Article

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM AMONG PAKISTANI YOUTH: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

Maryam Haleem
Research Scholar, National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan
Dr. Sobia Masood*
Assistant Professor, National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan

Abstract: *Violent extremism (VE) has emerged as an important phenomenon across the world and especially in Pakistan. This qualitative study focuses on the psychological factors of behind VE among Pakistani youth. The study applied qualitative approach to explore such factors that incite youth towards extremist activities. The study consists of 4 focus group discussions with youth. Thematic analysis was employed to analyze the data. Factors identified are low self-control, neuroticism, lack of empathy, low self-esteem, and need for identity. Findings of the study indicated that identified psychological factors can have a great influence on extremist violence in youth. The study provides a set of recommendations for future researchers to further explore and understand the underlying psychological factors of violent extremism.*
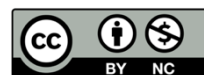
INTRODUCTION

Research on violent extremism (VE) has been a growing concern of researchers in the field of psychology and other related disciplines. This growth has been associated with the growing threat and devastating terror attacks in recent years around the world (Borum, 2012; McCauley & Moskalenko, 2017) and particularly in Pakistan (Ahmed, 2017; Khan, 2017). According to Global Terrorism Index (2020), Pakistan is ranked 7th among the countries most impacted by terrorism. The terminology of VE has been used to refer to the process by which individuals support and commit an act of violence. Theoretical definitions of VE integrate a multitude of violent acts that can be classified as terrorism (Schmid, 2014). Given the grave importance and applicability to this field, researchers have been striving to understand the attitudes and socio-cultural as well as psychological factors that promote extremism as an ideology and the use of violence in achieving ideological, religious, and political goals (Berger 2018; Borum, 2015; Neumann, 2013). To better understand this complexed phenomenon, researchers are trying to explore and understand potential risk factors that make youth vulnerable to violent acts.

As research shows that psychological factors are indicative of vulnerabilities in the development of ideology and identity during the developing years of adolescents and young adults (Gilbert et al. 2009). Researchers (Harpviken, 2019; Simi et al. 2016) have asserted that even normal development can be interrupted by the psychological factors and stressors that can predispose youth to follow destructive means which can lead them to VE. As a result, it is necessary that youth are of particular interest to investigate the relationship between psychological factors and VE. A wide variety of psychological factors that can generate instability and vulnerability towards VE are discussed in detail in the subsequent section.

LITERATURE REVIEW

For over a decade academicians and social scientists have been striving to study the issue of VE from various angles. Within the research on VE, researchers have been struggling to approach the phenomena from both individual psychological (Harpviken, 2019) and psychosocial perspectives. VE among youths is a major societal problem that may result due to psychological problems and behavioral problems. Severe violent behavior and beliefs are almost the product of transactions between predisposing individual differences (dispositional or socialized) and precipitating situational influences (see, e.g., Anderson & Huesmann, 2003). Research on youth violence has demonstrated the role of the psychosocial factors that make some people less or more vulnerable to VE (Pornari & Wood, 2009). From a psychological perspective, VE is can be a result of several underlying factors that make youth more vulnerable to act on violent acts (Anastasio et al. 2021; Kruglanski et al. 2018). Well-established evidence grounds VE in causes such as poor education, poverty, suppression (e.g., Fearon & Laitin, 2003), Perceived grievances and injustice (Schils & Pauwels, 2016), relative deprivation (Kunst, & Obaidi, 2020), ethnic discrimination, and racism (Agnew, 2017; Hafez & Mullins, 2015). But a different perspective offers the role of psychological factors of VE with specific attention to certain personality traits or characteristics such as low self-control (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008; Ribeaud & Eisner, 2006), empathy (White et al. 2015), authoritarianism (e.g., Wintrobe, 2006); narcissism (Pavlović & Wertag, 2021); low conscientiousness (Costa & McCrae, 1992); and sensation-seeking (Schumpe et al. 2020). According to research personality traits may have a fundamental effect on an individual's probability to engage in radical activities, which in turn, increases the likelihood of engaging in VE (Pavlović, & Wertag, 2021). VE has emerged as one of the significant problems in Pakistan. A substantial body of research has been published on the issue since the 9/11 attacks in 2001, but only a small number of systematic reviews of the substantive knowledge on the topic have so far been attempted to identify the psychological indicators of VE (Duspara, & Greitemeyer, 2017; Pavlović, & Wertag, 2021). Given the complex and sensitive nature of the topic, unsurprisingly, there is a dearth of publicly available literature. To date, according to our knowledge, there are no studies on the understanding of the factors of VE from a psychological perspective among youth. To address this issue, most studies in the Pakistani context of extremism and VE have focused solely on risk factors related to ideological, religious, law enforcement, armed conflict, sectarianism, poor governance, political instability, grievances among provinces, economic disparity and illiteracy (Khan, 2015; Malik et al. 2014), but the role psychological factors have not been studied adequately. However, few studies (Feyyaz, 2014) in Pakistan have investigated the role of psychological factors to engage in VE. So, a fundamental aspect of this study is to understand psychological factors that can make youth more vulnerable to engaging in VE. This study is unique in another aspect as the researcher has gained access to the firsthand experiences and perceptions of Pakistani young people which may be useful for policymakers and academicians to counter the menace of VE among Pakistani youth. so based on the literature review following objective was formulated.

METHODOLOGY

This study applied a qualitative approach of research method and conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) to achieve study objectives. The sample used for this study consisted of young people with an age range between 20 - 24 years. Students were recruited from different universities in Islamabad city and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The total sample comprised of 21 participants that included both men ($n = 7$) and women ($n =14$). In view of the purpose of this study, inclusion criteria were set according to which all the participants should be enrolled in certain educational institutes. In total 4 FGDs were conducted to achieve the objective of this study. Based on the literature review, a focus group guide was prepared to probe the participant's opinions about the phenomenon of interest. It contained questions mainly designed to explore the factors leading to VE.

Procedure
The data for this study were collected through FGDs. Each FGD consisted of 5-6 participants. Participants were informed about the purpose of the research. Before the data collection, the consent of each participant was taken to participate in FGDs. The series of FGDs were conducted till the saturation point was reached. The discussions were conducted in the Urdu language. FGDs were audiotaped with the permission of participants. For the purpose of understanding of readers, the comments recorded during FDG are reproduced here in English language.

Data Analysis
Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to analyze the transcripts of participants. The data analysis began with reading and re-reading the transcripts and noting down initial codes. The Analysis further included identifying themes and descriptions and interpreting the meaning of the coded data. After this was completed relevant passages, of defined themes were coded in their corresponding theme.

RESULTS

Results reveal major emergent themes and subthemes. Through the analysis, it became clear that while there were many similarities amongst the themes raised by participants, which are the focus of this study, there were also differences in their accounts of components of extremist violence and its psychosocial factors. While the analysis aims to explore the similar themes shared by the participants. In total five themes emerged from the data. The themes raised from the data are explained in the subsequent section.

Theme 1: Low Self-Control

Self-control is described as the ability to avoid provocation and impulses having several individual traits such as thrill-seeking behavior, lack of anger management, impulsiveness, and immediate gratification (Wikström, & Treiber, 2007). The participants of this study described low self-control as a specific trait that comprises impulsiveness, lack of tolerance, bad temper, harsh behavior, and negative emotionality. *"Some people have tendencies to get upset and aggressive over small things as compared to other people. They struggle to maintain their cool"* (*P3, FGD3*). Overall participants described self-control as an important factor as an underlying source of VE. That is since it decreases the ability of individuals to restrict themselves to act on instantaneous desires and impulses, comprising those of criminal nature. Findings of this study are also in line with the studies of Denson et al. (2011) and Victoroff (2005) which showed low self-control positively related to VE and criminal behavior

Sub-Theme: Impulsiveness

"Impulsiveness is essentially related to control of thoughts and behavior" (Barratt, 1972). Impulsiveness emerged as a consistent theme in the findings of this study. It activates thoughts and behaviors that are potentially relevant to the involvement of VE. As one participant stated that the trait impulsiveness is strongly associated with biological changes especially in the transition period of teenage, as they are emotionally unstable and want the immediate gratification of what comes to their mind. They act on their short-lived dominant need without much reluctance. *"If we talk about college and university going students, they undergo hormonal changes. The psychological changes that come with age and level of exposure usually make them more impulsive and they follow their hearts more than their minds and thus their acts are mostly of impulsive nature"* (*P5, FGD1*). These individuals have no concern with others' feelings and reject societal norms that promote impulsiveness and subsequently paves way to VE. Findings of this study are consistent with the studies of Kruglanski & Fishman (2006) and Silke (2008) on terrorism where several psychologists assert that trait impulsiveness and sensation seeking to facilitate a process that leads individuals towards extremism.

Theme 2: Neuroticism

Neuroticism is defined as "the tendency to experience frequent, intense negative emotions associated with a sense of uncontrollability in response to stress" (Barlow et al., 2014). In findings of this study, neuroticism emerged as an important and consistent theme as a personality trait that leads individuals towards pro-violence and other negative outcomes. As one of the participants quoted *"there are factors that may lead a youngster to act in an anti-social and violent manner which include jealousy and frustration caused by unequal distribution of resources and other socio-ecomonic reasons" (P5, FGD3)*. Research has also indicated the role of neuroticism in pro-violence beliefs (Stankov et al. 2010), where individuals high on neuroticism are unwilling to control their emotions and have less capacity to adapt to stress (Costa & McCrae, 2006).

Theme 3: Revenge

Revenge-related motivation and emotions are important regarding a particular group or subgroup. According to the findings of this study, revenge is rooted in personal such as missing persons and the death of a family member or injustice/discrimination faced by a particular ethnic or racial group by the government or other dominant figures. *"If you see how some people went missing in Baluchistan province. Their families have been in protest for more than a decade. They walked on foot from Quetta to Islamabad in protest to seek justice from the government but to no avail. Such things may create feelings of revenge in any person who is among the affected. This negative emotion may cause young people, who are in large number in that region, to cause acts of violence" (P9, FGD2).* As mentioned in these quotes, exposure to a personal or collective strain to violence or injustice induce negative emotions that cause distress that in turn increase the likelihood of individual seeking revenge against the figures, they believe are responsible for their loss and sufferings. These findings are consistent with the study of Agnew (2017) where researchers argue that when a person directly witnesses or experiences injustices or collective strains, this leads to negative coping strategies (e.g., revenge) especially when their stressors are unresolved.

Theme 4: Empathy

Empathy is defined as "the ability to understand and share in another's emotional state or context" (Cohen & Strayer, 1996). Findings of this study revealed that when a person reaches the level of extremism, the first thing that he loses is empathy. This theme was consistently found in all FGDs under this study. This is also in line with the studies of Lake (2002) and Loza (2007).

Theme 5: Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is defined as the self-assessment of one's social role, it has the capacity to affect behavioral development (Rosenberg 1965). Low self-esteem roots in many societal problems, it is a feeling of worthlessness, and inferiority complex. In findings of this study, low self-esteem has emerged as an important theme where participants described that when individuals are not accepted in their families they identify with certain groups and show compliance with their set of beliefs because they think they are unable to express their perspective. So, when individuals have feelings of worthlessness, they feel self-downing and adapt compensatory convictions or extremist ideology that makes them more vulnerable to VE. *"Poor parenting causes low self-esteem and lack of confidence in young people. This is the reason why such people prefer to join groups and hide behind them to feel confident and somehow build self-worth. In such cases, they do not have a say, and they do whatever is required to make them feel as appreciated in the group. This is a very vulnerable position for a person as s/he may fall to perform any wrong deed just to feel part of the group" (P4, FGD4).* Research of Trzesniewski et al. (2006) has also found Association between the low self-esteem and societal problems.

Theme 6: Group Identity

Group identity refers to the view where people categorize others and themselves as belonging to different social groups (e.g., religion, ideology, ethnicity) (Tajfel, 1979). The need for identity in a group context has been identified as an important thing in findings of this study. It was found that rejection from family and government leads to the identification with a group that fulfills their needs. Such grievances include perceived discrimination injustice with a particular group that leads to identification and attachment with a special victimized group. In Pakistani society, some groups (minority, ethnic) think that they are deprived and shared a sense of injustice. Then this group forms a sense of belonging to the group that they take as. This theme was consistently found in all FGDs under this study. These findings are consistent with study of Stern (2003) that suggested that like-minded group submerge their identities into a group, where member requires unquestioned obedience to the group.

DISCUSSION

VE has been widely studied; thus far little attention has been given to psychological factors that make youth vulnerable to VE (Gilbertet al. 2009). This study aimed to explore the psychological factors that can make individuals more vulnerable to VE. Findings of this study showed strong connectivity across themes and sub-themes. The theme that emerged from findings included low self-control, neuroticism, lack of empathy, lack of self-esteem, and need for identity. As there is no universally agreed upon a specific set of factors that lead individuals towards extremist attitudes. The findings of this study yielded several important themes regarding the relationship between psychological factors in support of VE.

In findings of this study, low self-control with subthemes sensation-seeking and impulsiveness was found to be one of the important factors of VE. In line with earlier studies (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008; Ribeaud & Eisner, 2006) where low self-control is associated with VE and other violence-related beliefs and actions. Thus, this study adds to our knowledge that individuals with low self-control are more vulnerable to VE. The second theme that emerged in this study is neuroticism. Neuroticism consists of extreme negative emotions with a sense of uncontrollability in reaction to stress. These emotions act as motivational factors behind VE. Another important theme was revenge.

According to previous studies (Agnew, 1992; Meloy & Pollard, 2017; Mazerolle et al. 2000; Stankov et al., 2010), individuals with extremist mindsets are impassioned with feelings of revenge. This confirms findings of this study that these predispositions contribute as psychological push factors in VE. Another consistent theme that emerged in this study was lack of empathy, findings suggest that the people who hold extreme beliefs have a lower level of empathy. Findings are consistent with earlier research (Blair et al. 2005; White et al. 2015) where empathy is recognized as an important factor to understand extremist behavior. Self-esteem emerged as another consistent theme in the findings of this study. Participants asserted that when individuals have low self-esteem such as having feelings of worthlessness, they feel self-downing and adopt compensatory beliefs or extreme ideology that makes them more vulnerable toward VE. The present study suggests that the low-self-esteem can be a significant trait in the propensity to lead individuals toward VE. Empirical findings confirm the link between group identity and VE. Group identity

emerged as another consistent theme in findings where an individual with poor family background and marginalization, desire for change, and belongingness to identify with the group to overcome grievances. These findings are consistent with previous research as Stern (2003) suggested that like-minded group submerge their identities into a group, where member requires unquestioned obedience to the group that ultimately leads individuals toward extremist acts. This also endorses Silke's (2006) assertion that the transition from being a member of an alienated group or family to an extremist group.

Summing up the findings themes that emerged in this study are interrelated. As depicted in the results that when an individual feels deprived and faces a negative life event this results in lower self-esteem, lack of empathy, low self-control which in turn creates an identity crisis that leads individuals to identify with a group who has an extreme ideology to reduce their distress and deprivation. In this process, individuals adopt extremist ideology as a compensatory mechanism. Thus, this study suggests that psychological factors (e.g., low self-control, neuroticism, low self-esteem, lack of empathy, and group identity) can have a vulnerable role to inflict individuals endorsing violent extremists beliefs and acts. Results of this study are in accordance with some of the earliest studies on psychological factors and VE (Borum, 2015; Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018; Stankov et al., 2010, Trip et al., 2019). Overall, the findings from this study revealed that the VE among youth can be explained with reference to psychological factors.

Suggestions, Strengths, and Limitations
The current study finds support for the role of psychological factors in VE. What is known from the literature review this is the kind of the first study in Pakistan that qualitatively investigated the in-depth relationship between psychological factors and VE. Results of this study should be replicated in the future to validate conclusions. This study will contribute to theory and literature in a way that that how psychological factors can disengage youth who support or use violent extremist acts to achieve their goals. Despite the strengths of the study, a limitation of this study is that the participants were educated youth who were not members of any extremist organization or group. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the role of psychological factors in VE future researchers should also take participants who have been involved in extremist acts.

CONCLUSION

Summing up the finding of this study, results show that the young people's propensity to involve in VE may perhaps depend on several psychological factors e.g., the ability to exercise self-control, and other personality traits. These factors can put youth in a vulnerable spot where they might develop extremist beliefs. Findings suggest that individuals with low self-esteem, neurotic tendencies, low self-control, low empathy, and identity crises are more likely to support the extremist ideology and commit violence. Thus, the factors of VE are multifaceted it cannot be claimed that there is any specific factor that leads youth towards VE. Evidently, multiple complex psychological factors alternate with situational factors in facilitating the radicalization process and extremism. So, no single factor can be indicated as the extent to which certain factors are decisive varies from case to case. These findings are consistent with previous findings that reject the role of any specific psychological factor (Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010).

REFERENCES

Agnew, R. (2017). General strain theory: Current status and directions for further research. In Taking stock. 101-123. *Routledge.*

Agnew, Robert. 1992. "Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency." *Criminology,* 30:47-87.

Ahmed, Z. S. (2017). Peace education in Pakistan. *Washington: United States Institute of Peace.*

Anastasio, N., Perliger, A., & Shortland, N. (2021). How Emotional Traits and Practices Lead to Support in Acts of Political Violence. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1-21.

Anderson, C.A., & Huesmann, L.R. (2003). Human aggression: A social-cognitive view. In M.A. Hogg & J. Cooper (Eds.), Handbook of social psychology. 296–323. *London: Sage Publications.*

Antonaccio, O., & Tittle, C. R. (2008). Morality, self-control, and crime. *Criminology*, 46 (2), 479-510.

Barlow, H. D., Ellard, K. K., Sauer-Zavala, S., Bullis, R. J., and Carl, R. J. (2014). The origins of neuroticism. *Perspect. Psychol. Sci.* 9, 481–496.

Barratt, E.S. (1972). Anxiety and impulsiveness: Toward a neuropsychological model. In C. Spiel-berg (Ed.), Anxiety: Current trends in theory and research. 195-222. New York, NY: *Academic Press*

Berger, J. M. (2018). Extremism. *MIT Press.*

Blair, J., Mitchell, D., & Blair, K. (2005). The psychopath: Emotion and the brain. *Blackwell Publishing.*

Borum, R. (2012). Radicalization into VE I: A review of social science theories. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 4, 7–36.

Borum, R. (2015). Assessing risk for terrorism involvement. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, 2, 63–87.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2), 77-101.

Cohen, D., & Strayer, J. (1996). Empathy in conduct-disordered and comparison youth. *Developmental Psychology*, 32 (6), 988.

Costa, P. T. Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (1992). Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEOPIR) and NEO Five-Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI) professional manual. Odessa, FL: *Psychological Assessment Resources*.

Costa, P. T. Jr., & McCrae, R. R. (2006). Trait and factor theories. In J. C. Thomas & D. L. Segal (Eds.), Comprehensive handbook of personality and psychopathology. 96-114. *New York: Wiley*.

Denson, T. F., Capper, M. M., Oaten, M., Friese, M., & Schofield, T. P. (2011). Self-control training decreases aggression in response to provocation in aggressive individuals. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 45 (2): 252-256.

Duspara, B., & Greitemeyer, T. (2017). The impact of dark tetrad traits on political orientation and extremism: An analysis in the course of a presidential election. *Heliyon*, 3 (10).

Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2003). Ethnicity, insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*, 97 (01): 75-90.

Feyyaz, M. (2014). Youth Extremism in Pakistan – Magnitude, Channels, Resident Spheres and Response. *Defense Against Terrorism Review*, 6(1): 63-92.

Gilbert, R., Widom, C. S., Browne, K., Fergusson, D., Webb, E., &Janson, S. (2009). Burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries. *The Lancet*, 373 (9657): 68–81.

Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. (2018). The time for causal designs: review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalization, *Aggress. Viol. Behav.*, 39: 90–99.

Hafez, M., & Mullins, C. (2015). The radicalization puzzle: A theoretical synthesis of empirical approaches to Homegrown extremism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 38 (11): 958-975.

Harpviken, A. N. (2019). Psychological vulnerabilities and extremism among western youth: A literature review. *Adolescent Research Review,* 5 (1): 1-26.

Khan, M. M. (2015). Countering VE in Pakistan: An Appraisal of Pakistan's CVE Initiatives Strategic Studies 35 (4).

Khan, I. (2017, May 26). Pakistan suffers $123.1 bn losses in terror war. *The News International* (Islamabad). Retrieved from: https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/206709-Pakistan-suffers-1231-bn-losses-in-terror-war

Kruglanski, A. W., & Fishman, S. (2006). The psychology of terrorism: "Syndrome" versus "tool" perspectives. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18: 193–215.

Kruglanski, A., Jasko, K., Webber, D., Chernikova, M., & Molinario, E. (2018). The making of violent extremists. *Review of General Psychology*, 22 (1): 107-120.

Kunst, J. R., & Obaidi, M. (2020). Understanding VE in the 21st century: The (re) emerging role of relative deprivation. *Current opinion in psychology*, 35: 55-59.

Lake, D. (2002). Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century. *Dialogue OI*, 1 (1): 15-28.

Loza, W. (2007). The psychology of extremism and terrorism: A Middle-Eastern perspective. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12 (2): 141-155.

Malik, M. S., Sandholzer, M., Khan, M. Z., & Akbar, S. (2014). Identification of Risk Factors Generating Terrorism in Pakistan. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 27 (3): 537-556.

Mazerolle, Paul, Velmer S. Burton, Jr., Francis T. Cullen, T. David Evans, and Gary L. Payne. 2000. "Strain, Anger, and Delinquent Adaptations: Specifying General Strain Theory." *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 28: 89-101.

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2017). Understanding political radicalization: The two-pyramids model. *American Psychologist*, 72 (3): 205-216.

Meloy, J. R., & Pollard, J. W. (2017). Lone-actor terrorism and impulsivity. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 62 (6): 1643-1646.

Neumann, P. R. (2013). The trouble with radicalization. *International Affairs*, 89 (4): 873–893.

Pavlović, T., & Wertag, A. (2021). Proviolence as a mediator in the relationship between the dark personality traits and support for extremism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 168.

Pornari, C. D., & Wood, J. (2009). Peer and cyber aggression in secondary school students: The role of moral disengagement, hostile attribution bias, and outcome expectancies. *Aggressive Behavior*, 36 (2): 81-94.

Ribeaud, D., & Eisner, M. (2006). The 'drug–crime link' from a self-control perspective: An empirical test in a Swiss youth sample. *European Journal of Criminology*, 3 (1): 33-67.

Rosenberg, M. (1965). Society and the adolescent self-image. *Princeton: Princeton University Press*.

Schils, N., & Pauwels, L. (2016). Political violence and the mediating role of violent extremist propensities. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 9 (2): 72-93.

Schumpe, B. M., Bélanger, J. J., Moyano, M., & Nisa, C. F. (2020). The role of sensation seeking in political violence: An extension of the Significance Quest Theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 118 (4): 743.

Silke, A. (2006). The role of the organisation in suicide terrorism. In M.B.Rogers, C.A.Lewis, K.M.Loewenthal, M. Cinnirella, R. Amloˆ t & H. Ansari (Eds), Proceedings of the British Psychological Society Seminar Series Aspects of Terrorism and Martyrdom, eCOMMUNITY. *International Journal of Mental Health & Addiction.*

Silke, A. (2008). Holy warriors: Exploring the psychological processes of Jihadi radicalization. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5 (1): 99–123.

Simi, P., Sporer, K., & Bubolz, B. F. (2016). Narratives of childhood adversity and adolescent misconduct as precursors to violent extremism: A life-course criminological approach. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 53 (4): 536-563.

Stankov, L., Saucier, G., and KneŽevic, G. (2010). Militant extremist mind-set: Proviolence, vile world, and divine power. *Psychol. Assess*. 22: 70–86.

Tajfel, H. (1979). Individuals and groups in social psychology. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 18 (2): 183-190.

Trip, S., Marian, M. I., Halmajan, A., Drugas, M. I., Bora, C. H., & Roseanu, G. (2019). Irrational beliefs and personality traits as psychological mechanisms underlying the adolescents' extremist mind-set. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10.

Trzesniewski, K. H., Donnellan, M. B., Moffitt, T. E., Robins, R. W., Poulton, R., & Caspi, A. (2006). Low self-esteem during adolescence predicts poor health, criminal behavior, and limited economic prospects during adulthood. *Developmental Psychology*, 42: 381–390

United Nations Development Programme. (2017). Human development report 2016: Human development for everyone. *United Nations Organization.*

Van der Valk, I., & Wagenaar, W. (2010). Monitor racisme & extremisme. In en uit extreemrechts. *Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.*

White, B. A., Gordon, H., & Guerra, R. C. (2015). Callous–unemotional traits and empathy in proactive and reactive relational aggression in young women. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 75: 185-189.

Wikström, P. O. H., & Treiber, K. (2007). The role of self-control in crime causation: Beyond Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 4 (2): 237-264.

Wintrobe, R. (2006). Extremism, suicide terror, and authoritarianism. *Public Choice*, 128 (1-2): 169-195.