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Resilience as a protective factor against violent extremism: a systematic review of systematic reviews

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Abstract

Violent extremism (VE) threatens global security. Efforts to counter VE have focused on identifying factors that pull and push toward extremism. However, identifying individual and community qualities that buffer against VE remains insufficient and needs improvement. This review aimed to identify links between resilience and VE. A systematic review of systematic reviews (SR-SR) using the Campbell Collaboration review methodology was conducted. A 5-stage search of 12 databases yielded 17 systematic reviews with more than 2800 records. After evaluation by two reviewers using the AMSTAR appraisal tool, only nine systematic reviews received a high rating and were analyzed. Seven reviews identified clear and direct protective resilience factors against VE. The protective resilience factors were categorized as (1) individual resilience factors, (2) family resilience factors, and (3) community resilience factors. Community resilience as a theme of resilience appeared more frequently within the reviewed literature encompasses community engagement, collective identity, social support networks, and emotional orientation. The study provided insights linking resilience as a buffer to VE. This evidence will enable policymakers and preventing violent extremism efforts to mobilize and strengthen community resilience.

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Introduction

Resilience has long been defined as the general capacity to cope with adversity and to recover and bounce back after a significant/critical crisis, challenge, or event (Ellis et al., 2016; McEwen et al., 2015; Zheng et al., 2020). In the context of this study, the question is: How can resilience act as a protective factor against violent extremism (VE)? In 2015, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly underscored the significance of preventing violent extremism (PVE) as a counterbalanced strategy to resolve VE. The General Assembly

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supported the role of education and the importance of integrating into curricula, as well as into all areas of society, the concepts of "tolerance," "respect for life," "practice of non-violence," "moderation," and "dialogue and cooperation" (Resolution 70/109) (Frank and Reva, 2016, p. 2). Shortly subsequently, the UN Secretary-General presented the Action Plan to Prevent Violent Extremism (VE Action Plan). Member States could then recommend including the Action Plan in their respective national contexts, particularly in counterterrorism strategy (Resolution 70/291, para. 40). The General Assembly report (Resolution 70/674, para. 6) highlighted the need to "take a more comprehensive approach which encompasses not only ongoing, essential security-based counter-terrorism measures, but also systematic preventive measures which directly address the drivers of violent extremism."

Extremism is defined through idealistic or behavioral perspectives. It can refer to an attitude that "adopts and defends political ideas that are diametrically opposed to the fundamental values of a society," or to "the methods actors use to try to achieve some political goal" (Neumann, 2013, p. 874). In contrast, VE appears to be a behavioral rather than an idealistic concept, as it focuses on violence as a method and means rather than as a mindset or group of extreme views and beliefs (Stephens et al., 2021). McCauley & Moskalenko (2017) presented the two pyramids model of radicalization, according to which VE (more generally, use of political violence) would represent the highest level of behavioral radicalization. They distinguished between radicalization to extremist opinions and radicalization to extremist action. The opinion pyramid includes four levels, from weak to strong: neutral, sympathizers, justifiers, and personal moral obligation to make violence and justify it. The action pyramid also includes four levels, from low to high engagement: inert, activists, radicals, terrorists. In the two pyramids, individuals move from one level to another. The present study distinguished between radicalization defined as a process of gradually losing one's connection to people and positive life values, extremism defined as the result of the radicalization process with intemperate views and beliefs, and VE, defined as acting out by using violence, and as a possible result of the entire radicalization process.

When a person expresses opposition to society's shared values of equality, supremacy of the law, freedom, and faith, he or she may adopt beliefs that justify the use of violence to bring about political or social change. This verbal or active opposition is VE (Lösel et al.,

2018), which results in physical or psychological harm to individuals, groups of individuals, or a large community (Mikhail et al., 2018).

Efforts to combat terrorism by countering radicalization and VE have been complemented by a preventive strategy that has become pervasive in national strategies and has led to the emergence of numerous policies and practices oriented toward preventing VE. VE-prevention needs a more in-depth examination of both the factors that lead people to join violent extremist groups and the causes of VE, including key drivers and accelerators. However, VE-prevention is based not only on assessing risk factors in order to reduce them, but more importantly, on assessing and prioritizing protective factors (Eltayeb et al., 2022; Lösel et al., 2018).

To prevent VE, states must reduce risk factors and develop protective factors. Towards this end, resilience has been increasingly viewed as a key protective factor against violent extremism. Resilience is seen as a multidimensional or multifaceted protective factor against threats, adversity, difficult situations, or traumatic conditions. It is defined as a multilevel, multisystemic process that provides an individual or group of individuals with the capacity to adapt successfully to, and overcome challenges that affect system function, viability, or development (Grossman, 2021; Masten, 2015, 2016; Ungar, 2018). Individual resilience may include personal coping resources, critical thinking, and emotional regulation (Wimelius et al., 2018). In addition to the individual dimension of resilience, several studies have provided a definition that emphasizes the community's capacity to use social capital and social cohesion to identify radicalization risks by watching for behavioral changes and other social cues, as well as to prevent the recruitment of community members into VE through monitoring and social mentoring (Ellis and Abdi, 2017; Ledogar and Fleming, 2008; Weine, 2012).

While studies have identified individual resilience (IR) as a direct and efficient buffer against joining VE groups or against vulnerability to and readiness for radicalization and polarization (Ellis et al., 2016; Sarma, 2017; Stephens et al., 2021) strengthening IR is no longer considered sufficient protection from VE, especially for the youth. In their “Field-Wide Systematic Review and Meta-analysis of Putative Risk and Protective Factors for Radicalization Outcomes”, Wolfowicz et al. (2019) identified many factors with a large effect

size that could be attributed to family and community factors, such as marital status, school bonding, parental involvement.

To optimize the PVE strategy, other types of resilience must also be developed. Community resilience (CR) is one of the most important types of resilience and has increasingly become a key component of PVE strategy. Grossman defined community resilience as a "process of using key resources to build and sustain the factors associated with positive psychosocial development and community cohesion in contexts where a population experiences high levels of adversity" (Grossman et al., 2020, p. 2). Several policy frameworks emphasize two principles related to CR. First, communities and community partners are seen as key actors and stakeholders well suited to identifying individuals at risk of extremism and radicalization by examining their behaviors and monitoring their readiness to use violence to achieve ideological, political, or social goals. Therefore, the community is well-positioned to provide support and care. Second, state agencies are considered most effective when they support communities, build their capacity, and bring them closer together to prevent individuals from being attracted to violence and joining VE (Johns et al., 2014).

The literature on community resilience highlights two primary themes. First, social relationships and supportive neighborhood networks offer individuals a sense of being embedded in a loving, available, and supportive social network that includes family, friends, and neighbors. This type of network is critically valuable during times of stress and uncertainty. This supportive informal network can be reinforced by formal organizations and institutions, which, in turn, provide a structured framework for the relationships (Sherrieb et al., 2010). Second, social networks and relationships rely on the core elements of trust and reciprocity, necessary for building and maintaining the cohesion and power of a community. Reciprocity can be defined as "generalized reciprocity," a pro-social mechanism in which a person performs a service or makes a contribution with the general expectation that this kindness may (but need not) be returned at some unspecified time in the future (Johns et al., 2014, p. 59; Onyx and Bullen, 2016; Welch et al., 2005).

In addition to communities, the family may play important role in buffering VE. Ungar (2016) described seven different patterns in which resilience can be positively efficient (recovery, unaffected, minimal impact, and posttraumatic growth) or negatively dysfunctional (avoidant, hidden, and maladaptive). According to Ungar, the effectiveness of each coping

pattern depends on the resources available to the family and on how other systems facilitate access to these resources and support families. Family resilience has been defined in several ways. One definition emphasizes the characteristics, dimensions, and resources that help families be adaptive and ready to cope with disruptions and challenging situations (McCubbin and McCubbin, 1988). A more recent definition describes the family as a functional system that learns from stressful and challenging situations and returns strengthened and resourced (Lietz et al., 2016; Rolland & Walsh, 2006; Walsh, 2016). The family resilience process can provide individuals within the family protective resources against radicalization and extremism through dialogue and communication and by turning challenges into opportunities, offering unity, explaining failures, celebrating successes and recovery, and connecting people in the extended family system.

Collective efforts to implement resilience-oriented policies on the ground, as well as collective findings from existing research on the role of resilience as a VE prevention factor, do not yet provide sufficient information about the profound links between resilience in its various forms and the capacity to resist joining violent extremist groups or using violence. The relationship between exposure to pull and push factors for VE and various resilience protection resources is currently unknown, or at least not adequately explained, mainly because theory and practice have not been integrated with available empirical evidence to form a meaningful framework for prevention and protection.

The present study

The main question of the present study was to see how resilience plays a role as a protective factor against violent extremism. The specific questions were to analyze, synthesize, and combine the available empirical evidence on *(a) how resilience and VE are defined? (b) What are the different forms and the specific components of resilience linked to VE*? By answering these specific questions, the present review summarized the main resilience forms to prevent violent extremism. The study utilized a systematic review of systematic reviews (SR-SR), a powerful synthetic way to capture the role of resilience as a preventive factor against VE. The essential advantage of an SR-SR is that it can synthesize a vast corpus of data by using appropriate techniques for refining search, screening, and identification and by focusing on the primary research topic.

Methodology

The study's SR-SR was based on the Smith et al. (2011) approach, which includes five steps: source identification, review selection, review quality assessment, presentation of findings, and implications for practice and research. The PICOS structure (participants, interventions, comparators, outcomes, and study design) was used to screen and select the systematic reviews. In addition to the Smith et al. (2011) SR-SR methodology, this study used a systematic search strategy based on the Campbell Collaboration's review methodology, which is now considered the standard for systematic reviews, especially in the social and human sciences (Hassan et al., 2018, p. 73).

Step 1: Formulate the review question and determine the specific objectives

To determine the objectives and methods of the systematic review, the study questions were used to examine the used definitions of resilience and VE, and to identify the forms of resilience linked to the prevention of VE.

Step 2: Establish inclusion/exclusion criteria

The eligibility criteria (inclusion and exclusion criteria) were used to focus on the review's primary research question and maximize the efficiency of the inclusion process. Accordingly, relevant systematic reviews were obtained that covered studies related to the primary research question and its sub-questions. This method "also improves generalizability, consistency, and allows triangulation of findings" (Hassan et al., 2018, p. 74). Table 1 lists the selection criteria used in this study's SR-SR. The selected range of publication dates is ten years. It is a sufficient time spectrum to get recent reviews. The specific search terms used were "Resilience" and "Violent extremism" (or extremism). This allowed us to be more focused on the relationship between the two concepts, which is the core question of the present study, and to get systematic reviews working on how resilience, as a dimension and/or a set of factors, plays a significant role in preventing/thwarting extremism or violent extremism. Thus, resilience must be included in the keywords.

Table 1. Overview of the Eligibility Criteria

Title (must include)	
	Systematic Review
	OR
	Review
All fields/Keywords (must include)	
	Resilience
	AND
	Violent Extremism
Topic of the studies covered by the review	
	Protective factors
	Extremism
	Radicalization
Design of the primary studies covered by the included systematic reviews	
	Quantitative
	Cross-sectional
	Longitudinal
	Interventions with quantitative data
Publication characteristics	
	English language
	Published
	All types of reports
	All types of scientific disciplines
	Scholarly (Peer Reviewed)
	All countries
	Publication date 2012-2021

Step 3: literature Search

The search was conducted using 12 databases (PubMed, ERIC, German National Library, PsycINFO, PSYNDEX, ScienceDirect, Scopus, Sociological Abstracts, Sociological Collection, EBSCO, Taylor & Francis, and WorldCat). The PRISMA 2020 flowchart for new systematic reviews (Page et al., 2021) was utilized as a systematic review visualization selection tool (Figure 1). Three primary steps are employed within the PRISMA flowchart. The first step, identification, was consulting the Google database and databases containing records relevant to the study (Web of Science, PubMed, PsycNet, Taylor & Francis, Scopus, EBSCO, ScienceDirect).

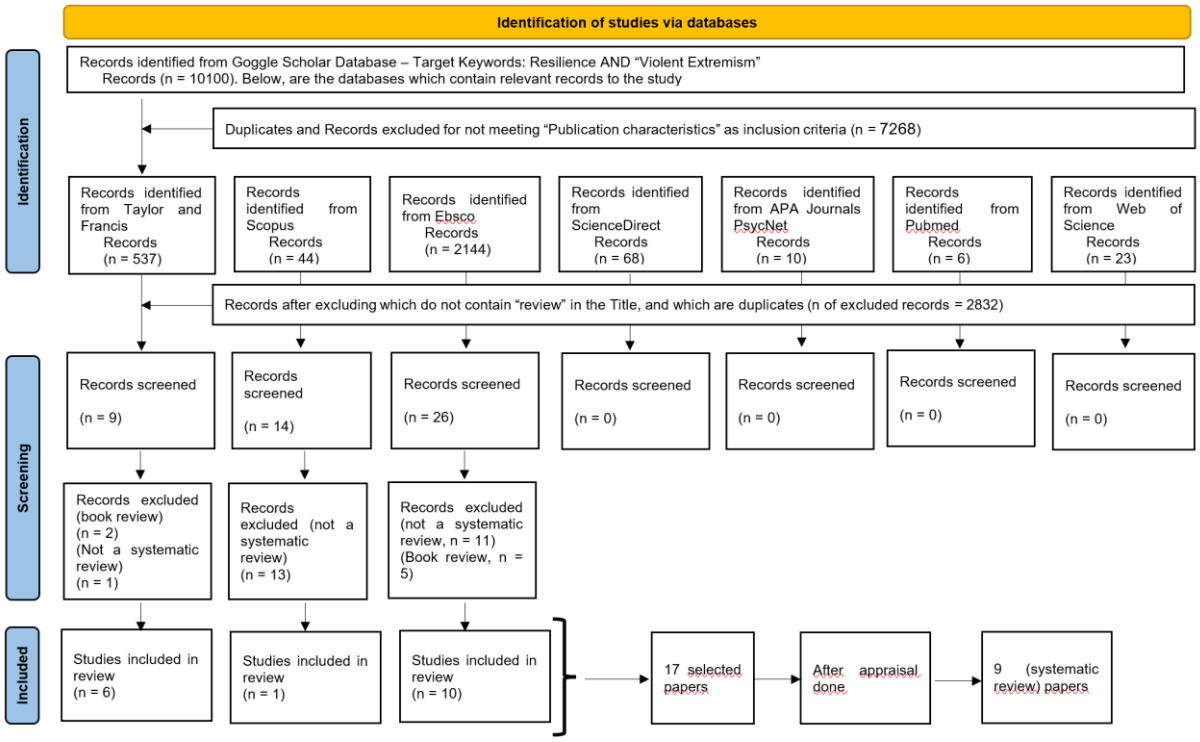

Figure 1. PRISMA 2020 flow diagram used in the present systematic review of systematic review**.**

Step 4: Selection of studies for inclusion in the review

Following the second step of the PRISMA flowchart, A total, 49 studies were screened. Full-text documents were then reviewed and cross-checked by the team for final eligibility. Seventeen studies were selected from the screening phase. Subsequently, the selected studies were assessed by two reviewers using the AMSTAR measurement instrument (Shea et al., 2007, 2009). The instrument was used to assess the methodological quality of the systematic reviews. It could also be used in reviewing reviews to determine whether potentially eligible reviews meet minimum quality requirements. The assessment was based on responses to 11 questions (Shea et al., 2007):

1. Was "a priori" design provided?
2. Were there duplicate study selection and data extraction?
3. Was a comprehensive literature search performed?
4. Was the status of publication (i.e., grey literature) used as an inclusion criterion?

5. Was a list of studies (included and excluded) provided?
6. Were the characteristics of the included studies provided?
7. Was the scientific quality of the included studies assessed and documented?
8. Was the scientific quality of the included studies used appropriately in formulating conclusions?
9. Were the methods used to combine the findings of studies appropriate?
10. Was the likelihood of publication bias assessed?
11. Were potential conflicts of interest included?

The total score for each paper was calculated using the AMSTAR instrument and theoretically ranged from 0 to 11. Each score corresponded to the mean score of two reviewers and an interrater agreement coefficient was calculated. When the two reviewers did not agree, a third reviewer helped decide which score to attribute. Papers considered as meeting minimum quality requirements must have a score greater than 5, as papers scored five or under (which is half of the total number of criteria) were considered not enough qualified to be selected.

Step 5: Gathering information from studies

Coding sheets were used to extract the data and information from each selected study. These sheets contained categorized information (e.g., objective, study design, participants, method, measures, outcomes, and limitations).

Steps 6: Analysis, integration, interpretation, conclusions

Analysis, integration, and interpretation occurred across two axes: technical and theoretical. Technically, five categories were employed: objective (participants), search strategy, number of included studies, total number of participants, and search for protective factors (yes/no, what?). Theoretically, three categories were employed: definition of resilience, definition of VE, and the links between resilience and VE.

Results and Discussion

The results were analyzed and presented following Smith et al. (2011). The 17 selected reviews were evaluated by two reviewers independently. Nine systematic reviews were identified as good and relevant enough for an in-depth analysis, addressing the main research topic and receiving a score of 5 or higher in the evaluation. Table 2 shows the results of interrater agreement according to three statistical methods (Holsti, Cohen's Kappa, and Cramer). The nine reviews included in the study had a wide range of quality scores. The total scores estimated with the AMSTAR instrument theoretically ranged from 0 to 11 (out of a maximum of 11) with a mean of 8.44 (SD =1.81), a median of 8, and a mode of 10 that ranged from 11 to 6.

Table 2. Interrater agreement using the AMSTAR appraisal tool.

Items	**Holsti**	**Kappa**	**Cramer's** PHI Φ
1. Was an 'a priori' design provided?	100%	.953 (0.001)	1.000 (0.001)
2. Was there duplicate study selection and data extraction?	90%	.839 (0.001)	.837 (0.007)
3. Was a comprehensive literature search performed?	90%	.630 (0.005)	1.000 (0.007)
4. Was the status of publication (i.e., grey literature) used as an inclusion criterion?	90%	.796 (0.005)	1.000 (0.007)
5. Was a list of studies (included and excluded) provided?	90%	.778 (0.003)	1.000 (0.007)
6. Were the characteristics of the included studies provided?	90%	.630 (0.003)	1.000 (0.007)
7. Was the scientific quality of the included studies assessed and documented?	90%	.827 (0.001)	.843 (0.007)
8. Was the scientific quality of the included studies used appropriately in formulating conclusions?	90%	.797 (0.001)	.783 (0.007)
9. Were the methods used to combine the findings of studies appropriate?	90%	.813 (0.001)	.821 (0.007)
10. Was the likelihood of publication bias assessed?	80%	.412 (.089)	.556 (.185)
11. Were potential conflicts of interest included?	90%	.643 (.014)	.816 (.036)

Table 3 (from part 1 to part 3) summarizes the scope of the reviews included in this SR-SR. This summary includes the following elements: review reference, review title, objective (and participants), search strategy, number of included studies, total number of participants, and search for protective factors (Yes/No, What?).

Table 3. Summary table of scope of reviews in the present systematic review of systematic reviews (part 1).

Review Reference	Review Title	Aim (participants)	Search strategy	Number of studies included	Total number of participants	Searching for protective factors (Yes/No, What?)
(Hassan et al., 2018)	"Exposure to Extremist Online Content Could Lead to Violent Radicalization: A Systematic Review of Empirical Evidence"	To synthesize the empirical evidence on how the Internet and social media may, or may not, constitute spaces for exchange that can be favorable to violent extremism	PRISMA diagram was followed. The Campbell Collaboration review method: 8 steps are followed: From the formulation of the Review Question (step 1) to the integration of the Outcomes and interpretation (step 8).	11	More than 6,935 Individuals, 44,000 Twitter accounts, 7 countries (Belgium, Egypt, France, Germany, Kyrgyzstan, UK, USA),	Yes Being exposed to moderate opinions could be a protective factor
(Lösel et al., 2018)	"Protective Factors Against Extremism and Violent Radicalization: A Systematic Review of Research"	To identify potential protective factors against extremism and violent radicalization (Families, and individuals of 16-90 years age old, but most of them are youth)	PRISMA diagram was followed. A "snowball" procedure was used, in which the references of eligible primary studies were used, references in reviews, and personal contacts to enlarge the study pool	17	30,769	Yes Individual factors: 15 (e.g., empathy, self-control, value complexity) Family factors: 6 (e.g., Appreciative parenting behavior) School factors: 3 (e.g., Bonding to school) Peer group factors: 3

						(e.g., Non-violent peers) Community/society factors: 3 (e.g., Basic attachment to society)
(Misiak et al., 2019)	"A systematic review on the relationship between mental health, radicalization, and mass violence"	To investigate the relationship between mental health characteristics and the risk of radicalization	PRISMA diagram was followed. Independent online search was performed by two reviewers and covered various databases.	12	More than 6,119 (one study included 428 group terrorists)	No, not directly. Risk factors are identified such as: low cultural integration, discrimination, sense of inequity and injustice, social disparities and low social cohesion or gang violence.

Table 3. Summary table of scope of reviews in the present systematic review of systematic reviews (part 2).

Review Reference	Review Title	Aim (participants)	Search strategy	Number of studies included	Total number of participants	Searching for protective factors (Yes/No, What?)
(Mikhail et al., 2018)	"The Social Determinants of Trauma: A Trauma Disparities Scoping Review and Framework"	To (1) explore how the injured patient, the environment, and the health care system interact to contribute to trauma disparities and examine the evidence in support of interventions and (2) develop a conceptual framework that captures the socioecological context of trauma disparities.	A scoping review based on PRISMA flow diagram was achieved.	663	n/a	No, not directly. A framework that presents a trauma care continuum is based on 4 categories of interventions which can strengthen resilience: Social services investment, hospital factors, workforce factors, performance improvement.
(Wimelius et al., 2018)	"What is Local Resilience Against Radicalization and How can it be Promoted? A Multidisciplinary Literature Review"	To determine how local resilience is understood, how it is said to be promoted, and how this knowledge could be synthesized.	A scoping review based on searching two main databases, using related keywords is achieved through 4 areas of specialization. Then, a screening by reviewing titles and abstracts is performed.	137	n/a	Yes Factors of local community resilience: capacities, resources, and assets; and collective identity and social support networks. Emotional orientations (collective senses of hope, agency, altruism, trust, and security).

(Stephens et al., 2021)	"Preventing Violent Extremism: A Review of the Literature"	A contribution to clarify the existing perspectives on and approaches to PVE by tracing the major themes and concepts currently drawn on.	Any article referring to PVE or preventing radicalization was included. Exclusion was applied for papers that offered a critique of approaches to prevention without an alternative strategy.	37	n/a	Yes Individual resilience (cognitive resources, character traits, strong values) Identity (well-built identity, sense of belonging, creating space to explore identities) Dialogue and action (e.g., open political dialogue and debate) Connected, resilient, and engaged communities

Table 3. Summary table of scope of reviews in the present systematic review of systematic reviews (part 3).

Review Reference	Review Title	Aim (participants)	Search strategy	Number of studies included	Total number of participants	Searching for protective factors (Yes/No, What?)
(Taylor & Soni, 2017)	"Preventing radicalization: a systematic review of literature considering the lived experiences of the UK's Prevent strategy in educational settings"	To explore the role of schools in preventing radicalization, and to find out if people's lived experiences reflect an ecosystemic approach or a focus on surveillance and identification.	Dickson, Cherry, and Boland's (2013) approach to systematic review was followed, using the search terms 'radicalization OR deradicalization' AND 'education OR school OR Prevent'.	7	n/a 3 categories: School staff (school leaders and teachers of Muslim heritage) Students (secondary-aged students and Muslim university students) Professionals from non-educational backgrounds who attended the Workshop for Raising Awareness of Prevent (WRAP)	Yes Academic freedom Fundamental values
(Gielen, 2019)	"Countering Violent	To identify "what works, for whom, in	A 6-step strategy: Step 1: Scope of the CVE	73	n/a	Yes + 4 resilience principles

	Extremism: A Realist Review"	what circumstances, and how?" in the CVE initiatives, through a review of CVE studies.	review Step 2: Searching for primary CVE studies Steps 3 and 4: Judging and analyzing CVE studies Steps 5 and 6: Synthesizing the CVE studies and dissemination			Individual and social resilience, family resilience, home country experiences, mainstream values.
(Ozalp & Ćufurović, 2021)	"Religion, Belonging, and Active Citizenship: A Systematic Review of Literature on Muslim Youth in Australia"	To analyze (1) the impact of terrorism policies and discourse on Muslim youth and their disengaged identities, (2) the relationship between religion (Islam) and civic engagement of Muslim youth, and (3) Muslim youth as active citizens.	Descriptive search terms are used to search databases (e.g., JSTOR, SAGE, ProQuest Central, Google Scholar).	n/a	n/a	Yes Muslim youth identities, Educational achievement, Active citizenship, Positive transformations, Positive engagement,

The present SR-SR included 9 systematic reviews with more than 957 studies covered (M=159.5; SD =250.62). Six of the systematic reviews did not provide detailed information on the number of participants, this SR-SR included a total of more than 43,823 participants. Regarding the search strategy, four of nine reviews followed the PRISMA flowchart. The remaining five reviews followed a systematic search strategy that ensured sufficient review quality.

How are resilience and VE defined?

Violent extremism is observed when a person adopts beliefs that justify the use of violence for social and political change. It implies "verbal or active opposition to fundamental values in a society such as democracy, equality, freedom, the rule of law, and tolerance of the beliefs and convictions of others" (Lösel et al., 2018, p. 89). VE is defined as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, directed against oneself or others (a person, a group, or a community), resulting in various possible harms such as psychological harm, injury, death, deprivation, or maldevelopment.

In response to VE and according to the analyzed systematic reviews, resilience refers to reduced vulnerability to environmental risk experiences and the capacity to overcome stress or various forms of adversity. Environmental risk experiences include threats of polarization and violent radicalization. Resilience is understood as both a process and a capacity underpinned by cooperation, social networks, and community resources. Social support appears to contribute in the development of resilience, which is also defined as "a community's capacity to leverage social capital" (Wimelius et al., 2018, p. 5). Resilience is thus related to a community's capacity to identify radicalization risks, prevent the recruitment and polarization of individuals (especially youth) into violent extremism, and recover after recruitment or involvement in VE acts through reintegration, learning, and adaptation. Therefore, the community can better prevent violent extremism thanks to stable, trusting relationships and networks between community actors, such as civil society, local government, and local businesses.

What are the different forms and the specific components of resilience linked to VE

Seven of the nine systematic reviews identified clear and direct protective factors against violent extremism that can be associated with resilience or constitute a type of resilience. These identified protective factors against violent extremism can be categorized as Individual Resilience protective factors, Family Resilience protective factors, and Community Resilience protective factors. The individual resilience includes a strong and stable youth identity, a well-constructed identity, a sense of belonging that requires creating spaces to explore identities in the community and in different social spaces. It also includes educational achievement, positive change, active citizenship, positive engagement, cognitive resources, character traits, strong values, empathy, self-control, and value complexity (Gielen, 2019; Lösel et al., 2018; Ozalp and Ćufurović, 2021; Stephens et al., 2021; Ungar et al., 2020).

The family resilience includes appreciative parenting behaviors, home ownership, and family members who are not involved in violence (Gielen, 2019; Stephens et al., 2021).

The community resilience includes academic freedom, core values, dialog, and action giving opportunities to open political dialog and debate, non-judgmental discussions, safe spaces, and youth social and political empowerment (Gielen, 2019; Taylor & Soni, 2017; Wimelius et al., 2018). It also includes connection and engagement, collective identity and social support networks, emotional orientations such as collective feelings of hope, agency, altruism, trust, and safety, collective identity, and community cohesion. It also includes social capital, networks, and physical and organizational infrastructure involving local civil society actors. A basic attachment to society and exposure to moderate opinions could also be considered as a community resilience protective factor (Hassan et al., 2018).

The analyzed systematic reviews (Table 4) highlighted the notion that violent extremism is based on violent radicalization. Violent radicalization was defined as an individual or collective process (peers, family, or community members) arising from individual vulnerability, dysfunction, and dysregulation of social relations, associated with a socio-political polarization process in which confrontational and violent tactics replace practices of dialog and peaceful relations between different groups. Therefore, violent radicalization is seen as a process that takes place over time. This process of engagement and indoctrination into violent action is based on emotional and cognitive vulnerabilities that increase the propensity to radicalize and engage in violent extremism.

Table 4. Summary of results reported in the present systematic review of systematic reviews (based on excerpts from the reviews).

	Review	Score	Definition of resilience/ violent extremism/radicalization	Types of resilience	Links between resilience & violent extremism
1	"Exposure to Extremist Online Content Could Lead to Violent Radicalization: A Systematic Review of Empirical Evidence"	11	Violent radicalization is "an individual or collective process that emerges from the friction of intercommunity relations and is associated with a situation of socio-political polarization, where the practices of dialogue between different groups are abandoned in favor of an escalation of confrontational and violent tactics." Violent radicalization is seen as "the process of engagement and indoctrination into violent actions", considering its emotional and cognitive aspects.	Resilient identities	The vulnerability of adolescents to narratives that address personal identity crises, the need for group belonging, and the search for a positive social identity
2	"Protective Factors Against Extremism and Violent Radicalization: A Systematic Review of Research Friedrich Losel"	10	Violent extremism is identified when "a person adopts beliefs that justify the use of violence for social and political change." It "implies a verbal or active opposition to basic values in a society such as democracy, equality, liberty, rule of law, and tolerance for the faiths and beliefs of others." Resilience refers to "reduced vulnerability to environmental risk experiences, the overcoming of a stress or adversity, or a relatively good outcome despite risk experiences."	Resilience of Individual, families, schools, and Neighborhoods	Self-control, adherence to law, acceptance of police legitimacy, illness, positive parenting behavior, non-violent significant others, good school achievement, non-violent peers, contact to foreigners, and a basic attachment to society resilience as protective factors reduce the likelihood of involvement in or support of violent acts.
3	"A systematic review on the relationship between mental health, radicalization, and mass violence."	10	Depression has been broadly associated with a few vulnerabilities that have been linked to radicalization in some studies, including social isolation and adverse life events. The following characteristics were identified as being associated with radicalization proneness: identity fusion, the need for group identification, low levels of empathy, morbid	Individual resilience.	Mental health characteristics might be associated with a risk of radicalization. Extreme ideation can be based on personality traits or mental health issues such as PTSD, depression, or anxiety. Mental health is the link between violent extremism and resilience. Mental disorders, especially

			transcendence, feelings of being treated unjustly together with harboring high levels of grievance, rational decision-making, dependent decision style, cognitive complexity, uncertainty, and an analytical cognitive style.		depression, are often evoked as direct causes of terrorism acts by mass media
4	"The Social Determinants of Trauma: A Trauma Disparities Scoping Review and Framework"	10	"Violent extremism: 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."	Individual and community resilience.	Normative beliefs that set self-respect and self-protection are the link between violent extremism and resilience. The "code of the street," has been defined as a set of "informal rules that involves demanding respect, self-protection, and the need to establish one's standing as someone who will react if provoked".
5	"What is Local Resilience Against Radicalization and How can it be Promoted? A Multidisciplinary Literature Review"	8	Resilience is understood "as both a process and a capacity underpinned by cooperation, social networks, and community resources," and as "a community's capacity to leverage social capital". Social capital is a "stable trust-based relationships and networks among the actors". Radicalization results from a process of increasing commitments.	Community resilience Individual Resilience	Emotional orientations—such as collective senses of hope, agency, altruism, trust, security, and sense of free from danger or that dangers are manageable, can foster resilience at the community level. Resilience results from dynamic and reciprocal relations between individuals and communities.
6	"Preventing Violent Extremism: A Review of the Literature"	7	This work debated the definition of resilience in relation with PVE. Violent extremism is a process through which groups or individuals grow in commitment to engage in conflict, adopting more radical or extreme positions. Defining resilience as the capacity to "bounce back" after trauma or hardship is insufficient. The authors see in resilience more than an individual attribute. Resilience relies more on the physical and social context as a supportive factor to change than on the individual capacities.	Individuals and communities	Institutions play a central role in creating the supportive environment to change "in which individuals and communities can develop and utilize their resources and strengths."

7	"Preventing radicalization: a systematic review of literature considering the lived experiences of the UK's Prevent strategy in educational settings"	7	Radicalization is "a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt increasingly extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo." Resilience is based on values and their promotion.	Schools and individuals.	Resilience to radicalization must be built through the promotion of fundamental values.
8	"Countering Violent Extremism: a realist review for assessing what works, for whom, in what circumstances, and how?"	7	Resilience is defined as a combination of individual, family, and community experiences, and capacities to cope. Resilience depends on the nature of risks the individual face. It is both individual and social.	Individual and social level.	Resilience is both individual and social. "Families are the strongest buffer for risk factors for violent extremism" In diaspora communities, resilience results from a combination of life experiences in the home country, and the values and experiences in the country of residence.
9	"Religion, Belonging, and Active Citizenship: A Systematic Review of Literature on Muslim Youth in Australia"	6	Resilience is based mostly on community capacities to strengthen the identity and the sense of belonging.	Individual and community resilience.	"Community-based resilience" solve the related issues to identity, sense of belonging, and the cultural isolation. It is the buffer against the various forms of violent extremism.

Although individual resilience (e.g., a resilient identity) is important in preventing one from becoming involved in the radicalization process or joining extremist groups, additional themes of resilience might have appeared more frequently within the reviewed literature, these are family resilience, school resilience, and neighborhood resilience. The most commonly type of resilience highlighted in the analyzed systematic reviews is community resilience, including school, neighborhood, and all the components of the local society. The community resilience was indicated in some of the reviewed articles (Ellis, 2017 and Sherrieb, 2010) as playing an important role as a buffer against VE. One can postulate this to individuals' capacity to leverage social capital and the various resources it provides for care and support, and its ability to withstand and recover from adversity. In turn, cohesion and

bridging the social gap between groups, families, and local communities are effective ways to promote resilience in individuals.

Based on the systematically reviewed work, the results indicate a pathway between resilience and PVE, but the nature of this relationship depends on the examination of the different variables considered in each study. Some studies focused on drawing the relationship between resilience and preventing violent extremism based on individual characteristics and resources, highlighting the importance of resilience in self-esteem and sense of belonging, as well as in strengthening a personal sense of social identity, which is considered a buffer factor against violent extremism (Hassan et al., 2018; Lösel et al., 2018; Ozalp and Ćufurović, 2021). Others such as Misiak et al. (2019) emphasized the importance of resilience in promoting mental health against depression, thereby reducing the risk of engaging in violent extremism.

In addition, Mikhail et al. (2018) pointed out the role of resilience in determining self-esteem and self-protection, which helps individuals control their retaliatory response when provoked. This is because most violent adolescents adopt a vengeful attitude to assert their self-esteem. Therefore, Wimelius et al. (2018) have linked collective identity and community cohesion as a means of promoting resilience to violent extremism. In the same vein, Stephens et al. (2021) and Gielen (2019) have made clear that resilience prevents and counteracts violent extremism by fostering certain psychological traits such as empathy. In addition, Taylor and Soni (2017) have linked building resilience by fostering fundamental values to protecting against violent extremism. The present work shows that the ingredients of the individual resilience such as self-esteem and self-protection, empathy, fundamental values, resilient identity, and so on, are all based on and nourished by the community resilience.

Summarizing the SR-SR results: how community resilience can contribute to buffering VE.

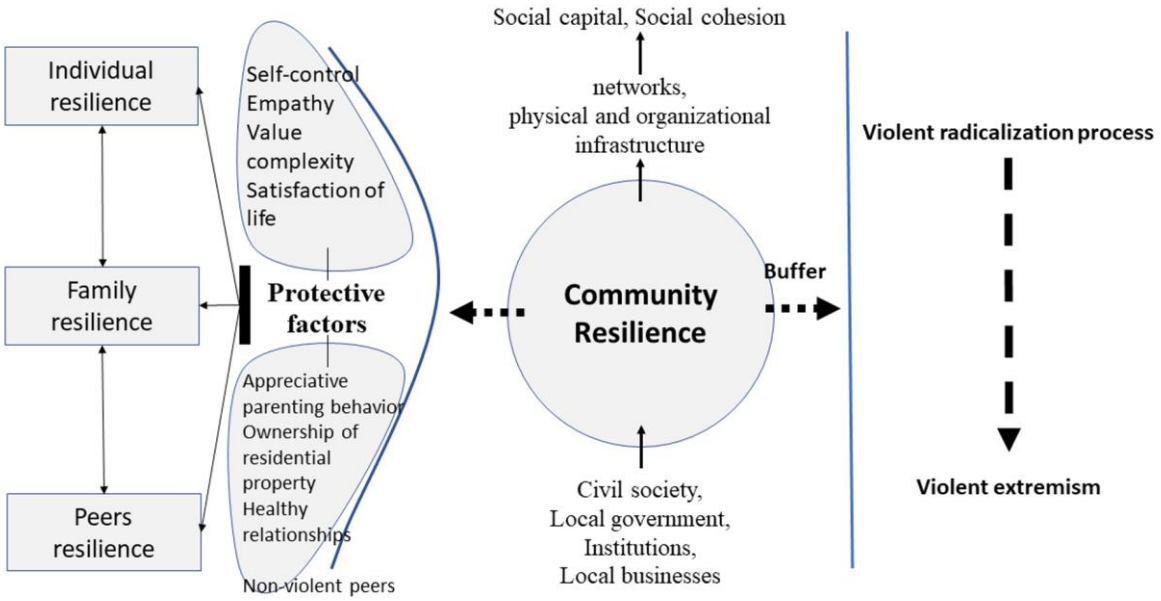

Figure 2. Suggested conceptual framework Resilience-Prevent Violence Extremism (R-PVE).

Based on the present SR-SR, the current results indicated that community resilience can be considered as an important dimension in underpinning individual family, and peer resilience and as a potential contributing buffer against radicalization and VE. The following resilience protective factors are interpreted in relation with community resilience. Regarding the Individual resilience factors identified (e.g., empathy, self-control, strong and stable youth identity), in all these individual factors CR is necessary to strengthen the emergence and continuation of these factors. Furthermore, in the family resilience related factors (e.g., Appreciative parenting behavior or healthy family behavior), CR plays a supportive and enhancing environment for good parenting. In Peer group resilience factors (e.g., Non-violent peers), CR includes and/or represents a pivot for peer factors. As for the community resilience factors identified (e.g., Basic attachment to society, and Collective senses of hope, agency, altruism, trust, and security), CR includes these emotional orientations.

One may argue that some societies already do an excellent job of fostering community resilience--through public schools, public infrastructure, public servants, and judiciaries system, nevertheless it is not enough. A diagram (Figure 2) is suggested to summarize how community resilience contributes with the other forms of resilience to buffering VE. Community resilience is a buffer against threats and risks of radicalization and prevents VE

through resources and outcomes. Resources include civil society components, local government and institutions, and local businesses. Outcomes include networks and organizations that strengthen social capital and social cohesion. Although some authors such as Panter-Brick (2015) and Ungar (2008), emphasize the importance of family resilience, we argue that community resilience could be further observed as explored as a core system that enables and supports other resilience systems.

Recommendations

As the current SR-SR is not an experiment, the validity of causal conclusions is necessarily limited hence the following recommendations should be observed as general indications for future studies and policies.

The present study recommends understanding resilience against violent extremism as a multisystemic with various contributing factors at individual, family, and community levels. Within each level finding indicates specific areas that needs further strengthen. Family resilience needs to enhance protective factors such as appreciative parenting behaviors and healthy relationships, This, in turn, will strengthen individual resilience. Second, enhancing individual protective factors in school and at work, which will increase peers' resilience. Third, enhancing coordination, institutional capacity, policy, and operational framework may contribute to building collaborative communities that are able to resist violence and extremism.

Limitation

The first limitation was the search terms/keywords used to select the systematic reviews. Resilience and extremism/violent extremism were seen as presenting the core terms to be found in the reviews and as covering the large spectrum of the protective factors. Nevertheless, many other terms could be included such as "protective factor", "community", "family". This review is also limited by the exclusion of papers that explored only approaches and interventions to prevention violent extremism. Nevertheless, given the scope and focus of this systematic review, it offers a holistic explanation of resilience role, particularly

community resilience, in preventing violent extremism, which is rarely discussed elsewhere. A third limitation involved the design of primary studies included in the reviewed SRs, which are rarely experimental research designs, leading to severe limitations in drawing causal conclusions. This can be explained by the empirical and ethical difficulties to conduct experimental research on extremism or violent extremism. A fourth limitation corresponded to the overlaps in the primary studies reviewed by the SRs, as a single primary study could having been included in multiple reviews. This issue should be addressed as it represents an important information regarding how the outcomes should be interpreted. Though, as the present SR of SRs is not a meta-analysis based on statistical analysis on the results of the reviewed studies, the overlap could be at some extent tolerated because the aim is to identify the protective factors related to resilience.

Conclusion

The current systematic review indicated that resilience was found to be linked as a protective factor against violent extremism. Nevertheless, without analysis of outcome effect sizes, no claims about the relative importance of various types of resilience can be justified. Various types of resilience were grouped into three levels starting at the individual resilience, which helps to increase one's abilities to resist to pull factors towards violent extremism. Community plays an important role in establishing values and framing behaviors in society that enhance the containment of dissent and provide opportunities for dialogue and non-judgement. This creates a social and economic environment conducive to stability, avoiding the effects of inequalities and eliminating social injustice, as well as increasing social cohesion, weakening the attempts of the extremist groups to polarize vulnerable youth.

Furthermore, community resilience creates a social capital that can cope with crises and shocks through connection and engagement that creates a collective identity and social support networks to generate collective feelings of hope and collective actions. Community resilience creates a culture of resilience buffering VE. A social conscious mind prevents individuals from easily falling into the trap of extremist groups. It also helps ensure that all relevant institutions create a social, economic, and political environment that helps reduce the level of fragility that contributes to violent extremism, whether at the individual or group

level. This demonstrates the importance of building resilience in society and paying particular attention to it beyond individual resilience.

The present review offered to policy makers a social–ecological perspective on resilience, a basis that can be utilized to draw attention to opportunities for modification at the individual and family levels, and more importantly to changes needed at an institutional and community levels.

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