LASER PULSE

EVIDENCE REVIEW ON THE MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES TO ENGAGE, JOIN OR SUPPORT VIOLENT GROUPS

Patricia Campie, Ph.D. | Chandler Hill Lichtenfels, M.S. | Kirsten Chaplin, B.A.

USAID FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE | PURDUE UNIVERSITY | ACLED Bringing clarity to crisis | AIR Advancing Evidence. Improving Lives. | Alliance for Peacebuilding

Authors

Suggested Citation

Campie, P., Lichtenfels, C.H., and Chaplin, K. (2023). *Evidence Review on the Motivations and Incentives to Engage, Join or Support Violent Groups.* 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

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

USAID   United States Agency for International Development

ACLED   Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project

AIR   American Institutes for Research

AfP   Alliance for Peacebuilding

CVP   Conflict and violence prevention

AC&V   Armed conflict and violence

TOC   Theory of change

BITB-HSC   Bringing in the Bystander High School Curriculum

GLOSSARY OF DEFINITIONS

Armed Conflict	An umbrella term for the systematic use of violence between two or more organized armed groups (i.e., any criminal cartel, army, militia, or other military organization, whether or not it is state sponsored, excluding any group assembled solely for nonviolent political association). There are four primary types of armed conflict: (1) international armed conflict, (2) intrastate armed conflict/ internationalized intrastate armed conflict, (3) criminal armed conflict, and (4) non-state armed conflict. Under the World Health Organization's conceptualization of violence, Armed Conflict is a form of collective violence that is motivated by political, economic, and social drives. Armed Conflict rests at the extreme end of the Conflict Continuum, where organized collective violence meets incompatible goals.
	Source: Derived from CPS/Center for Conflict and Violence Prevention, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Uppsala University's Conflict Data Program (n.d.)
Armed Force or Group	Any army, militia, or other military organization, whether or not it is state sponsored, excluding any group assembled solely for nonviolent political association.
	Source: USG Interagency Glossary (2019)
Chronic Violence	A situation in which high levels of violence are sustained over time and become routine such that people begin to perceive violence as normal.
	Source: Adams, T. (2012). "Chronic Violence and Its Reproduction: Perverse Trends in Social Relations". Wilson Center. Citizen Security Series.
Civilians	Those who are not members of the armed forces. In the case of militias and other armed opposition groups, the line between civilians and combatants may be blurred.
	Source: USIP Peace Terms Second Edition (2018)
Climate Security	The ways in which the impacts of and responses to climate change alter the socioeconomic and geopolitical systems that affect peace and security.
	Source: USAID Climate Strategy (2022)
Collective Violence	The use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group – whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity – against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve political, economic, or social objectives.
	Source: Krug, E., Mercy, J., Dahlberg, L., and Zwi, A. (2002). "The World Report on Violence and Health". The World Health Organization.

Conflict	An inevitable aspect of human interaction, conflict is present when two or more individuals or groups pursue mutually incompatible goals. 'Conflict' is a continuum. When channeled constructively into processes of resolution, conflict can be beneficial; however, conflict can also be waged violently, as in war. Source: USIP Peace Terms Second Edition (2018)
Conflict Prevention	Deliberate efforts to disrupt likely pathways to the outbreak, escalation, or recurrence of violent conflict and promote peaceful, resilient communities. Source: Strategic Prevention Project (2019)
Conflict Sensitivity	The practice of understanding how aid interacts with conflict in a particular context, to mitigate unintended negative effects, and to influence conflict positively wherever possible, through humanitarian, development and/or peacebuilding interventions. Source: CDA: Conflict Sensitivity and Do No Harm (n.d.)
Context	The 'given' factors in an environment – in particular, the factors that interact with conflict dynamics and aid programs and activities. They include the physical, geographic, socio-economic, and demographic characteristics, as well as the existing institutions and an area's history of conflict and violence. Understanding the context in which aid is being distributed is the first step in taking a conflict sensitive approach. Source: CDA: Conflict Sensitivity and Do No Harm (n.d.)
Countering Violent Extremism	Proactive actions taken to preempt or disrupt efforts by violent extremists to radicalize, recruit, and mobilize followers to violence, and to address specific factors that facilitate recruitment and radicalization to violence. CVE encompasses policies and activities to increase peaceful options for political, economic, and social engagement available to communities and local governments, and their abilities to act on them. Source: USAID Policy for Countering Violent Extremism Through Development Assistance (2020)
Criminal Cartels	Armed, organized groups that do not seek to topple the state, but rather seek to control territory for the purpose of extracting exclusive economic benefits via illicit activities. Source: Lessing, Benjamin. (2015). "Logics of Violence in Criminal War." Journal of Conflict Resolution 59.8: 1486-1516.
Drivers of Conflict and Violence	Social patterns that emerge when the interactions between identities, institutions, narratives, social norms, values, and interests generate sufficient dissatisfaction or incentives that individuals and groups seek to achieve their objectives through confrontation or violent means. Source: CVP/Violence and Conflict Assessment Framework (n.d.)
Ethnic Violence	A form of targeted political violence that is motivated by ethnic division, hatred, and/or conflict. Source: Brown, M. (1997). "Ethnicity and Violence" in The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Migration. eds. Montserrat, M. and Rex, J.
Gangs	Gangs are associations of three or more individuals who adopt a group identity in order to create an atmosphere of fear or intimidation. Gangs are typically organized upon racial, ethnic, or political lines and employ common names, slogans, aliases, symbols, tattoos, style of clothing, hairstyles, hand signs, or graffiti. The association's primary purpose is to engage in criminal activity and the use of violence or intimidation to further its criminal objectives and enhance or preserve the association's power, reputation, or economic resources. Gangs are also organized to provide common defense of its members and interests from rival criminal organizations or to exercise control over a particular location or region. Source: Department of Justice: Violent Gangs (2023)

Identity	Salient markers of similarity, distinction, or affinity among individuals and groups. Identity is not necessarily inherent, but rather emerges from one's relationships to others in a given context or situation. Actors can mobilize around a shared identity, especially when a person or group's sense of self is threatened or denied legitimacy or respect. In these cases, identify is used as a driver of conflict. Source: CVP/Violence and Conflict Assessment Framework (n.d.)
Incentives	The real or perceived rewards attached to decision-making. Together with interests, incentives may help explain an individual or group's motivations for engaging in violence or conflict for economic, political, or social gain. CVP/Violence and Conflict Assessment Framework (n.d.)
Institutions	Formal or informal rules and practices governing human interaction. These include social and political structures, laws, policies, organizations, and other mechanisms for shaping human behavior. Source: CVP/Violence and Conflict Assessment Framework (n.d.)
Internally Displaced Person	Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. Source: UN OHCHR (n.d.)
Marginalized Groups	People who are typically denied access to legal protection or social and economic participation and programs for historical, cultural, political, or other reasons. Marginalized groups often suffer from discrimination in the application of laws and policy; access to resources and services; social protection. They may be subject to discrimination, persecution, harassment, stigma, and violence. In some cases, they may also be described as "underrepresented," "at-risk," or "people in vulnerable situations." Source: Additional Help for ADS 201: Suggested Approaches for Integrating Inclusive Development Across the Program Cycle and in Mission Operations (2018)
Narrative	An individual or group's strongly held beliefs about the way history has unfolded, which may incorporate both objective explanations of events and also subjective, perception-based interpretations of events. Narratives are critical components of personal development and well-being, and intergroup and intergenerational norms and culture. Source: CVP/Violence and Conflict Assessment Framework (n.d.)
Narratives	The stories that we tell and are offered to us (by institutions, media, etc.) to make meaning of our lives and condition. Source: CVP/Violence and Conflict Assessment Framework (n.d.)
Peacebuilding	A wide range of efforts by diverse actors at the community, national, and international levels to address the immediate impacts and root causes of conflict and violence before, during, and after it occurs. Source: Alliance for Peacebuilding (n.d.)
Protective Factors	Individual or environmental characteristics, conditions, or behaviors that reduce the effects of stressful life events. These factors also increase an individual's ability to avoid risks or hazards, and promote social and emotional competence to thrive in all aspects of life, now and in the future. Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (n.d.)

Radicalization	A process by which a person or group adopts extreme ideas or beliefs and comes to view violence as a justified means to advance them. While most people who adopt radical views will never use violence, those who do often adopt ideologies that rationalize their actions. Source: USAID, Policy for Countering Violent Extremism Through Development Assistance (2021)
Rebels	Armed, organized non-state actors that seek to challenge and counter the government via the use of violence. These actors are also commonly referred to as insurgents or guerrilla fighters. They commonly coordinate with external forces and political militias and gangs. Source: Armed Conflict Location Event Data Project (ACLED) (n.d.)
Refugee	Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. Source: UNHCR: Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees, 1951 and 1967
Risk Factors	Characteristics linked with individuals perpetrating violence, but they are not direct causes of violence. A combination of individual, relationship, community, and societal factors contribute to the risk of violence. Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020)
Rule of Law	The principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. It requires measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of the law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness, and procedural and legal transparency. Source: United Nations, The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies, Report of the Secretary-General (2004)
Sexual Crimes	Acts of rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity. The International Criminal Court classifies Sexual Crimes as a Crime Against Humanity. The crime requires the perpetrator to have committed an act of a sexual nature against a person, or to have caused another to engage in such an act, by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression, or abuse of power, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or a person's incapacity to give genuine consent. An act of a sexual nature is not limited to physical violence and may not involve any physical contact — for example, forced nudity. Sexual crimes, therefore, cover both physical and non-physical acts with a sexual element. Source: International Criminal Court: Policy Paper on Sexual and Gender-based Crimes (2014)
Vigilantes	Any organized group or actor that has access to arms and employs violent or nonviolent means to attain their strategic objectives. These groups and actors operate independently from the government or state apparatus; however, they can help advance shared goals and strategic objectives they might have with the state – e.g., pro-government militias/paramilitary groups. More commonly, the term Nonstate Armed Actors often refers to anti-government actors, such as insurgents, separatist, terrorists, as well as their respective groups. Source: Bateson, R. (2021). "The Politics of Vigilantism." Comparative Political Studies 54.6: 923-955.
Vigilantism	Extrajudicial violence in response to crimes, real, perceived, or not yet committed, perpetrated by individuals or groups. This is also known as mob violence. Source: Bateson, R. (2021). "The Politics of Vigilantism." Comparative Political Studies 54.6: 923-955.

Violence	The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person or against a group or community that results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation. Source: Krug, E., Mercy, J., Dahlberg, L., and Zwi, A. (2002). "The World Report on Violence and Health". The World Health Organization.
Violence Prevention	Activities to prevent the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation. Prevention activities may seek to decrease risk factors that lead to violent behavior, or reinforce protective factors that decrease the likelihood of violent behavior, whether at the individual, community, or societal level. Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (n.d.)
Violent Extremism	Advocating, engaging in, preparing, or otherwise supporting ideologically or politically motivated violence to further social, economic, political, or religious objectives. Source: USAID, Policy for Countering Violent Extremism Through Development Assistance (2021)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

USAID's Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Stabilization and Center for Conflict and Violence Prevention partnered with the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), American Institutes for Research (AIR), and Alliance for Peacebuilding (AfP) to co-create and implement a learning agenda that establishes the evidence base for effective approaches to armed conflict and violence prevention (CVP); identifies opportunities for CVP investments that would produce new knowledge; and provides USAID staff with events, tools, resources, and guidance to incorporate learning agenda findings into their work. A total of six Learning Agenda Questions (LAQs) were created, including themes of conflict sensitivity and integration; preventing and countering violent extremism; conflict and violence prevention; conflict sensitive peacebuilding; monitoring, evaluation and learning; and climate security. AIR examined the LAQs related to conflict and violence prevention. This report presents findings from an evidence review of armed conflict and violence (AC&V) research, intended to map the evidence base for what approaches are effective in reducing the communal, social, and economic incentives motivating involvement with violent actors, and in which contexts, while pinpointing areas that require greater investigation. Using systematic review methodologies to examine evidence produced between 2012 and 2022, AIR identified 1,872 research and evaluation titles for abstract review based on inclusion criteria, retaining 129 of these resources for full thematic analysis and research synthesis.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Results confirmed previous research findings which found that there are multiple relationships and pathways into violence – being bystanders to violence in a community, being victims of violence in a community, or direct engagement in violence within a community. This finding held true regardless of violent group or violence type. This finding points to the potential of inserting prevention opportunities with the same populations at risk for violence at different points in their risk development pathway, beginning with their first exposure to violence as a bystander, and later as a victim, before their vulnerability reaches its peak and they become either more easily pushed into violent groups out of fear of continued victimization or pulled into these groups by a shared sense of identity or social protection. This review also found that while there is more research than ever being done with former or current perpetrators, hopefully increasing our understanding of motivations and incentives to engage in violence, many studies with perpetrators (87%) were rated as producing evidence with questionable or low credibility. Small sample sizes, recall bias, social desirability/redemption bias, and selection bias undermined the credibility of evidence produced in these studies. However, this finding is not that unusual given the nature of the question under study, where it is difficult to access populations at greatest risk, generate control groups to compare intervention groups against, and sample sizes are generally small unless relying on large secondary survey datasets, which then suffer from "data fishing" limitations (Daniels, Angleman, & Grinnan, 2015; Mark, 2015).

INTRODUCTION

USAID offers a wealth of knowledge in both armed conflict and violence (AC&V) prevention and implementing life-enhancing programming in conflict-affected environments. Recognizing these capacities, the project team pursued an intensive, multi-stakeholder engagement process involving 43 interviews with USAID/DC and mission staff working across AC&V, education, food security, health, rule of law, and humanitarian assistance issues. Together, these consultations revealed an interest in addressing the dynamic factors that encourage various degrees of involvement with violent actors. To understand those factors, the levels at which those factors and players operate, what guidance exists to help identify and interrupt them, and where USAID can grow as thought leaders, AIR conducted an evidence assessment of AC&V prevention research guided by the following question:

What are evidence-based theories of change, interventions, and entry points to reduce the different communal, social, and economic incentives that motivate individuals to join, engage with or otherwise provide material support to different types of violent actors?

Engagement with these groups is defined according to activities that are generated by or on behalf of individuals or groups in the context of the violence they produce either explicitly (e.g., actual violence) or implicitly (e.g., threats of violence), rather than engagement for social or familial purposes unrelated to threatened or actual violence. "Violent actors" is inclusive of mobs, gangs, cartels, militias, and rebel groups – among others.

Methodology

AIR followed best practices in systematic review methodology as advanced by the Campbell Collaborative (2023), and developed an analytical framework outlining search parameters, data sources, inclusion criteria, and coding priorities. AIR identified search parameters using the PICO criteria (population, intervention, control, and outcomes), with particular attention to historically marginalized populations, such as persons with disabilities, youth, children, children with disabilities, older adults, LGBTQI+ persons, indigenous and tribal communities, ethnic and religious minorities, immigrants, internally displaced and refugee populations, women, boys, and girls.

Beginning with the abstract review phase, AIR researchers thoroughly searched government resources, online databases, peer reviewed journals, and work produced by research institutions and non-governmental organizations, as well as unpublished research provided by subject matter experts. While reviewing abstracts for relevance, AIR researchers applied the inclusion criteria liberally so as to avoid missing crucial information, thoroughly coding key characteristics of all abstracts having potential relevance to the learning agenda question. Bi-weekly quality control reviews ensured consistency across coders and produced a catalogue of 129 resources for full-text coding – 129 titles out of the 1,872 selected for abstract review. Through a deliberative process, AIR developed a codebook for full-text coding, taking note of

- target populations
- geographic locations
- theories of change
- hypotheses
- study designs and data collection methods
- outcome measures and indicators
- findings
- limitations
- and evidence quality

among other characteristics necessary to understand what works when minimizing the draw of violent actors. After reviewing 743 resources, 129 titles were retained for thematic analysis (Exhibit 1).

Exhibit 1. Document Processing Results

1,872	**743**	**129**
titles selected for abstract review based on inclusion criteria	titles retained to review full text against inclusion criteria	titles retained for thematic analysis

AIR rated the credibility of the evidence against criteria assessing the quantitative and qualitative quality of each study, using an established credibility of evidence tool (Campie & Solokosky, 2016; Wilson, Olaghere, & Kimbrell, 2019). AIR researchers proceeded to analyze findings from the retained evaluations of programs (quantitative and qualitative), systematic reviews, rapid evidence assessments, research, and research syntheses. Throughout the research process, AIR consulted with USAID to identify and evaluate sub-questions and topics of greatest utility to the agency.

Included Studies

The number of titles retained for analysis increased over the 2012 to 2022 time period, with significant and promising growth in the evidence base occurring between 2019 and 2021 (Exhibit 2). All regions of the world are represented in these studies, with Asia being the most underrepresented (Exhibit 3). There were only 25 studies from within either the United States or Canada alone. In other instances, these countries were represented alongside other countries, most typically in global research reviews.

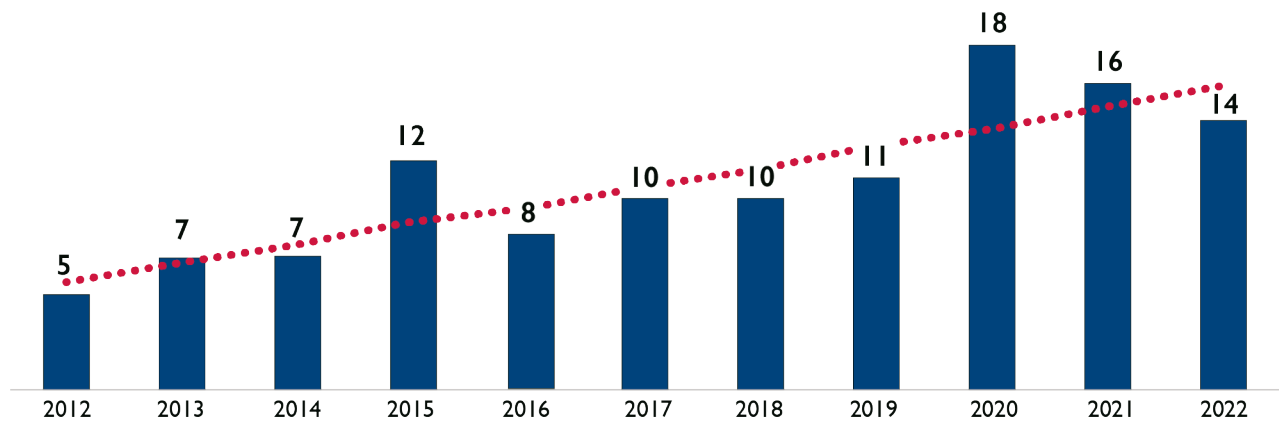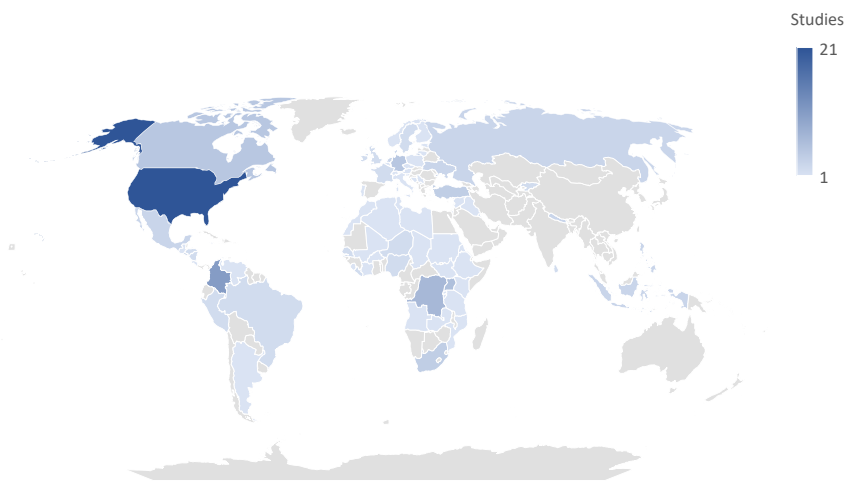**Exhibit 2. Titles Retained for Analysis 2012 to 2022**

Exhibit 3. Geographic Locations of Studies

Studies
21
1

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

Few studies evaluated interventions, with most studies (125 of 129) examining their research questions outside of a program evaluation context. About 25% of studies focused on individuals currently or formerly involved in violent group activity, from child soldiers to cartels, to street gangs. Twenty-five percent of studies focused on children (0-9) or youth (10-29) involvement in violent groups. Most studies were non-experimental (87%). Many studies in this review (103 of 127) produced evidence rated as either questionable (no credibility) or low credibility (Exhibit 4). This finding is not that unusual given the nature of the question under study, where it is difficult to access populations at greatest risk, generate control groups to compare intervention groups against, and sample sizes are generally small unless relying on large secondary survey datasets, which then suffer from "data fishing" limitations (Daniels, Angleman, & Grinnan, 2015; Mark, 2015). This does not mean that one cannot draw inferences from the results of these studies and, given that the studies in our review were judged as worthy for inclusion in peer reviewed journals, these studies are considered the best in their field and should be considered for the value they do bring.

Exhibit 4. Credibility of the Evidence
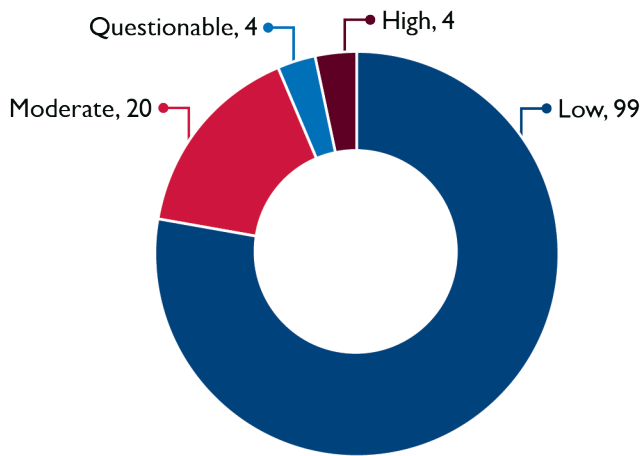
In this review we found that studies with low credibility suffered from small sample sizes, post hoc analysis bias (i.e., data fishing), selection bias, internal validity (i.e., inadequate relationships between indicators, measures, and outcomes), and external validity (inability to test the null hypotheses) limitations. Most studies (66%) producing evidence with moderate credibility did so by relying on in-depth, qualitative methods that triangulated data from interviews, observations, focus groups, and document or desk reviews of information. The highest credibility of evidence (4) came primarily (3 of 4) from systematic reviews of published research with/without metanalysis. Sixteen studies used experimental designs, yet none of these studies produced evidence rated at a high level of credibility.

RESULTS

The hypotheses producing results with the strongest credibility of evidence, in a corpus of evidence that is overall less robust as we have explained, were exploring theories of change that predict involvement in violent groups is more likely when individuals have different types of experiences with violence and violent groups, over time, and across multiple settings within the context where they live, work, or learn (Exhibit 5). This finding was consistent regardless of the type of violence or region of the world where the study was done. Hypotheses involving economic pressures as the sole driver impacting decisions to join, engage, or support violent groups were only indicated in the handful of studies (2) done in indigenous, rural communities. No studies identified religion or peer influence as the sole reason motivating behavior and only 2% of studies overall included religion as an explanatory factor motivating behavior.

Exhibit 5. Theories of Change (TOCs) with Strongest Evidence Base in the Corpus

TYPE OF INVOLVEMENT WITH VIOLENT GROUPS	HYPOTHESES/TOCs	POPULATION	EVIDENCE
Multiple relationships when engaging, supporting, or joining violent group (over time) as bystander, victim, and perpetrator	Push and pull factors that involve communal, family, individual, social, and economic risks and incentives	• General Population • Youth (10-29) • Perpetrators • Children (0-9) • Male and Female	29 studies with moderate or high levels of evidence in the corpus

Most studies (82%) identified two or more factors motivating behavior. Fifty studies (39%) were exploratory, meaning there was no commitment to a specific theory of change or hypothesis to explain why individuals join violent groups. Forty-one studies (32%) argued for theories where individuals are pushed into violent groups because of negative factors, with many of these factors related to weak or corrupt formal social controls. Twenty-nine studies (23%) argued for theories where individuals are pulled into violent groups because they perceive a positive benefit to joining, with the majority of these benefits related to identity alignment or social belonging. Seven studies argued for theories where individuals are both pushed and pulled into violent groups. Among vulnerable populations, women were included more than any other vulnerable group, with social and communal factors most often influencing behavior (Exhibit 6).

Exhibit 6. Motivations and Incentives Among Vulnerable Populations

VULNERABLE POPULATIONS

Children (4 studies, 3 Low, 1 Moderate)
- Three of four (75) studies produced outcomes that include **social/societal** issues singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor

Women (14 studies, 12 low, 1 questionable, 1 moderate)
- 12 of 14 (86%) studies produced outcomes that include **social/societal** issues singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor
- 5 of 14 (36%) produced outcomes that include **community** issues singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor

Ethnic Minorities (5 studies, 3 Low, 2 Moderate)
- Four of five (80%) studies produced outcomes that include **community** issues singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor

Rural Indigenous Communities (2 studies, both low credibility)
- Both produced outcomes that include economic issues singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor

Studies that involved former or current perpetrators of violence represented about 25% of all articles examined. The majority of these studies found that motivations at the community or social level of influence explained behaviors related to violent group interactions (Exhibit 7), although the overall credibility of evidence from studies involving former or current perpetrators was much lower than the other studies in the corpus.

Exhibit 7. Motivations and Incentives Among Current or Former Perpetrators

MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES AFFECTING CURRENT OR FORMER PERPETRATORS 32 OF 127 STUDIES (25%) CREDIBILITY OF EVIDENCE: 1 QUESTIONABLE, 23 LOW, 7 MODERATE, 1 HIGH

The community or community issues as a motivating or incentivizing factor
- 18 of 32 studies (56%) identified community influences singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor to engage with violent groups (14 Low, 3 Moderate, 1 High)*. The high credibility study also found economic factors to impact behavior.

The society or social issues as a motivating or incentivizing factor

- 13 of 32 studies (41%) identified societal or social influences singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor to engage with violent groups (1 Questionable, 11 Low, 1 Moderate).

The economy or economic issues as a motivating or incentivizing factor

- 9 of 32 studies (28%) identified family influences singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor to engage with violent groups (6 Low, 2 Moderate, 1 High)*. The high credibility study also found community factors to impact behavior.

The family or family issues as a motivating or incentivizing factor

- 8 of 32 studies (25%) identified family influences singly or in combination as a motivating or incentivizing factor to engage with violent groups (5 Low, 3 Moderate).

Interventions and Outcomes

There were only four interventions in this largely theoretical corpus. We highlight each of the interventions, where it was tested, beneficiaries, theory of change, and outcomes produced as reported in the intervention's evaluations (Exhibit 8).

Exhibit 8. Interventions and Outcomes from Program Evaluation Results in the Corpus

STRATEGY: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT WITH POLICE (WILKE, 2020)

Theory of Change: Installing technology to help citizens reach police was theorized to decrease citizen skepticism of police and criminal impunity of gangs, in order to reduce citizen vigilantism and engagement with gangs.

BENEFICIARIES	LOCATION	RESULTS
Entire Community	South Africa	**POSITIVE EFFECTS:** Residents became more willing to rely on police and less willing to resort to vigilantism. Results point towards increased fear of state punishment for vigilante violence rather than improved service quality as the link between state capacity and engagement in group violence.

STRATEGY: BRINGING IN THE BYSTANDER HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM (EDWARDS, ET AL., 2019)

Theory of Change: Train adolescents in tactics to interfere with the perpetrator-bystander-victim cycle in order to reduce future engagement in group-based sexual violence.

BENEFICIARIES	LOCATION	RESULTS
Youth	United States	**MIXED EFFECTS:** Students exposed to the Bringing in the Bystander High School Curriculum (BITB-HSC) demonstrated significant short-term changes in victim empathy and bystander barriers/facilitators, and long-term changes in rape myths, media literacy, bystander readiness, and knowledge relative to youth in the control condition. Although the BITB-HSC had little long-term impact approximately one year after the intervention on actual bystander behavior, there were reductions in some forms of violence among students in the BITB-HSC condition relative to the control condition.

STRATEGY: RESEARCH AND ACTION ON SOCIAL POLARIZATIONS (BOURGEOIS-GUÉRIN, MICONI, ROUSSEAU-RIZZI, & ROUSSEAU, 2021)

Theory of Change: Train health, social services, and education professionals in violent radicalization assessment when they interact with clients.

BENEFICIARIES	LOCATION	RESULTS
Youth and Adults	Canada	**POSITIVE EFFECTS:** After the training, participants felt, on average, competent using the assessment to help prevent recruitment into violent radicalization and this result was consistent across genders. However, the training did spark some conflict among participants, who disagreed upon policy related issues related to the prevention of recruitment into violent groups. The study was not evaluating the effect of the training program on future radicalization.

STRATEGY: COUNTER-NARRATIVES (SPECKHARD, SHAJKOVCI, & AHMED, 2018)

Theory of Change: Using counter-narratives to dissuade individuals based in the United States from supporting and volunteering for violent groups in Somalia.

BENEFICIARIES	LOCATION	RESULTS
Youth and Adults – Targeting Somali Americans	United States	**MIXED EFFECTS:** Participants surveyed after the intervention indicated an unfavorable view of ISIS, asserting that ISIS does not adhere to Quran and Islamic principles, and is in fact a terrorist organization. Moreover, all of the participants in both focus groups during discussions expressed that violence perpetrated by ISIS, namely suicide bombings and violence against civilians and other religious and ethnic groups, is never justified. However, they also found that participants were skeptical about evidence in counter messages that bear the seal of a government entity (for example, U.S. State Dept.), rendering the effectiveness of such counter-messaging partially, or entirely, ineffective due to such symbolic association.

IMPLICATIONS/KEY FINDINGS

As we have shown, the hypotheses producing results with the strongest credibility of evidence were exploring theories of change that predict involvement in violent groups is more likely when individuals have different types of experiences with violence and violent groups, over time, and across multiple settings within the context where they live, work, or learn. This result confirmed previous research findings that there are multiple relationships and pathways into violence – being bystanders to violence in a community, being victims of violence in a community, or direct engagement in violence within a community (Campie, Tanyu, & Holla, 2020; Eisner, 2021; Gill, et al., 2021; Jensen, Atwell & James, 2020).

This finding held true regardless of violent group or violence type. This finding points to the potential of inserting prevention opportunities with the same populations at risk for violence at different points in their risk development pathway, beginning with their first exposure to violence as a bystander, and later as a victim, before their vulnerability reaches its peak and they become either more easily pushed into violent groups out of fear of continued victimization or pulled into these groups by a shared sense of identity or social protection.

We know from prior research that when there are negative factors in the community and no protective factors in the family or within the individual, it is more likely that vulnerable people may be pushed into violence (Beardslee, Docherty, Mulvey & Pardini, 2021; Emmelkamp, Asscher, Wissink & Stams, 2020). Still, these social factors may be too far removed from everyday experience to be influential on their own, but if they impact experience at the community level, where families, individuals, or institutions suffer (e.g., jobs, security, education), community factors could serve as proxies for social pressures. As a result, interventions could be successful in the short-term at the proxy level, but preventive action would need to address the root cause to prevent violence in the long-term.

This review also found that while there is more research than ever being done with former or current perpetrators, hopefully increasing our understanding of motivations and incentives to engage in violence, many studies with perpetrators (87%) were rated as producing evidence with questionable or low credibility. Small sample sizes, recall bias, social desirability/redemption bias, and selection bias undermined the credibility of evidence produced in these studies.

In this review we only found a handful of studies evaluating outcomes of interventions designed to prevent joining, engaging, or supporting violent groups. Intervention research in this space is predominately done with individuals already involved in violence and as such are not intervening to prevent initial engagement. There are many evidence-based prevention strategies that theoretically align with our results, intervening with children, youth, and families who are exposed to violence and become victimized. These have been summarized in detail, including implementation guidance by the U.S. Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services (2011). Whether they are actually effective at preventing the joining, engagement, or support of violent groups at a later point in time, with different populations and in different contexts across the world, remains an empirical question that only future longitudinal research can address.

With these findings in mind, recommendations from this review include:

1. Invest in prevention strategies for populations with chronic exposure to violence to reduce the collateral consequences that can push bystanders to violence into violent groups.

2. Invest in prevention strategies that support victims of violence with intensive treatment that reduces their likelihood of both future victimization and future perpetration.

3. Invest in prevention strategies that address root causes of violence that impact motivations and incentives across the social ecology where individuals are exposed to violence and victimized by violence.

4. Develop actionable guidance for researchers working with former or current perpetrators to increase the quality of their studies so that insights from this critical population can be fully leveraged to drive prevention solutions.

REFERENCES

Beardslee, J., Docherty, M., Mulvey, E., & Pardini, D. (2021). The direct and indirect associations between childhood socioeconomic disadvantage and adolescent gun violence. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology, 50*(3), 326-336.

Campbell Collaborative Systematic Review Guidelines. Accessed September 28, 2023 at: https://www.campbellcollaboration.org/what-is-a-systematic-review.html

Campie, P. E., & Sokolsky, J. (2016). *Systematic review of factors that impact implementation quality of child welfare, public health, and education programs for adolescents: Implications for juvenile drug treatment courts.* Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research.

Campie, P., Tanyu, M. & Holla, C. (2020). What Works to Prevent Lethal Youth Violence in the LAC Region: A Global Review of the Research. United States Agency for International Development. Washington, D.C.

Daniels, J. A., Angleman, A. J., & Grinnan, E. (2015). Standardizing research methods on violent offenders: Perpetrator-motive research design and consensual qualitative research. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 21, 125-132.

Eisner, M., Averdijk, M., Kaiser, D., Murray, A. L., Nivette, A., Shanahan, L., ... & Ribeaud, D. (2021). The association of polyvictimization with violent ideations in late adolescence and early adulthood: A longitudinal study. *Aggressive Behavior, 47*(4), 472-482.

Emmelkamp, J., Asscher, J. J., Wissink, I. B., & Stams, G. J. J. (2020). Risk factors for (violent) radicalization in juveniles: A multilevel meta-analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior,* 55, 101489.

Gill, P., Clemmow, C., Hetzel, F., Rottweiler, B., Salman, N., Van Der Vegt, I., ... & Corner, E. (2021). Systematic review of mental health problems and violent extremism. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology, 32*(1), 51-78.

Jensen, M. A., Atwell Seate, A., & James, P. A. (2020). Radicalization to violence: A pathway approach to studying extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 32*(5), 1067-1090.

Mark, M. M. (2015). Credible and actionable evidence: A framework, overview, and suggestions for future practice and research. Credible and actionable evidence: The foundation for rigorous and influential evaluations, 275-302.

US Dept of Justice & US Dept of Health and Human Services (2011) Evidence-Based Practices for Children Exposed to Violence: A Selection from Federal Databases. Available at: https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/evidence-based-practices-children-exposed-violence-selection

Wilson, D. B., Olaghere, A., & Kimbrell, C. S. (2019). Implementing juvenile drug treatment courts: A meta-aggregation of process evaluations. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 56*(4), 605-645.

INCLUDED STUDIES

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Abbs, L., Clayton, G., & Thomson, A. (2020). The ties that bind: Ethnicity, pro-government militia, and the dynamics of violence in civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 64(5), 903-932.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Global
Abello-Colak, A., & Guarneros-Meza, V. (2014). The role of criminal actors in local governance. *Urban Studies,* 51(15), 3268-3289.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Adam-Troian, J., Çelebi, E., & Mahfud, Y. (2020). "Return of the repressed": Exposure to police violence increases protest and self-sacrifice intentions for the Yellow Vests. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations,* 23(8), 1171-1186.	Experimental	France
Aliyev, H. (2021). When neighborhood goes to war. Exploring the effect of belonging on violent mobilization in Ukraine. *Eurasian Geography and Economics,* 62(1), 21-45.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Ukraine
Aliyev, H. (2022). Social sanctions and violent mobilization: lessons from the Crimean Tatar case. *Post-Soviet Affairs,* 38(3), 206-221.	Experimental	Ukraine

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Ash, K. (2022). State weakness and support for ethnic violence in Southern Kyrgyzstan. *Journal of Peace Research,* 59(6), 860-875.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Kyrgyzstan
Atienzo, E. E., Baxter, S. K., & Kaltenthaler, E. (2017). Interventions to prevent youth violence in Latin America: a systematic review. *International Journal of Public Health,* 62, 15-29.	Systematic review	Argentina, Venezuela, El Salvador, Peru, & Mexico
Bakaki, Z., & Haer, R. (2022). The impact of climate variability on children: The recruitment of boys and girls by rebel groups. *Journal of Peace Research,* 00223433221082120.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Global
Basedau, M., Gobien, S., & Hoffmann, L. (2022). 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(3), 395-408.	Quasi-experimental	Tanzania
Beber, B., & Blattman, C. (2013). The logic of child soldiering and coercion. *International Organization,* 67(1), 65-104.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Uganda
Becker, M. H. (2021). Deciding to support violence: An empirical examination of systematic decision-making, activism, and support for political violence. *Criminology & Criminal Justice,* 21(5), 669-686.	Experimental	United States
Bishop, A. S., Hill, K. G., Gilman, A. B., Howell, J. C., Catalano, R. F., & Hawkins, J. D. (2017). Developmental pathways of youth gang membership: a structural test of the social development model. *Journal of Crime and Justice,* 40(3), 275-296.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Blanco, A., Davies-Rubio, A., De la Corte, L., & Mirón, L. (2022). Violent extremism and moral disengagement: A study of Colombian armed groups. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 37(1-2), 423-448.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Blume, L. R. (2021). Narco Robin Hoods: Community support for illicit economies and violence in rural Central America. *World Development,* 143, 105464.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Costa Rica, Nicaragua, & Honduras
Bosi, L., & Porta, D. D. (2012). Micro-mobilization into armed groups: Ideological, instrumental and solidaristic paths. *Qualitative Sociology,* 35, 361-383.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Ireland
Bou Nassif, H. (2021). Rethinking Pathways of Transnational Jihad: Evidence from Lebanese ISIS Recruits. *Security Studies,* 30(5), 797-822.	Quasi-experimental	Worldwide
Bourgeois-Guérin, É., Miconi, D., Rousseau-Rizzi, A., & Rousseau, C. (2021). Evaluation of a training program on the prevention of violent radicalization for health and education professionals. *Transcultural Psychiatry,* 58(5), 712-728.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Canada
Bradshaw, C. P., Waasdorp, T. E., Goldweber, A., & Johnson, S. L. (2013). Bullies, gangs, drugs, and school: Understanding the overlap and the role of ethnicity and urbanicity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence,* 42, 220-234.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Not specified

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Calderoni, F., Comunale, T., Campedelli, G. M., Marchesi, M., Manzi, D., & Frualdo, N. (2022). Organized crime groups: A systematic review of individual-level risk factors related to recruitment. *Campbell Systematic Reviews,* 18(1), e1218.	Systematic review	Global
Carthy, S. L., Doody, C. B., Cox, K., O'Hora, D., & Sarma, K. M. (2020). Counter-narratives for the prevention of violent radicalisation: A systematic review of targeted interventions. *Campbell Systematic Reviews,* 16(3), e1106.	Systematic review	Global
Carvalho, L. S., & Soares, R. R. (2016). Living on the edge: Youth entry, career and exit in drug-selling gangs. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization,* 121, 77-98.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Brazil
Cavatorta, E., & Groom, B. (2020). Does deterrence change preferences? Evidence from a natural experiment. *European Economic Review,* 127, 103456.	Experimental	Israel & Palestine
Chalas, D. M., & Grekul, J. (2017). I've had enough: Exploring gang life from the perspective of (ex) members in Alberta. *The Prison Journal,* 97(3), 364-386.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Canada
Chiluwa, K. (2015). Factors influencing drug trafficking among women in Zambia: A gendered analysis (Doctoral dissertation).	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Zambia
Cortés, J. (2017). The FARC-EP: Beyond the Rifles, Reaching the Hearts of the Colombian Peasants (Doctoral dissertation, MSc thesis, Sociology of development and Change group, Wageningen University, the Netherlands. https://edepot.wur.nl/464324).	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
de Oliveira, P. B. R. (2012). The Participation of Women in Drug Trade Networks: life histories and lessons.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Brazil
Decker, S. H., Pyrooz, D. C., Sweeten, G., & Moule, R. K. (2014). Validating self-nomination in gang research: Assessing differences in gang embeddedness across non-, current, and former gang members. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology,* 30, 577-598.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Densley, J. A., Adler, J. R., Zhu, L., & Lambine, M. (2017). Growing against gangs and violence: Findings from a process and outcome evaluation. *Psychology of Violence,* 7(2), 242.	Experimental	England
Descormiers, K. (2013). From getting in to getting out: The role of pre-gang context and group processes in analyzing turning points in gang trajectories.	Non-experimental (Case study)	British Columbia
Devkota, B., & van Teijlingen, E. (2012). Why did they join? Exploring the motivations of rebel health workers in Nepal. *Journal of Conflictology,* 3(1), 5.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Nepal

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Duque, J. D. (2019). An explanation of why individuals join pro-government militias: The Case of United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC). *PAX et BELLUM Journal,* 6(1), 2-14.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Colombia
Eastin, J., & Zech, S. T. (2022). Joining the counterinsurgency: Explaining pro-government militia participation in the Philippines. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 45(9), 817-841.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	The Philippines
Edwards, K. M., Banyard, V. L., Sessarego, S. N., Waterman, E. A., Mitchell, K. J., & Chang, H. (2019). Evaluation of a bystander-focused interpersonal violence prevention program with high school students. *Prevention Science,* 20, 488-498.	Experimental	United States
Faulkner, C. M. (2016). Money and control: Rebel groups and the forcible recruitment of child soldiers. *African Security,* 9(3), 211-236.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Uganda
Finkel, S. E., McCauley, J. F., Neureiter, M., & Belasco, C. A. (2021). Community violence and support for violent extremism: Evidence from the Sahel. *Political Psychology,* 42(1), 143-161.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Burkina Faso, Niger, & Chad
Foley, E., Ross, L., & Arista, C. (2013). Basketball courts, street corners and empty lots: The spatial dimensions of youth fear and vulnerability to violence. *Children, Youth and Environments,* 23(1), 43-63.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Freng, A., Davis, T., McCord, K., & Roussell, A. (2012). The new American gang? Gangs in Indian country. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice,* 28(4), 446-464.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Frounfelker, R. L., Frissen, T., Miconi, D., Lawson, J., Brennan, R. T., d'Haenens, L., & Rousseau, C. (2021). Transnational evaluation of the Sympathy for Violent Radicalization Scale: Measuring population attitudes toward violent radicalization in two countries. *Transcultural Psychiatry,* 58(5), 669-682.	Quasi-experimental	Canada & Belgium
Galehan, J. (2019). Instruments of violence: Female suicide bombers of Boko Haram. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice,* 58, 113-123.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Nigeria
Gómez, Á., Martínez, M., Martel, F. A., López-Rodríguez, L., Vázquez, A., Chinchilla, J., ... & Swann, W. B. (2021). Why people enter and embrace violent groups. *Frontiers in Psychology,* 11, 614657.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Sri Lanka
Haer, R., Faulkner, C. M., & Whitaker, B. E. (2020). Rebel funding and child soldiers: Exploring the relationship between natural resources and forcible recruitment. *European Journal of International Relations,* 26(1), 236-262.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Global
Haer, R., Hermenau, K., Elbert, T., Moran, J. K., & Hecker, T. (2017). 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(3), 241-250.	Non-experimental (Case study)	DRC

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Haugstvedt, H. (2022). What can families really do? A scoping review of family directed services aimed at preventing violent extremism. *Journal of Family Therapy,* 44(3), 408-421.	Systematic review	Eastern Africa, Northern Europe
Hautala, D. S., J. Sittner, K., & Whitbeck, L. B. (2016). Prospective childhood risk factors for gang involvement among North American Indigenous adolescents. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice,* 14(4), 390-410.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States & Canada
Haymoz, S., Maxson, C., & Killias, M. (2014). Street gang participation in Europe: A comparison of correlates. *European Journal of Criminology,* 11(6), 659-681.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Austria, France, Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, & Slovenia
Henshaw, A. L. (2016). Where women rebel: Patterns of women's participation in armed rebel groups 1990–2008. *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* 18(1), 39-60.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Global
Henshaw, A. L. (2016). Why women rebel: Greed, grievance, and women in armed rebel groups. *Journal of Global Security Studies,* 1(3), 204-219.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Global
Higginson, A., Benier, K., Shenderovich, Y., Bedford, L., Mazerolle, L., & Murray, J. (2015). Preventive interventions to reduce youth involvement in gangs and gang crime in low- and middle-income countries: A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews,* 11(1), 1-176.	Systematic review	Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Jamaica, Peru, & Nicaragua
Hojat, M. (2016). Gang Members' Experiences of Childhood Care and Gang Involvement (Doctoral dissertation, Institute for Clinical Social Work (Chicago)).	Non-experimental (Case study)	N/A
Howell, J. C., Braun, M. J., & Bellatty, P. (2017). The practical utility of a life-course gang theory for intervention. *Journal of Crime and Justice,* 40(3), 358-375.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Hwang, J. C., & Schulze, K. E. (2018). Why they join: pathways into Indonesian Jihadist organizations. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 30(6), 911-932.	Experimental	Indonesia

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Jahnke, S., Schröder, C. P., Goede, L. R., Lehmann, L., Hauff, L., & Beelmann, A. (2020). Observer sensitivity and early radicalization to violence among young people in Germany. *Social Justice Research,* 33, 308-330.	Experimental	Germany
Jaiyeola, O. (2020). The Role of Bystanders and Enablers in Juvenile Delinquency (Dissertation, Malmö universitet/Hälsa och samhälle). Retrieved from https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-26933	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Sweden
Jenkins, S. (2020). Understanding Peace and Restraint Amidst Ethnic Violence. *Perspectives on Terrorism,* 14(6), 180-192.	Experimental	Kenya & Kyrgyzstan
Jennifer Philippa Eggert (2023) Female Fighters and Militants During the Lebanese Civil War: Individual Profiles, Pathways, and Motivations. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 46:7, 1042-1071, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1529353	Non-experimental (Case study)	Lebanon
Jensen, M. A., Atwell Seate, A., & James, P. A. (2020). Radicalization to violence: A pathway approach to studying extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 32(5), 1067-1090.	Non-experimental (Case study)	United States
Kelly, J. T., Branham, L., & Decker, M. R. (2016). Abducted children and youth in Lord's Resistance Army in Northeastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC): mechanisms of indoctrination and control. *Conflict and Health,* 10(1), 1-11.	Non-experimental (Case study)	DRC
Kohrt, B. A., Yang, M., Rai, S., Bhardwaj, A., Tol, W. A., & Jordans, M. J. (2016). 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(3), 208.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Nepal
Krauser, M. (2020). In the eye of the storm: Rebel taxation of artisanal mines and strategies of violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 64(10), 1968-1993.	Experimental	DRC
Kutner, S. (2020). Swiping right: The allure of hyper masculinity and cryptofascism for men who join the Proud Boys. *International Centre for Counter-Terrorism.*	Non-experimental (Case study)	United States
Leander, N. P., Agostini, M., Stroebe, W., Kreienkamp, J., Spears, R., Kuppens, T., ... & Kruglanski, A. W. (2020). Frustration-affirmation? Thwarted goals motivate compliance with social norms for violence and nonviolence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 119(2), 249.	Experimental	United States
Lenzi, M., Sharkey, J. D., Wroblewski, A., Furlong, M. J., & Santinello, M. (2019). Protecting youth from gang membership: Individual and school-level emotional competence. *Journal of Community Psychology,* 47(3), 563-578.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
León, C. E. M. (2021). Migrate, Cooperate, or Resist: The Civilians' Dilemma in the Colombian Civil War, 1988–2010. *Latin American Research Review,* 56(2), 318-333.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Littman, R. (2018). Perpetrating violence increases identification with violent groups: Survey evidence from former combatants. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 44(7), 1077-1089.	Quasi-experimental	Liberia & Uganda

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Malone, I. (2022). Economic shocks and militant formation. *Research & Politics,* 9(2), 20531680221091436.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Global
Manekin, D., & Wood, R. M. (2020). Framing the narrative: Female fighters, external audience attitudes, and transnational support for armed rebellions. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 64(9), 1638-1665.	Quasi-experimental	United States & Indonesia
Marston Jr, J. F. (2020). Resisting displacement: Leveraging interpersonal ties to remain despite criminal violence in Medellín, Colombia. *Comparative Political Studies,* 53(13), 1995-2028.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Colombia
Masullo, J. (2020). Civilian contention in civil war: how ideational factors shape civilian collective responses to armed groups. *Comparative Political Studies,* 54(10).	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Mazerolle, L., Eggins, E., Cherney, A., Hine, L., Higginson, A., & Belton, E. (2020). Police programmes that seek to increase community connectedness for reducing violent extremism behaviour, attitudes and beliefs. *Campbell Systematic Reviews,* 16(3), e1111.	Systematic review	Review was global, sole eligible study came from USA
McDaniel, D. D. (2012). Risk and protective factors associated with gang affiliation among high-risk youth: a public health approach. *Injury Prevention,* 18(4), 253-258.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Merrin, G. J., Hong, J. S., & Espelage, D. L. (2015). 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(6), 522.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Mguzulwa, S., & Gxubane, T. (2019). The impact of youth gang violence on the educational attainment of male high school learners in Khayelitsha. *Social Work,* 55(3), 267-283.	Non-experimental (Case study)	South Africa
Miller, E., Levenson, R., Herrera, L., Kurek, L., Stofflet, M., & Marin, L. (2012). Exposure to partner, family, and community violence: Gang-affiliated Latina women and risk of unintended pregnancy. *Journal of Urban Health,* 89, 74-86.	Non-experimental (Case study)	United States
Mironova, V., & Whitt, S. (2020). Mobilizing civilians into high-risk forms of violent collective action. *Journal of Peace Research,* 57(3), 391-405.	Experimental	Ukraine
Mironova, V., Alhamad, K., & Whitt, S. (2020). Rebel group attrition and reversion to violence: micro-level evidence from Syria. *International Studies Quarterly,* 64(2), 285-294.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Syria
Nanes, M. (2021). Linking individual and group motives for violent conflict. *Research & Politics,* 8(4), 20531680211061056.	Quasi-experimental	Iraq
Nuraniyah, N. (2018). Not just brainwashed: understanding the radicalization of Indonesian female supporters of the Islamic State. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 30(6), 890-910.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Indonesia

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
O'Connor, R. M., & Waddell, S. (2015). What works to prevent gang involvement, youth violence and crime. A Rapid Review of Interventions Delivered in the UK and Abroad.	Systematic review	Global
Obaidi, M., Skaar, S. W., Ozer, S., & Kunst, J. R. (2022). Measuring extremist archetypes: Scale development and validation. *PLoS One,* 17(7), e0270225.	Quasi-experimental	Global
Ogunyemi, K. (2014). How extortion works (Evidence from Nigeria): The extortion cycle. *Business & Professional Ethics Journal,* 31-52.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Nigeria
Olate, R., Salas-Wright, C., & Vaughn, M. G. (2012). Predictors of violence and delinquency among high-risk youth and youth gang members in San Salvador, El Salvador. *International Social Work,* 55(3), 383-401.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	El Salvador
Oppenheim, B., Steele, A., Vargas, J. F., & Weintraub, M. (2015). True believers, deserters, and traitors: Who leaves insurgent groups and why. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 59(5), 794-823.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Colombia
Osborne, M., D'Exelle, B., & Verschoor, A. (2018). Truly reconciled? A dyadic analysis of post-conflict social reintegration in Northern Uganda. *Journal of Peace Research,* 55(1), 107-121.	Experimental	Uganda
Owen, M., & Greeff, A. P. (2015). Factors attracting and discouraging adolescent boys in high-prevalence communities from becoming involved in gangs. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice,* 15(1), 1-32.	Non-experimental (Case study)	South Africa
Ozer, S., Obaidi, M., & Pfattheicher, S. (2020). Group membership and radicalization: A cross-national investigation of collective self-esteem underlying extremism. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations,* 23(8), 1230-1248.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Denmark & United Kingdom
Peic, G. (2021). Divide and co-opt: private agendas, tribal groups, and militia formation in counterinsurgency wars. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* 44(12), 1022-1049.	Quasi-experimental	The Philippines & Turkey
Pfundmair, M., & Mahr, L. A. (2022). How group processes push excluded people into a radical mindset: An experimental investigation. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations,* 13684302221107782.	Experimental	Germany
Pyrooz, D. C. (2014). "From your first cigarette to your last dyin' day": The patterning of gang membership in the life-course. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology,* 30, 349-372.	Non-experimental (Case study)	United States
Pyrooz, D. C., & Densley, J. A. (2016). Selection into street gangs: Signaling theory, gang membership, and criminal offending. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 53(4), 447-481.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Pyrooz, D. C., Mcgloin, J. M., & Decker, S. H. (2017). 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(4), 869-899.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Ralph-Morrow, E. (2022). The right men: How masculinity explains the radical right gender gap. *Political Studies*, 70(1), 26-44.	Non-experimental (Case study)	United Kingdom
Richards, J. (2014). Forced, coerced and voluntary recruitment into rebel and militia groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 52(2), 301-326.	Non-experimental (Case study)	DRC
Rosenau, W., Espach, R., Ortiz, R. D., & Herrera, N. (2014). Why they join, why they fight, and why they leave: Learning from Colombia's database of demobilized militants. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26(2), 277-285.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Rrustemi, A. (2021). The Unintended Consequences of Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Interventions Contributing to the Rise of Violent Extremism. *Security and Human Rights,* 31(1-4), 102-120.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Kosovo
Sabates-Wheeler, R., & Verwimp, P. (2014). Extortion with protection: Understanding the effect of rebel taxation on civilian welfare in Burundi. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 58(8), 1474-1499.	Quasi-experimental	Burundi
Sagramoso, D., & Yarlykapov, A. (2020). What drove young Dagestani Muslims to join ISIS? A study based on social movement theory and collective framing. *Perspectives on Terrorism,* 14(2), 42-56.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Russia
Savage, S., & Monroy-Hernández, A. (2015, February). Participatory Militias: An Analysis of an Armed Movement's Online Audience. In Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (pp. 724-733).	Non-experimental (Case study)	Mexico
Schaub, M., & Auer, D. (2022). Rebel recruitment and migration: Theory and evidence from Southern Senegal. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 00220027221118258.	Quasi-experimental	Senegal
Schmidt, R. (2021). Contesting the fighter identity: Framing, desertion, and gender in Colombia. *International Studies Quarterly,* 65(1), 43-55.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Schulze, H., Hohner, J., Greipl, S., Girgnhuber, M., Desta, I., & Rieger, D. (2022). 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(4), 1103-1126.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Germany
Scull, N. C., Alkhadher, O., & Alawadi, S. (2020). Why people join terrorist groups in Kuwait: A qualitative examination. *Political Psychology,* 41(2), 231-247.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Kuwait
Scull, N. C., Mbonyingabo, C. D., & Kotb, M. (2016). Transforming ordinary people into killers: A psychosocial examination of Hutu participation in the Tutsi genocide. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology,* 22(4), 334.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Rwanda
Souleimanov, E. A., & Aliyev, H. (2015). Blood revenge and violent mobilization: Evidence from the Chechen wars. *International Security,* 40(2), 158-180.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Chechnya

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Speckhard, A., & Shajkovci, A. (2018). The Balkan jihad: Recruitment to violent extremism and issues facing returning foreign fighters in Kosovo and Southern Serbia. *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* 101(2), 79-109.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Kosovo & Serbia
Speckhard, A., Shajkovci, A., & Ahmed, M. (2018). Intervening in and preventing Somali-American radicalization with counter narratives. *Journal of Strategic Security,* 11(4), 32-71.	Non-experimental (Case study)	United States
Stallone, K. (2022). Strategic submission to rape is not consent: sexual violence in the Colombian armed conflict. *Violence Against Women,* 28(14), 3482-3504.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Colombia
Starodubrovskaya, I. V. (2020). Islamic Conflict and Violence in Local Communities. *Perspectives on Terrorism,* 14(2), 80-92.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Russia
Suarez, C. (2017). 'Living between Two Lions': Civilian Protection Strategies during Armed Violence in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development,* 12(3), 54-67.	Non-experimental (Case study)	DRC
Sukabdi, Z. A. (2022). Treatment procedures for ideology-based terrorist offenders in Indonesia. Kriminologija & Socijalna Integracija: Casopis za Kriminologiju, Penologiju i Poremećaje u Ponašanju, 30(1), 1-25.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Indonesia
Tezcür, G. M. (2016). Ordinary people, extraordinary risks: Participation in an ethnic rebellion. *American Political Science Review,* 110(2), 247-264.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Turkey
Thomas, J. L., & Bond, K. D. (2015). Women's participation in violent political organizations. *American Political Science Review,* 109(3), 488-506.	Non-experimental (Case study)	19 African countries
Townsen, A. A. (2015). *The rebellious mind: explaining which people become rebels.*	Quasi-experimental	DRC
Tugrul, B., & Lafaye, C. G. (2022). Kurdish "patriotic" families: an incentive or an impediment to joining the PKK through the generations and according to gender. *Critical Studies on Terrorism,* 15(2), 484-507.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Turkey
Ünal, M. C., & Ünal, T. (2018). Recruitment or enlistment? Individual integration into the Turkish Hezbollah. *Turkish Studies,* 19(3), 327-362.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Turkey
Walch, C. (2018). Weakened by the storm: Rebel group recruitment in the wake of natural disasters in the Philippines. *Journal of Peace Research,* 55(3), 336-350.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Philippines
Weerman, F. M., Lovegrove, P. J., & Thornberry, T. (2015). Gang membership transitions and its consequences: Exploring changes related to joining and leaving gangs in two countries. *European Journal of Criminology,* 12(1), 70-91.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States & Netherlands

CITATION	RESEARCH DESIGN	LOCATION
Weisburd, D., Wolfowicz, M., Hasisi, B., Paolucci, M., & Andrighetto, G. (2022). What is the best approach for preventing recruitment to terrorism? Findings from ABM experiments in social and situational prevention. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 21(2), 461-485.	Experimental	Berlin
Whitehouse, H., McQuinn, B., Buhrmester, M., & Swann Jr, W. B. (2014). Brothers in arms: Libyan revolutionaries bond like family. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 111(50), 17783-17785.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Libya
Wilke, A. M. (2020). How Does the State Replace the Community? Experimental Evidence on Crime Control from South Africa. Unpublished Manuscript.	Experimental	South Africa
Winfree Jr, L. T. (2013). What does geography have to do with it? A descriptive analysis of troublesome youth in Bosnia–Herzegovina, Germany, and the Netherlands. *Criminal Justice Review*, 38(4), 432-451.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany, & Netherlands
Winter, D. A., & Muhanna-Matar, A. (2020). Cycles of construing in radicalization and deradicalization: a study of Salafist Muslims. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 33(1), 58-88.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Tunisia
Wolfesberger, P. (2017). Coercive inclusion in the Mexican war on drugs: A field study of human rights and the state in Michoacán. *Latin American Perspectives*, 44(5), 91-107.	Non-experimental (Case study)	Mexico
Wolfowicz, M., Hasisi, B., & Weisburd, D. (2022). What are the effects of different elements of media on radicalization outcomes? A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 18(2), e1244.	Systematic review	Global
Wood, R. M., & Allemang, L. (2022). Female fighters and the fates of rebellions: How mobilizing women influences conflict duration. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 39(5), 565-586.	Non-experimental (Case study)	El Salvador, Sri Lanka, & Others
Yiu, H. L., & Gottfredson, G. D. (2014). Gang participation. *Crime & Delinquency*, 60(4), 619-642.	Non-experimental (Correlational)	United States
Zych, I., & Nasaescu, E. (2022). Is radicalization a family issue? A systematic review of family-related risk and protective factors, consequences, and interventions against radicalization. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 18(3), e1266.	Systematic review	Global