used, the large majority were quantitative (44%), with an additional 12% using qualitative data collection methods. Some of the resources (6%) use both qualitative and quantitative methods. Many (52%) used more than one method of data collection. The most common type of data collection tools was self-completed or enumerated surveys (58%), followed by secondary data (41%), key informant interviews (34%), and focus group discussions (10%).

Analysis Methods	N	%
Regression Analysis	33	45%
Thematic Analyses	12	16%
Correlation and Association	7	10%
Descriptive Statistics	5	7%
Tests of Difference	5	7%
Advanced Modeling	4	5%
No Analysis Mentioned	4	5%
Comparative Analyses	2	3%
Time Series and Trends	1	1%

Table 1: Analysis methods

The majority of the resources (95%) explicitly described the methods used for analysis. Of those, the majority were quantitative (80%), with an additional 20% using qualitative methods. None of the resources used mixed methods, including theory of change/hypothesis testing analysis and/or contribution analysis. Overall, included studies used regression analyses, thematic analyses, and correlation analyses, reflecting 45%, 16%, and 10% of the catalogue, respectively.

Research Outcomes

Outcomes for the 73 resources were thematically coded and sorted, which resulted in a total of three main categories: VE; crime and violence; and violence prevention and resiliency building.

Resources associated with **VE** represented a little more than half of the catalogue (51%) and reflected multiple outcomes related to radicalization and vulnerabilities to VE, as well as various aspects of engagement with violent groups, such as violent extremist organizations, rebel groups, and/or armed groups. The **crime and violence** category represented 34% of resources and reflected multiple outcomes associated with membership and engagement with violent groups, such as gangs, mobs, and cartels (among others), criminal/delinquent behaviors, and susceptibility to violent organized crime. Overall, the **violence prevention and resiliency building** category accounted for 11% of included resources and

Outcomes	N	%
VE	37	51%
Crime and Violence	25	34%
Violence Prevention and Resiliency Building	8	11%
Other	3	4%

Table 2: Research outcomes thematic categorizations

reflected various outcomes related to community policing and community-security forces relationships, social cohesion, and aspects of justice experiences and governance.

A fourth category, "**other**," was created for the remaining three resources that did not fit into any of the above mentioned categories. Outcomes in this category were associated with the general themes of political violence and activism. However, due to the limited resources within this category, no trends or findings could be extracted for the purposes of this report.

MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES INDICATORS AND MEASURES

Indicator Categories, Themes, and Examples

To better understand the state of the field regarding how programs assessing motivations and incentives for engaging with violent groups are measured and monitored, the following section presents findings and related examples for associated indicators and measures. The findings in this section are disaggregated based on the thematic categorization informed by research outcomes. Findings are presented for the three main outcome categories: VE; crime and violence; and violence prevention and resiliency building, reflecting a total of 252 indicators.[5]

Indicator Categories	N	%
Violent Extremism (VE)	144	57%
Crime and Violence	64	25%
Violence Prevention and Resiliency Building	44	17%

Table 3: Indicator categories

VE Indicators

Across the catalogue of indicators, a total of 144 indicators (57%) fell within the VE category. Indicators found in this category were thematically organized into five main themes, ranging from motivations and incentives to engage, join, or support violent groups to general attitudes and perceptions toward VE and the use of violence. For indicators that did not fall into any of the five categories, a sixth theme, "other," was created.

VE Indicator Themes	N	%
Motivations and Incentives	49	34%
Demographic	32	22%
Group Involvement	23	16%
Level of Violence	20	14%
Attitudes Toward VE	9	6%
Other: *Perceptions, Attitudes, and Relationships toward Other Groups*	6	4%
Other: *Context-Specific*	5	3%

Table 4: VE indicator themes

Motivations and Incentives: The largest number of VE indicators were in relation to motivations and incentives to engage, join, or support violent groups for current or former perpetrators, reflecting 34% of the 144 indicators. The most common indicators and measures assessed **proximity to violence and violent actors** (24%), geographically as well as in social networks. **Ideology-based radicalization factors** that assessed support for radical ideologies and specific violent group ideologies and **socio-economic factors**, such as social desirability, isolation, unemployment, and economic needs, accounted for 20% of the motivations and incentives indicators each. Other common indicators collected data on individual **psychological factors** (14%), such as depression, psychological vulnerability, and susceptibility to manipulation, and **religious factors** (4%) measuring the religiosity of individuals and their social networks. Multiple indicators (16%) assessed not only a single motivating factor and/or incentive, but also looked at **reasons for joining violent groups** across a combination of the above-mentioned motivating factors.

Table 5: Examples of motivations and incentives indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Proximity to Violence and Violent Actors	Having Hezbollah militants within the social network	Having Hezbollah militants within the social network	• Have • Have not

5 While 261 indicators were included for this research, findings from 9 indicators extracted from the 3 resources that were categorized as "other" research outcomes could not be synthesized due to the limited resources within this category.

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Ideology-Based Radicalization Factors	Support for group ideology	% reporting support for group ideology	Not available
Socio-Economic Factors	Economic need	Combatants reported having joined to escape poverty because of promises of salary or money, or because they had no other options for work	Not available
Reasons for Joining Violent Groups	Reasons for joining	Reasons for joining	• Personal identity • Relational identity • Charismatic persuasion • Propaganda • Coercion
	Motivations for joining	Why did you join Citizen Armed Forces Geographical Units?	• Money/benefits • Protect community • Social pressure • Adventure • Forced to join • Punish enemies • Other
Psychological Factors	Depression	Depression	• Mostly • Sometimes • Never
Religious Factors	Family religiosity	Whether or not the family is religious	Religious = 1, Not = 0

Demographic: Indicators that collected data on demographics accounted for 22% of indicators in the VE category. Of the most recurring themes, demographic indicators relating to **gender** accounted for 19%, followed by indicators measuring **age** (16%), as well as **identity**-based indicators (16%) that include religious, political, ethnic, and racial affiliations. Other themes that emerged reflected **employment** status and types, **geographic and location**-based indicators, and measures assessing **education levels**.

Table 6: Examples of demographic indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Gender	Gender	Count	• Male • Female

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Age	Age	Age	Open ended
Identity	Political affiliation	Q1. Self Q2. Family	Open ended
Employment	Occupation	Not available	Not available
Geographic	Geographic area	Count	• Foothills • Highlands • Planes
Education	Education	Q1. Self Q2. Family	Open ended

Group Involvement: Indicators that collected data on engagement with violent groups accounted for 16% of VE related indicators. Violent groups include violent extremist organizations, armed groups, rebel groups, and militia. Indicators in this theme assessed two main themes. **Recruitment mechanisms** accounted for 61% of group involvement indicators. Most of these indicators looked at forced versus voluntary recruitment mechanisms, including the forced recruitment of children in various contexts. **Engagement with violent groups** accounted for 30% of group involvement indicators that assessed participation in violent groups based on gender and activities engaged in as part of a violent group. Only two indicators (9%) assessed **disengagement from violent groups** and related activities.

Table 7: Examples of group involvement indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Recruitment Mechanisms	Recruitment	Mode of recruitment	• Forcibly • Voluntary
Engagement with Violent Groups	Roles	Effectiveness of fighting	• Months to receive a gun • Allowed to keep own gun • Dependable fighter
Disengagement from Violent Groups	Manner of departure	Manner of departure	• Rescue • Premeditated escape • Knew location at time of escape

Level of Violence: Overall, 11% of VE indicators assessed various aspects of levels of violence associated with VE. These indicators were heavily focused on **reported violence** (45%), including counts of violent attacks carried out, reported violent acts that individuals themselves committed or were involved with, as well as motivations and incentives to carry out these violent acts. Other indicators assessed general **perceptions on the level of violence** and **attitudes toward violence and its use**, both reflecting 20% of indicators each. Fifteen percent of indicators assessed **reported experience of violence**, and they measured violence to which individuals were directly exposed.

Table 8: Examples of level of violence indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Reported Violence	Committed offenses during combat	A checklist of nine different types of offenses ranging from physical assault to rape or killing	Not available
Perceptions on Level of Violence	Number of instances of community violence	Count of conflict instances	Not available
Attitudes Toward Violence and Its Use	Approval of certain violent acts	Not available	Not available
Reported Experience of Violence	Harmed by conflict	Harmed by conflict	• Yes • No

Attitudes toward VE: Overall, 6% of indicators assessed attitudes toward VE. These indicators mainly focused on **attitudes toward violent groups and actors** (56%), including sympathy for groups, perceived levels of safety in the presence or absence of violent groups, and stereotypes associated with violent actors. The remaining indicators focused on **attitudes toward VE** itself (44%), including support for extremism and readiness to participate in radical activities.

Table 9: Examples of attitudes toward VE indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Attitudes Toward Violent Groups and Actors	Extremist characteristics	Extremist archetype scale: • Adventurer • Fellow traveler • Leader • Drifter • Misfit	For each: • Yes • No
Attitudes Toward VE	Support for extremism	Q1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Violence in the name of Islam can be justified. Q2. When do you think that violence is an effective method to solve problems? Q3. Do you personally feel that using arms and violence against civilians in defense of your religion can be often justified, sometimes justified, or never justified?	Refer to Q1: • Agree • Disagree Refer to Q2: • Often • Sometimes • Never Refer to Q3: • Justified • Sometimes justified • Never justified

Other: Across VE indicators, 4% reflected **perceptions, attitudes, and relationships toward other groups**, assessing attitudes toward vulnerable and marginalized populations, quality of relationships between diverse identity groups, and overall religious tolerance. The remaining VE indicators reflected context-specific indicators that were relevant to their individual programs.

Table 10: Examples of other VE indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Perceptions, Attitudes, and Relationships Toward Other Groups	Sharing behavior	Amount of shillings shared	Not available

Crime and Violence Indicators

Across the entire catalogue of indicators, a total of 64 indicators (25%) fell within the crime and violence thematic category. Indicators found in this category were thematically organized into three main themes, including engagement with violent groups such as gangs, mobs, cartels, and other forms of organized crime, resiliency and risk factors associated with violence and criminal activities and behaviors, and perceived levels of violence. A fourth theme, "other," was created for indicators that did not fall within the main three categories.

Crime and Violence Indicator Themes	N	%
Group Involvement	29	45%
Resiliency/Risk Factors	18	28%
Level of Violence	7	11%
Other: *Delinquent/Criminal Behaviors*	5	8%
Other: *Substance Use and Bullying*	2	3%
Other: *Perceived Level of Safety in Community*	2	3%
Other: *Demographic*	1	2%

Table 11: Crime and violence indicator themes

Group Involvement: Indicators that collected data on engagement with violent groups accounted for 45% of crime and violence-related indicators. The majority of these indicators (83%) reflected various aspects of organized crime **group membership**, specifically gang membership, including self-reported indicators on group membership, activities carried out by violent groups, and embeddedness and length of term within group structures. The remaining indicators reflected **motivations and incentives** for engaging with respective violent groups (10%), followed by **proximity to violent groups** (7%) through social networks.

Table 12: Examples of group involvement indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Group Membership	Self-reported gang involvement	Are you a member of an organized street gang?	• No, and I have never been asked or pressured to join • No, but I have been asked or pressured to join • I was in a gang, but am no longer • Yes, I am currently in a gang

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Motivations and Incentives	Motivations to join a gang	Respondents were asked to specify why they decided to join a gang	• For money • For respect • For protection • To make friends • To deal drugs • Was forced to join by others
Proximity to Violent Groups	Gang involvement	Q1. Family gang member(s) Q2. Gang member Q3. Partner gang member	Not available

Resiliency/Risk Factors: After group involvement, the second largest collection of indicators were in relation to resiliency/risk factors associated with violent and/or criminal behaviors, reflecting 28% of crime and violence indicators. A third of these indicators address general **well-being**, including psychological factors like emotional competence, parental presence, and existence of routine activities outside of school and/or work. **Strength of networks** (28%) is also a prominent theme that measures individuals' strength and stability of relationships across family dynamics, friendships, and local communities. The remaining indicators assess **academic perceptions and performances** (22%) and the **ability to resist peer pressure** (17%), especially in the face of delinquent and/or criminal behaviors.

Table 13: Examples of resiliency/risk factors indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Well-being	Low self-control	Construct is comprised of four items from the Brief Self-Control scale. Respondents were asked to indicate how well statements such as "I do certain things that are bad for me, if they are fun."	For each: Likert Scale from 0-4, where 0 = "not at all" and 4 = "very much"
Strength of Networks	Relationship dynamics with family members prior to joining the gang	Q1. Whom do you consider to be your family? Q2. Who did you grow up with, such as brothers and sisters, cousins? Q3. Who did you spend most of your time with? Q4. What were your relationships with other adults like in your childhood?	• Not available

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Academic Perceptions and Performances	Academic problems	Q1. During the past 30 days, how many days of school have you missed because you skipped or "cut?" Q2. On your last report card, what grades did you receive?	Refer to Q1: • 0 days • 1 day • 2 or 3 days • 4 or 5 days • 6 or more days Refer to Q2: • Mostly As • Mostly Bs • Mostly Cs • Mostly Ds • Mostly Es/Fs
Resist Peer Pressure	Deviancy reinforcement	Five items were used to indicate: • How strongly the respondents experience peer pressure by their friends. For example, "my friends would think it's stupid when I don't dare to do something;" and • How strongly their friends would approve of breaking the rules. For example, "My friends would have respect for me when I dare to break and enter."	Not available

Level of Violence: Overall, 11% of crime and violence indicators assessed various aspects of levels of violence associated with organized crime, such as gang violence. These indicators heavily focused on **reported violence** (43%), including reported violent acts that individuals themselves committed or with which they were involved. They also focused on **attitudes toward violence and its use** (43%), including perceptions of when the use of violence is acceptable, as well as violent versus nonviolent responses to conflict. The remaining indicators reflected **reported experiences of violence** (14%), measuring violence to which individuals were directly exposed.

Table 14: Examples of level of violence indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Reported Violence	Violent behavior	Violent behavior: • Having attacked someone with a weapon or with the idea of seriously hurting or killing them • Having hit someone with the idea of hurting them, but not with the idea of seriously injuring or killing them • Having carried an unspecified hidden weapon during the previous three months	For each: • Yes • No

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Attitudes Toward Violence and Its Use	Code of the street	Based on six items drawn from Stewart and Simons (2010), respondents were asked to report how well they agreed with statements, such as: "If someone uses violence against you, it is important that you use violence against him or her to get even."	For each: Likert Scale from 0-3, where 0 = "strongly disagree" and 3 = "strongly agree"
Reported Experiences of Violence	Exposure to violence	Exposure to: • Interparental violence • Childhood physical abuse • Childhood sexual abuse • Community violence • Partner physical or sexual violence • Juvenile justice involvement • Prison	For each: • Yes • No

Other: Across crime and violence indicators, 8% reflected indicators assessing an individual's engagement in **delinquent/criminal behaviors**, including proximity to such behaviors in social networks. Three percent reflected **substance use and bullying**, assessing access to and usage of substances, such as drugs and alcohol, as well as the perpetration and victimization of bullying in various contexts. Remaining themes reflected **perceived levels of safety in community** (3%), including perceptions on the relationship between the community and security forces, and **demographic** indicators (2%) that collected identity-based data.

Table 15: Examples of other crime and violence indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Delinquent/Criminal Behaviors	Non-violent delinquent behavior	Non-violent delinquent behavior: • Having tried to steal or actually stolen money or things worth between $5 and $50 • Having tried to buy or sell things that were stolen • Having sold marijuana	For each: • Yes • No
Substance Use and Bullying	Involvement in bullying	Q1. Victimization: During the past 30 days, how often have you been bullied? Q2. Perpetration: In the past 30 days, how often have you bullied someone else?	For each: • Once a week • 2–3 times during the month • 1 time during the month • Not at all

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Perceived Level of Safety in Community	Unsafe locations	Q1. Participants were asked to identify up to five locations in the city in which they felt unsafe. Each research participant was then asked to rank the spaces from most to least safe Q2. Participants were asked a set of questions about each space, including why they felt it was unsafe Q3. Participants were asked a set of questions about each space, including their strategies for staying safe in that space Q4. Participants were asked for their ideas on how to make these areas safer for young people	Refer to Q2: • Social disorder • Physical disorder • Gang-related reasons
Demographic	Racial identity	Racial identity (%)	Not available

Violence Prevention and Resiliency Building Indicators

Across the catalogue of indicators, a total of 44 indicators (17%) fell within the violence prevention and resiliency building category. These indicators were thematically organized into three main themes, including demographic-specific indicators, indicators on perceptions of relationships between the community and security forces, and resiliency factors regarding violence prevention. A fourth theme, "other," was created for indicators that did not fall within the main three categories.

Violence Prevention and Resiliency Building Indicator Themes	N	%
Demographic	13	30%
Community-Security Forces Relationship	6	14%
Resiliency Factors	6	14%
Other: *Level of Violence*	5	11%
Other: *Empathy*	4	9%
Other: *Involvement in Activism*	3	7%
Other: *Reported Experience of Violence*	2	5%
Other: *Engagement in Community*	2	5%
Other: *Context-Specific*	2	5%

Table 16: Violence prevention and resiliency building themes

Demographic: Indicators that collected data on demographics accounted for 30% of indicators in the violence prevention and resiliency building category. **Identity**-based indicators, such as religious, political, ethnic, and racial affiliations, accounted for 38% of demographic indicators. Context-specific demographic indicators reflected 15% of indicators, as did those measuring **education** and **income** levels. Other themes that emerged reflected **age** and **gender**.

Table 17: Examples of demographic indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Identity	Threat perception priming characteristics	Levels of religiosity	Likert Scale from 1-5
Education	Level of education	Not available	Not available

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Income	Income	Not available	Not available
Age	Age	Not available	Not available
Gender	Women per household	Count	Not available

Community-Security Forces Relationships: Indicators that collected data on community-security forces relationships accounted for 14% of indicators in the violence prevention and resiliency building category. All six indictors in this category look at different aspects of assessing relationships between the community and security forces, especially the police, which include exposure to police violence, trust in community security structures versus one's own ethnic community, and willingness to alert and/or communicate with police.

Table 18: Examples of community-security forces relationships indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Community-Security Forces Relationships	Alerting and/or cooperating with the police in specific situations	Count	Not available

Resiliency Factors: Overall, 14% of violence prevention and resiliency building indicators assessed resiliency factors. These indicators included individual based resiliency factors such as mental health, satisfaction with economic situation, and citizen access to services as well as community based resiliency factors such as measures of social cohesion, including strength of networks and attitudes towards diversity and pluralism.

Table 19: Examples of resiliency factors indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Resiliency Factors	Satisfaction with economic situation	Not available	Likert Scale from 1-5

Other: Across all violence prevention and resiliency building indicators, measures assessing **empathy** (9%) and **involvement in activism** (7%) also emerged in smaller trends. Similarly, other indicators, such as **reported experience of violence**—assessing an individual's direct exposure to violence—and **engagement in community activities** emerged as additional themes, both representing 5% of violence prevention and resiliency building indicators each. The two remaining indicators in this category reflected context-specific indicators that were relevant to their individual programs.

Table 20: Examples of other violence prevention and resiliency building indicators

Indicator Theme Sub-Group	Indicator Examples	Indicator Measure Examples	Indicator Measure Options Examples
Empathy	Victim empathy scale	Not available	Not available
Involvement in Activism	Intention to protest	%	Not available
Reported Experience of Violence	Threat perception priming characteristics	% of sample who experienced violence	Not available
Engagement in Community Activities	Involvement in service provision at the community level	Not available	Not available

CONCLUSION

In summary, the synthesis of these findings reveals a diverse landscape of measurements related to motivations and incentives, underscoring the variety of indicators spanning VE, crime and violence, and violence prevention and resiliency building settings. This research cast a wide net across a broad spectrum of contexts, sectors, and types of violence, potentially leading to a dilution of the overall findings. A deeper understanding of how these various factors and elements contribute to or disrupt relationships with violence can be achieved through individual, more detailed assessments within each specific context.

When examining these resources holistically, it becomes evident that they aim to better understand motivations that incentivize engagement with violent groups and actors across various conflict contexts and forms of violence. Nevertheless, the indicators employed extend beyond merely measuring motivations and incentives, touching upon multiple different aspects of the conflict context.

Across the three thematic concepts—VE, crime and violence, and violence prevention and resiliency building—VE encompasses the highest number of indicators, particularly those pertaining to motivations and incentives, as compared to crime and violence settings involving gang and mob violence or community-level violence prevention and resiliency building. Notably, there is a significant emphasis on individually-focused motivations and incentives indicators, such as socio-economic status, employment status, and psychological factors, contrasting with fewer indicators addressing community and national-level motivations, such as perceptions of community safety, perceived levels of violence, and satisfaction with government services. Overreliance on individually-based indicators may concentrate findings and program efforts on individual motivations and incentives, potentially undermining efforts to disrupt pathways to violence and impeding the potential success of programs. To obtain a more accurate understanding of the underlying phenomena, it is imperative to develop and assess indicators across the micro, meso, and macro levels.

A closer analysis further reveals that both VE and crime and violence categories incorporate a significant number of indicators related to involvement and engagement with violent groups. However, self-reported engagement with violent groups is more frequently employed as a measure in organized crime settings than in VE contexts. This discrepancy may stem from the sensitive nature of VE, illustrating the limitations of copying certain measures across different contexts and sectors. Conversely, within the realm of VE, multiple indicators aim to elucidate perceptions toward VE, while within the crime and violence realm, few indicators seek to comprehend how individuals and communities perceive violent organized crime, criminal groups, and/or their associated actors.

In conclusion, the synthesis of these findings underscores the intricate landscape of measurements associated with motivations and incentives, highlighting the diversity of indicators across VE, crime and violence, and violence prevention settings. A deeper understanding of the contribution of these various factors and elements in relation to violence, including its potential disruption, can be achieved through more focused, context-specific assessments.

MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES FIELD-BASED MEL RECOMMENDATIONS

The following overarching recommendations were informed by individual study recommendations, challenges, and best practices, as well as broader insights from research to enhance the state of MEL. Some recommendations have been made by the researchers based on their subject-matter expertise.

1. **Develop and Test New Indicators:** As practitioners increasingly recognize the importance of better understanding motivations that incentivize engagement with violent groups, it is crucial to develop and test new indicators that explicitly and directly measure changes in motivations, rather than relying on proxy indicators. Given the cross-sectoral implications of this programming, existing indicators should not simply be copied and repeated in a cookie-cutter fashion between sectors, but tested and evaluated for their uses across different types of programming.

2. **Develop Appropriate Time-Bound Indicators:** Recognizing that many changes interventions seek to achieve, such as perceptions toward VE, involvement with violent groups and actors, or general well-being take considerable time to affect and are often influenced by external factors outside the control of a program, indicators must align with realistic expectations. It is crucial to ensure that indicators both capture achievable and realistic changes within an intervention timeframe and lay a foundation to assess the nuances of long-term change contributing to broader phenomena like developing minimizing risk factors and building resilience.

3. **Contextualize Indicators:** Given the diversity in sectors where understanding of motivations and incentives are crucial to program design, indicators and measures must be tailored, culturally sensitive, and contextually relevant. A comprehensive approach that incorporates diverse indicators addressing various ethnic, religious, socio-economic, and political dimensions, including cultural and societal norms, is essential for a thorough assessment of the multifaceted factors.

4. **Develop and Integrate Quantitative and Qualitative Measures:** To gain a comprehensive understanding of programming impacts on motivations that incentivize engagement with violent groups, it is crucial to blend the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. While quantitative metrics deliver concrete data points and trends, qualitative research delves into the nuanced lived experiences and perceptions of community members. By seamlessly integrating findings from both approaches, evaluations can capture the full spectrum of program outcomes—from tangible results to subtle shifts in attitudes. This holistic view is instrumental in refining and enhancing the effectiveness of interventions that aim to disrupt pathways to violence.

5. **Engage Diverse Stakeholders in Indicator Design:** Engage a wider range of stakeholders in measurement design, including religious leaders, educators, and community elders. Their insights can refine indicators, making them more locally relevant and actionable.

By implementing these recommendations, the field can ensure more accurate, relevant, and actionable insights, driving more effective interventions tailored to the unique needs of each context.

INCLUDED STUDIES

Citation	Research Design	Location
Abbs, Luke, Govinda Clayton, and Andrew Thomson. "The Ties That Bind: Ethnicity, pro-Government Militia, and the Dynamics of Violence in Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64, no. 5 (2019): 903–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719883684.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Global
Abello-Colak, Alexandra, and Valeria Guarneros-Meza. "The Role of Criminal Actors in Local Governance." *Urban Studies* 51, no. 15 (2014): 3268–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013519831.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Colombia
Adam-Troian, Jais, Elif Çelebi, and Yara Mahfud. "'Return of the Repressed': Exposure to Police Violence Increases Protest and Self-Sacrifice Intentions for the Yellow Vests." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 23, no. 8 (2020): 1171–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220920707.	Experimental	France
Aliyev, Huseyn. "When Neighborhood Goes to War. Exploring the Effect of Belonging on Violent Mobilization in Ukraine." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 62, no. 1 (2020): 21–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2020.1756366.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Ukraine
Ash, Konstantin. "State Weakness and Support for Ethnic Violence in Southern Kyrgyzstan." *Journal of Peace Research* 59, no. 6 (2022): 860–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433211055581.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Kyrgyzstan
Basedau, Matthias, Simone Gobien, and Lisa Hoffmann. "Identity Threats and Ideas of Superiority as Drivers of Religious Violence? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania." *Journal of Peace Research* 59, no. 3 (2021): 395–408. https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433211035234.	QED	Tanzania
Beber, Bernd, and Christopher Blattman. "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion." *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (2013): 65–104. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818312000409.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Uganda
Becker, Michael H. "Deciding to Support Violence: An Empirical Examination of Systematic Decision-Making, Activism, and Support for Political Violence." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 21, no. 5 (2020): 669–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895820914385.	Experimental	United States
Bishop, Asia S., Karl G. Hill, Amanda B. Gilman, James C. Howell, Richard F. Catalano, and J. David Hawkins. "Developmental Pathways of Youth Gang Membership: A Structural Test of the Social Development Model." *Journal of Crime and Justice* 40, no. 3 (2017): 275–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648x.2017.1329781.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Bou Nassif, Hicham. "Rethinking Pathways of Transnational Jihad: Evidence from Lebanese ISIS Recruits." *Security Studies* 30, no. 5 (2021): 797–822. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2021.2010888.	QED	Worldwide
Bourgeois-Guérin, Élise, Diana Miconi, Aude Rousseau-Rizzi, and Cécile Rousseau. "Evaluation of a Training Program on the Prevention of Violent Radicalization for Health and Education Professionals." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 58, no. 5 (2021): 712–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/13634615211047438.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Canada
Bradshaw, Catherine P., Tracy Evian Waasdorp, Asha Goldweber, and Sarah Lindstrom Johnson. "Bullies, Gangs, Drugs, and School: Understanding the Overlap and the Role of Ethnicity and Urbanicity." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 42, no. 2 (2012): 220–34. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9863-7.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Not specified
Calderoni, Francesco, Tommaso Comunale, Gian Maria Campedelli, Martina Marchesi, Deborah Manzi, and Niccolò Frualdo. "Organized Crime Groups: A Systematic Review of Individual-level Risk Factors Related to Recruitment." *Campbell Systematic Reviews* 18, no. 1 (2022). https://doi.org/10.1002/cl2.1218.	Systematic Review	Global
Carvalho, Leandro S., and Rodrigo R. Soares. "Living on the Edge: Youth Entry, Career and Exit in Drug-Selling Gangs." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 121 (2016): 77–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2015.10.018.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Brazil

Citation	Research Design	Location
Decker, Scott H., David C. Pyrooz, Gary Sweeten, and Richard K. Moule. "Validating Self-Nomination in Gang Research: Assessing Differences in Gang Embeddedness Across Non-, Current, and Former Gang Members." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 30, no. 4 (2014): 577–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-014-9215-8.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Densley, James A., Joanna R. Adler, Lijun Zhu, and Mackenzie Lambine. "Growing against Gangs and Violence: Findings from a Process and Outcome Evaluation." *Psychology of Violence* 7, no. 2 (2017): 242–52. https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000054.	Experimental	England
Descormiers, Karine. "From Getting in to Getting out: The Role of Pre-Gang Context and Group Processes in Analyzing Turning Points in Gang Trajectories." Dissertation, Library and Archives Canada (Bibliothèque et Archives Canada), 2014.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Canada
Duque, Juan Diego. "An Explanation of Why Individuals Join Pro-Government Militias: The Case of United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)." *PAX et BELLUM Journal* 6, no. 1 (2019): 2–14.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Colombia
Eastin, Joshua, and Steven T. Zech. "Joining the Counterinsurgency: Explaining pro-Government Militia Participation in the Philippines." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 45, no. 9 (2019): 817–41. *https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610x.2019.1700029.*	Non-Experimental Correlation	The Philippines
Edwards, Katie M., Victoria L. Banyard, Stephanie N. Sessarego, Emily A. Waterman, Kimberly J. Mitchell, and Hong Chang. "Evaluation of a Bystander-Focused Interpersonal Violence Prevention Program with High School Students." *Prevention Science* 20, no. 4 (2019): 488–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-019-01000-w.	Experimental	None specified
Faulkner, Christopher M. "Money and Control: Rebel Groups and the Forcible Recruitment of Child Soldiers." *African Security* 9, no. 3 (2016): 211–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1208472.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Uganda
Finkel, Steven E., John F. McCauley, Michael Neureiter, and Chris A. Belasco. "Community Violence and Support for Violent Extremism: Evidence from the Sahel." *Political Psychology* 42, no. 1 (2020): 143–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12692.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad
Foley, Ellen, Laurie Ross, and Celeste Arista. "Basketball Courts, Street Corners and Empty Lots: The Spatial Dimensions of Youth Fear and Vulnerability to Violence." *Children, Youth and Environments* 23, no. 1 (2013): 43–63. https://doi.org/10.1353/cye.2013.0000.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Frounfelker, Rochelle L., Thomas Frissen, Diana Miconi, Jordan Lawson, Robert T. Brennan, Leen d'Haenens, and Cécile Rousseau. "Transnational Evaluation of the Sympathy for Violent Radicalization Scale: Measuring Population Attitudes toward Violent Radicalization in Two Countries." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 58, no. 5 (2021): 669–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/13634615211000550.	QED	Canada, Belgium
Galehan, Jordan. "Instruments of Violence: Female Suicide Bombers of Boko Haram." *International Journal of Law, Crime, and Justice* 58 (2019): 113–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcj.2019.04.001.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Nigeria
Gómez, Ángel, Mercedes Martínez, Francois Alexi Martel, Lucía López-Rodríguez, Alexandra Vázquez, Juana Chinchilla, Borja Paredes, Mal Hettiarachchi, Nafees Hamid, and William B. Swann. "Why People Enter and Embrace Violent Groups." *Frontiers in Psychology* 11 (2021). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.614657.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Sri Lanka
Haer, Roos, Christopher Michael Faulkner, and Beth Elise Whitaker. "Rebel Funding and Child Soldiers: Exploring the Relationship between Natural Resources and Forcible Recruitment." *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 1 (2019): 236–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066119850622.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Global

Citation	Research Design	Location
Haer, Roos, Katharin Hermenau, Thomas Elbert, James K. Moran, and Tobias Hecker. "The Role of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Rewards in Committing Violence during Combat: A Cross-sectional Study with Former Combatants in the DR Congo." *Aggressive Behavior* 43, no. 3 (2016): 241–50. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21684.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Democratic Republic of the Congo
Hautala, Dane S., Kelley J. Sittner, and Les B. Whitbeck. "Prospective Childhood Risk Factors for Gang Involvement among North American Indigenous Adolescents." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 14, no. 4 (2016): 390–410. https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204015585173.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Indigenous Reservations in Midwest United States and Canada
Haymoz, Sandrine, Cheryl Maxson, and Martin Killias. "Street Gang Participation in Europe: A Comparison of Correlates." *European Journal of Criminology* 11, no. 6 (2013): 659–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370813511385.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Slovenia
Henshaw, Alexis Leanna. "Where Women Rebel: Patterns of Women's Participation in Armed Rebel Groups 1990–2008." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18, no. 1 (2015): 39–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2015.1007729.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Global
Hojat, Mahsa. "Gang Members' Experiences of Childhood Care and Gang Involvement." Dissertation, Institute for Clinical Social Work, 2016.	Non-Experimental Case Study	N/A
Howell, James C., Margaret J. Braun, and Paul Bellatty. "The Practical Utility of a Life-Course Gang Theory for Intervention." *Journal of Crime and Justice* 40, no. 3 (2017): 358–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/0735648x.2017.1329836.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Jahnke, Sara, Carl Philipp Schröder, Laura-Romina Goede, Lena Lehmann, Luisa Hauff, and Andreas Beelmann. "Observer Sensitivity and Early Radicalization to Violence among Young People in Germany." *Social Justice Research* 33, no. 3 (2020): 308–30. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-020-00351-y.	Experimental	Germany
Jensen, Michael A., Anita Atwell Seate, and Patrick A. James. "Radicalization to Violence: A Pathway Approach to Studying Extremism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32, no. 5 (2018): 1067–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1442330.	Non-Experimental Case Study	United States

Citation	Research Design	Location
Kohrt, Brandon A., Minyoung Yang, Sauharda Rai, Anvita Bhardwaj, Wietse A. Tol, and Mark J. Jordans. "Recruitment of Child Soldiers in Nepal: Mental Health Status and Risk Factors for Voluntary Participation of Youth in Armed Groups." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 22, no. 3 (2016): 208–16. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000170.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Nepal
Krauser, Mario. "In the Eye of the Storm: Rebel Taxation of Artisanal Mines and Strategies of Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64, no. 10 (2020): 1968–93. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002720916824.	Experimental	Democratic Republic of Congo
Lenzi, Michela, Jill D. Sharkey, Allie Wroblewski, Michael J. Furlong, and Massimo Santinello. "Protecting Youth from Gang Membership: Individual and School-level Emotional Competence." *Journal of Community Psychology* 47, no. 3 (2018): 563–78. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22138.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Littman, Rebecca. "Perpetrating Violence Increases Identification with Violent Groups: Survey Evidence from Former Combatants." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 44, no. 7 (2018): 1077–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218757465.	QED	Liberia, Uganda
Manekin, Devorah, and Reed M. Wood. "Framing the Narrative: Female Fighters, External Audience Attitudes, and Transnational Support for Armed Rebellions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64, no. 9 (2020): 1638–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002720912823.	QED	United States, Indonesia
Marston, Jerome F. "Resisting Displacement: Leveraging Interpersonal Ties to Remain despite Criminal Violence in Medellín, Colombia." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 13 (2020): 1995–2028. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020912276.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Colombia
McDaniel, Dawn Delfin. "Risk and Protective Factors Associated with Gang Affiliation among High-Risk Youth: A Public Health Approach." *Injury Prevention* 18, no. 4 (2012): 253–58. https://doi.org/10.1136/injuryprev-2011-040083.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Merrin, Gabriel J., Jun Sung Hong, and Dorothy L. Espelage. "Are the Risk and Protective Factors Similar for Gang-Involved, Pressured-to-Join, and Non-Gang-Involved Youth? A Social-Ecological Analysis." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 85, no. 6 (2015): 522–35. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000094.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Merrin, Gabriel J., Jun Sung Hong, and Dorothy L. Espelage. "Are the Risk and Protective Factors Similar for Gang-Involved, Pressured-to-Join, and Non-Gang-Involved Youth? A Social-Ecological Analysis." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 85, no. 6 (2015): 522–35. https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000094.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Miller, Elizabeth, Rebecca Levenson, Lili Herrera, Laura Kurek, Marney Stofflet, and Leni Marin. "Exposure to Partner, Family, and Community Violence: Gang-Affiliated Latina Women and Risk of Unintended Pregnancy." *Journal of Urban Health* 89, no. 1 (2011): 74–86. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-011-9631-0.	Non-Experimental Case Study	United States
Mironova, Vera, and Sam Whitt. "Mobilizing Civilians into High-Risk Forms of Violent Collective Action." *Journal of Peace Research* 57, no. 3 (2019): 391–405. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319856043.	Experimental	Ukraine
Mironova, Vera, Karam Alhamad, and Sam Whitt. "Rebel Group Attrition and Reversion to Violence: Micro-Level Evidence from Syria." *International Studies Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2020): 285–94. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaa002.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Syria

Citation	Research Design	Location
Nanes, Matthew. "Linking Individual and Group Motives for Violent Conflict." *Research & Politics* 8, no. 4 (2021). https://doi.org/10.1177/20531680211061056.	QED	Iraq
Obaidi, Milan, Sara W. Skaar, Simon Ozer, and Jonas R. Kunst. "Measuring Extremist Archetypes: Scale Development and Validation." *PlOS One* 17, no. 7 (2022). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0270225.	QED	Global
Olate, René, Christopher Salas-Wright, and Michael G. Vaughn. "Predictors of Violence and Delinquency among High Risk Youth and Youth Gang Members in San Salvador, El Salvador." *International Social Work* 55, no. 3 (2012): 383–401. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872812437227.	Non-Experimental Correlation	El Salvador
Oppenheim, Ben, Abbey Steele, Juan F. Vargas, and Michael Weintraub. "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (2015): 794–823. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715576750.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Colombia
Osborne, Matthew, Ben D'Exelle, and Arjan Verschoor. "Truly Reconciled? A Dyadic Analysis of Post-Conflict Social Reintegration in Northern Uganda." *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 1 (2017): 107–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317729011.	Experimental	Uganda
Pfundmair, Michaela, and Luisa A. Mahr. "How Group Processes Push Excluded People into a Radical Mindset: An Experimental Investigation." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 26, no. 6 (2022): 1289–1309. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302221107782.	Experimental	Germany
Pyrooz, David C. ""From Your First Cigarette to Your Last Dyin' Day": The Patterning of Gang Membership in the Life-Course." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 30, no. 2 (2013): 349–72. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-013-9206-1.	Non-Experimental Case Study	United States
Pyrooz, David C., and James A. Densley. "Selection into Street Gangs." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 53, no. 4 (2015): 447–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427815619462.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Pyrooz, David C., Jean Marie McGloin, and Scott H. Decker. "Parenthood as a Turning Point in the Life Course for Male and Female Gang Members: A Study of Within-individual Changes in Gang Membership and Criminal Behavior." *Criminology* 55, no. 4 (2017): 869–99. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12162.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States
Richards, Joanne. "Forced, Coerced and Voluntary Recruitment into Rebel and Militia Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 52, no. 2 (2014): 301–26. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x14000044.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Democratic Republic of the Congo
Schaub, Max, and Daniel Auer. "Rebel Recruitment and Migration: Theory and Evidence from Southern Senegal." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 67, no. 6 (2022): 1155–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027221118258.	QED	Senegal
Schmidt, Rachel. "Contesting the Fighter Identity: Framing, Desertion, and Gender in Colombia." *International Studies Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2020): 43–55. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaa075.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Colombia
Schulze, Heidi, Julian Hohner, Simon Greipl, Maximilian Girgnhuber, Isabell Desta, and Diana Rieger. "Far-Right Conspiracy Groups on Fringe Platforms: A Longitudinal Analysis of Radicalization Dynamics on Telegram." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 28, no. 4 (2022): 1103–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565221104977.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Germany

Citation	Research Design	Location
Scull, Nicholas C., Othman Alkhadher, and Salman Alawadi. "Why People Join Terrorist Groups in Kuwait: A Qualitative Examination." *Political Psychology* 41, no. 2 (2019): 231–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12622.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Kuwait
Speckhard, Anne, Ardian Shajkovci, and Mohamed Ahmed. "Intervening in and Preventing Somali-American Radicalization with Counter Narratives: Testing the Breaking the Isis Brand Counter Narrative Videos in American Somali Focus Group Settings." *Journal of Strategic Security* 11, no. 4 (2019): 32–71. https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.11.4.1695.	Non-Experimental Case Study	United States
Starodubrovskaya, Irina V. "Islamic Conflict and Violence in Local Communities." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14, no. 2 (2020): 80–92.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Russia
Tezcür, Günes Murat. "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion." *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 2 (2016): 247–64. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055416000150.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Turkey
Townsen, Ashly Adam. "The Rebellious Mind: Explaining Which People Become Rebels." Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2015.	QED	Democratic Republic of the Congo
Ünal, Mustafa Cosar, and Tuncay Ünal. "Recruitment or Enlistment? Individual Integration into the Turkish Hezbollah." *Turkish Studies* 19, no. 3 (2017): 327–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2017.1379353.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Turkey
Weerman, Frank M, Peter J Lovegrove, and Terence Thornberry. "Gang Membership Transitions and Its Consequences: Exploring Changes Related to Joining and Leaving Gangs in Two Countries." *European Journal of Criminology* 12, no. 1 (2014): 70–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370814539070.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States, Netherlands
Weisburd, David, Michael Wolfowicz, Badi Hasisi, Mario Paolucci, and Giulia Andrighetto. "What Is the Best Approach for Preventing Recruitment to Terrorism? Findings from ABM Experiments in Social and Situational Prevention." *Criminology & Public Policy* 21, no. 2 (2022): 461–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12579.	Non-Experimental Case Study	Lebanon
Whitehouse, Harvey, Brian McQuinn, Michael Buhrmester, and William B. Swann. "Brothers in Arms: Libyan Revolutionaries Bond like Family." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111, no. 50 (2014): 17783–85. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1416284111.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Libya
Wilke, Anna M. *How Does the State Replace the Community? Experimental Evidence on Crime Control from South Africa.* St. Louis, 2023.	Experimental	South Africa
Winfree, L. Thomas. "What Does Geography Have to Do with It?" *Criminal Justice Review* 38, no. 4 (2013): 432–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0734016813509403.	Non-Experimental Correlation	Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany, Netherlands
Wood, Reed M., and Lindsey Allemang. "Female Fighters and the Fates of Rebellions: How Mobilizing Women Influences Conflict Duration." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 39, no. 5 (2021): 565–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/07388942211034746.	Non-Experimental Case Study	El Salvador, Sri Lanka
Yiu, Ho Lam, and Gary D. Gottfredson. "Gang Participation." *Crime & Delinquency* 60, no. 4 (2013): 619–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128713510078.	Non-Experimental Correlation	United States