Belonging and Conflict Avoidance: Towards Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

Markéta Kocmanová[a1]

[a]PhD Candidate and Lecturer, Department of Security Studies, Institute of Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czechia

Abstract

This ethnographic study presents the results of a qualitative investigation into the absence of radicalisation that would lead to political violence among Romani in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Despite facing ethnic and socioeconomic grievances, the largest ethnic minority in Europe does not exhibit a marked tendency towards violent radicalisation. The study seeks to clarify how certain cultural and sociopsychological factors contribute to the resilience of the Romani against radicalisation. Their strong sense of belonging, in-group solidarity, and social cohesion represent fundamental characteristics that prevent community members from seeking alternative routes to fulfil their social needs, for example, through involvement in violent extremist groups. Furthermore, the study explores the coping mechanism for conflict avoidance that the Romani tend to use to avert violent conflict with the majority population. By presenting a case of non-radicalisation based on 54 in-depth interviews and 40 extensive mixed-method questionnaires, this article intends to stimulate further theoretical reflections on the role of grievances in the process of radicalisation, contribute to the debate about the character of resilience against radicalisation, and also prove the usefulness of investigating negative cases of political violence.

Introduction

Until recently, radicalisation studies have rarely directed attention in a systematic manner toward negative cases in which political violence is absent. Instead, the excessive emphasis on causes directly conducive to behavioural radicalisation as the ultimate outcome has left the debate largely inconclusive in terms of factors that can be dismissed as irrelevant when seeking to understand the key drivers behind violent extremism or terrorism. Despite volumes of research into the mechanisms at play when individuals actually get radicalised, and their consequent disengagement or deradicalisation coming to the fore (Altier et al., 2014; Bjørgo

---

[1] Corresponding Author Contact: Markéta Kocmanová, PhD Candidate and Lecturer, Department of Security Studies, Institute of Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czechia, E-mail: marketa.kocmanova@fsv.cuni.cz, ORCID ID https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9520-4812

& Horgan, 2009; Hansen & Lid, 2020; Windisch et al., 2016), studies discussing the agents that restrain radicalisation still lag behind (Busher & Bjørgo, 2020). The sparse publications on mechanisms that work against radicalisation (Cragin, 2014; Demetriou & Alimi, 2018; Schuurman, 2020) are complemented with calls to further investigate empirical cases involving little or no political violence and to implement qualitative methodologies based on primary data for a more accurate understanding of the radicalisation process even before it is initiated (Alimi et al., 2015; Cragin, 2014; Malkki, 2020).

In several regards, new empirical and theoretical insights into the process of radicalisation may be gained from studying the Romani ethnic group. As the largest European ethnic minority and unlike any other group on European soil (EU-MIDIS II, 2016), the Romani have historically faced blatant discrimination and inequality in various forms. In line with theoretical models acknowledging one of the primary roles of grievances (Hafez & Mullins, 2015; Moskalenko, 2021) it may plausibly be hypothesised that certain experiences should be conducive to Romani radicalisation: marginalisation, cultural alienation, lack of integration, isolation, different types of deprivation, discrimination, or stigmatisation, all typically ascribed as a dominant group of causes to the homegrown radicalisation of both Western jihadists (King & Taylor, 2011; Hafez & Mullins, 2015; Koomen & Pligt, 2016; Silke & Brown, 2016) and far-right extremists (Moskalenko, 2021). Despite experiencing many of these grievances, the Romani people in Czechia and Slovakia remain an intriguing puzzle for researchers. In a more general European context, with the exception of minor cases of radicalisation in Bulgaria or Serbia (Mancheva, 2015, p. 37; British Council, 2018; Djorić, 2021), there have been no documented cases of behavioural radicalisation attributed to the community.

Academic inquiry into the phenomenon of radicalisation in the Romani community have been virtually absent in the European context. So far, only Djorić's recent article on the Romani's vulnerability to radicalisation in Serbia and the role of women in this process has been published (Djorić, 2021). Her preliminary study builds on the findings of a British Council report suggesting that several Romani individuals left their countries in the mid-2010s to join the insurgency in Syria and Iraq as foreign fighters (British Council, 2018; Djorić, 2021). The fact that there is only one study on Romani radicalisation may itself be

taken as an indication of the limited instances of this phenomenon; however, to date, no studies have focused on the absence of radicalisation in that community.

This exploratory study of the non-radicalising Romani investigates the protective factors that hold back the process of radicalisation. By introducing processes at the group level, the article also seeks to provide much desired insight into the dynamics and influence beyond individual participation in political violence, including the coping mechanisms that enable the group to address root causes of radicalisation at the structural level. By presenting the case of Romani resilience against radicalisation, the contribution should thus address the overemphasis on the risk-factor-based approach (Schuurman, 2020). Interestingly, the methodological and epistemological approach of the study offers an idiosyncratic twist. If conceived as an example of a community lacking the manifestation of behavioural radicalisation, the study can be considered a negative case. By contrast, if the research is framed in terms of the healthy qualities the community has as protective factors, the research can be seen as a positive case that contributes to the theoretical perspective on resilience against radicalisation.

In recognition of the potency of self-fulfilling prophecy, this report is deliberately framed as a positive case of resilience despite establishing the negative case of Central European Romani as its initial research puzzle. This study sheds light on the nature of Romani belongingness and conflict avoidance. Using data obtained from 54 in-depth interviews and 40 questionnaires, these two main concepts were identified as crucial factors at play in the non-radicalisation of the Czech and Slovak Romani. Simultaneously, by presenting the resilience that has naturally evolved in the community, the study also seeks to address concerns that resilience against radicalisation is a largely prescriptive, normatively imposed phenomenon that 'functions more as a utopian goal than a scientific concept' (Jore, 2020, p. 352).

Resilience Against Radicalisation & Non-Radicalisation: Mapping the Field

Despite a normative decision to present the research findings as a case of resilience against radicalisation, the literature review summarises extant scholarship on several theoretical perspectives that address the same ontological core: the absence of behavioural radicalisation

as the ultimate outcome. Therefore, this section provides an overview of research that comes under different terminological guises such as resilience against radicalisation, non-radicalisation, non-involvement, radicalisation in reverse or resistance to radicalisation.

When debating the diverse conceptual frameworks for understanding resilience, multiple and often overlapping approaches can be identified in studies into radicalisation and terrorism. Some strands of research explore 'victim-oriented' resilience when evaluating how individuals, communities, and whole societies respond to shock and adversity (Coaffee, 2006; Malkki & Sikkonen, 2016; Edwards, 2016; Bourbeau, 2018; Edwards 2019; Jore, 2020) and what the normative ideal should be. Others focus more on potential perpetrators when investigating how vulnerable individuals or groups are equipped to minimise the likelihood of engagement in different forms of political violence (Dalgaard-Nielsen & Schack, 2016; Wimelius, et al., 2018; Fahmi, 2020; Stephens, Sieckelinck & Boutellier, 2021). Since this study examines the character and specific dimensions of Romani resilience, it is particularly pertinent to introduce the preventatively oriented research into how members of communities at risk can resist the lures of violent extremism.

By framing the research as a case of resilience against radicalisation, this article aims to enter a growing academic debate on its conceptual meaning when it comes to preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE). The meaning in this context may still be surrounded by a degree of ambiguity (Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2021, p. 4). The term 'resilience' in P/CVE has often been taken to mean refraining from extreme ideas (Jore, 2020), or described metaphorically as a shield and the idea of connected communities (Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2020). The most recent attempt to sharpen the concept of resilience is based on an empirically grounded inquiry into the understanding of resilience against radicalisation among frontline PVE workers (Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2021). The authors provide credible evidence that PVE policy actors view resilience as having four key characteristics: a stable environment that offers freedom of expression and exploration of diverse values and ideas; a secure social space that is open to critical discussion and action against injustice; flexibility in terms of adapting to changing social norms; and robustness as an individual in a well-connected community (Stephens & Sieckelinck, 2021, pp. 7–8).

Oftentimes, resilience against radicalisation has also been juxtaposed with a specific normative notion of communities acting as guardians. Such approaches seek to identify

qualities that define the resilience of local actors and communities (Dalgaard-Nielsen & Schack, 2016; Wimelius et al., 2018). Unsurprisingly, families are found to form a central core of resilience, complemented by a range of other significant trust-based networks, such as schools, circles of close associates or youth clubs. These trusted networks deploy their group resources to assist families who lack mechanisms to cope with instances of radicalisation (Dalgaard-Nielsen & Schack, 2016, p. 320). Similarly, other authors who promote the concept of resilience as a process and capacity characterized by cooperation, social networks, and community assets highlight an 'ability to stick together and sense of belonging' (Wimelius et al. 2018, p. 13) attesting to the prominent role of social bonds in the conception of local resilience.

Alongside the primary focus on the positive qualities of the Romani community that may contribute to their resilience against radicalisation, the absence of their radicalisation also offers a unique opportunity to add empirical evidence to a limited body of existing research into radicalisation. Negative cases raise intriguing questions as to why some people do *not* become radicalised. The literature on negative cases with little or no political violence only adds to the confusion that already abounds in the studies on radicalisation. Authors coin a variety of terms denoting absence of behavioural radicalisation, such as non-radicalisation (Cragin et al., 2015; Demetriou & Alimi, 2018; Malkki, 2020) sometimes used synonymously with resistance to violent extremism (Cragin, 2014), radicalisation in reverse (Alimi et al., 2015; Demetriou & Alimi, 2018; Malkki, 2020), non-involvement (Schuurman, 2020), or even non-development (Dutter, 2012). One may then find germane academic insights centred on largely identical processes concealed beneath layers of terminological ambiguity.

When developing her conceptual model of non-radicalisation, Cragin (2014) argues that "resistance to terrorism requires more than the simple absence of radicalising factors" (Cragin, 2014, p. 338). Factors identified as contributory to non-radicalisation can be divided into four interrelated categories: moral repugnance, perceived ineffectiveness of violence, perceived costs, and absence of social ties. The model implies that an individual will choose not to become radicalised if at least one of these factors is present. Two of the factors are further specified: perceived costs of joining a violent movement may be associated with logistics, financing, family obligations, and fear of law enforcement; perceived ineffectiveness of violence involves apathy stemming from lack of faith in political change by

violent means, and the belief that reforms can be enacted in a peaceful way (Cragin, 2014; Cragin et al., 2015).

In an attempt to map the academic debate about non-involvement in terrorist violence, Schuurman advocates that scholars focus more intently on the study of protective factors at play in radicalisation (Schuurman, 2020). On top of supportive social networks, the strategic insignificance of terrorism, apathy, fear of consequences or other personal costs, several summaries suggest that older age, a steady employment situation, and loving parental care with a positive impact on the child's development all promote non-involvement (Schurmann, 2020, p. 17; Feddes et al., 2020; Sieckelinck & Gielen, 2017, p.6). Furthermore, psychological categories like healthy self-esteem, aptitude for empathy and sociability, or one's capacity to tolerate ambiguity seem to also shape a resilient individual (Schuurman, 2020, p. 17, Grossman, 2021, p. 299).

Finally, the literature on the dynamics of social movements takes a cursory look at non-radicalisation and coins the specific term 'radicalisation in reverse' (Alimi et al., 2015). Alimi, Demetriou, and Bosi (2015) dismiss the deterministic character of radicalisation and provide a relational perspective on the process to explain instances of political strife with very little violence occurring. They identify three relational mechanisms that can work against the radicalisation process at specific historical junctures: consensus mobilization; the reverse mechanisms of upward and downward spirals of political opportunities; and the reverse mechanism of outbidding and underbidding (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 220). Their conceptualization of radicalisation in reverse takes into account the complexity of the decision-making at play during radicalisation, with its incremental or sometimes rapid progression towards violence going hand in hand with other choices that slow down, halt, or reverse violence. However, it does not provide an explanatory framework for non-radicalisation detailed enough to be applied beyond their context of social movements.

A Guide to Research Design

The purpose of this section is to discuss all the components integral to the research design of this exploratory study. It provides a description of the overall methodological approach, including the specific methods for gathering the data, as well as the justification of the

Romani as a viable case study. The section starts with a brief introduction of the conceptualisation of radicalisation I adopted and is complemented, perhaps somewhat unorthodoxly, with theoretical insights into grievances as one of the established radicalising factors (Moskalenko, 2021) as they initially guided the data collection in uncharted empirical territory.

Theoretical Foundations for Data Collection

Even though this is the first study of its kind with no prior theories about Romani non-radicalisation, theoretical knowledge of radicalisation and its causes proved essential for field research. The data collection design was informed by Moskalenko's conceptual definition of radicalisation (Moskalenko, 2021) and Ajil's classification of grievances (Ajil, 2020), which link the process to contributing causes. In this conceptual sense, radicalisation is defined as a change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviours toward supporting one side of an intergroup conflict (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2017), a response to widespread inequality and injustice perceived in diverse sociopolitical contexts (Moskalenko, 2021) in which grievances work as mechanisms of radicalisation; they help construct the narratives to justify extremist thought and action (Moskalenko, 2021; Kruglanski et al., 2022).

Theoretically, the most perplexing puzzle was why the Romani do not act on their community's various grievances. Expert knowledge of these grievances as known causes of radicalisation and Romani exposure to them was key not only to identifying the research problem, but also to the preparation of the interviews and the initial phase of data collection, as these are socioeconomic, ethnic or racial grievances that the Romani across the whole of Europe face on a massive scale (The Dark Unknown History, 2015). According to official documents, an estimated 10-12 million European Romani daily face persistent discrimination and socioeconomic exclusion based on their ethnic origin (EU-MIDIS II, 2016; European Commission, 2020).

Ajil's (2020) classification of three ideal types of grievances – ethnic, religious and racial; socioeconomic; and political – at two levels of analysis (local and global) helped categorize the group grievances the Romani face. Therefore, the case is framed by ethnic and racial grievances combined with socioeconomic and political ones at the local level. The

accumulation of minority *ethnic and racial grievances*[2] happens under conditions of coexistence with the dominant majority, which can be perceived as hostile while 'this perception can be fuelled by experiences of "othering", xenophobia, racism or ethnic and religious discrimination, often on a local and domestic level' (Ajil, 2020, p. 7). These kinds of grievances can also stem from the systematic collective stigmatisation and securitisation of a specific group or its suspectification (Vidino, 2010; Abbas, 2019). As with Muslims, who have historically represented the archetypal Other for the West (Ajil, 2020, p. 8), the Romani assume this role in the region of post-totalitarian Central Europe, perhaps with the exception of a relatively recent period when a fierce 'othering campaign' targeted Muslims in response to the EU migration crisis, which peaked in 2015 (Hofmannová & Řepa, 2020).

Socioeconomic grievances can stem from low socioeconomic status, poverty, relative material deprivation, economic deprivation and discrimination, exclusion, and marginalisation. Indicators are income inequality, hampered access to labour or housing markets, and the education system (Ajil, 2020, p. 8). Finally, there are *political grievances* at the local level that can be attributed to ill-functioning mechanisms that fail to secure adequate political representation, lack of access to political resources, low representation of the minority group in positions of influence, and lack of civil rights (Adam, 2018; Ajil, 2020). This may be the result of minorities being alienated and excluded from mainstream political processes, as characterised by their hampered access to the political system (Ratelle & Souleimanov, 2017), but also the result of the oppressive or discriminatory approach of the state apparatus toward minorities (Ajil, 2020).

Case Justification

The Central European Romani qualify as a viable case on empirical, methodological, and theoretical grounds. The empirical and methodological case selection can be justified by instances of Romani radicalisation in the Balkans. Based on the possibility principle

---

[2]Although Ajil (2020) categorizes the first ideal type of grievances as ethnic, religious, and racial, the research in this study does not work with the subcategory of religious grievances. These are unlikely to be a driving mechanism because the Romani as a transnational community do not profess a dominant religious faith. They flexibly adopt the religion prevalent in a particular country or region, for instance Orthodox Christianity in eastern Slovakia or Islam in certain parts of the Balkans, and they are generally not discriminated against in this area. Moreover, the factor of religion, even though it was always discussed with the respondents, did not prove to be decisive for potential radicalisation.

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

(Mahoney & Goertz, 2004), it is reasonable to assume that if the Romani in the Balkans become radicalised due to receiving financial incentives, gaining respect or sense of equality (Djorić, 2021, p. 219), then they could also be prone to radicalisation in the empirical context of Central Europe. This is because the same set of various types of grievances are at play with the local Romani communities, and the same outcome is therefore possible (Mahoney & Goertz, 2004; Malkki, 2020, p. 32).

The theoretical rationale for the negative case of Romani radicalisation is that, although poverty and educational attainment as types of socioeconomic grievances were found to be unrelated to engagement in political violence (Krueger & Malečková, 2003), the latest scholarship has confirmed the classic relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 2016) which returns to the explanatory power of group-based relative deprivation as a motivator to redress inequalities through violent extremism in the 21st century (Kunst & Obaidi, 2020). Additionally, there is a valid discursive argument common among both the general population and members of (particularly right-wing) extremist organizations primarily in Central European countries that the Romani are extremists terrorising law-abiding citizens in every country they inhabit (Kavaliauskaite, 2008; Mareš & Milo, 2019; Póczik & Sárik; 2019). Lastly, there is the social usefulness of such research given that the Romani are the largest European ethnic minority, and that systematic research into the community's potential involvement in - or mere relationship to - political violence is practically non-existent. Therefore, the empirical study of non-radicalisation of a marginalised group in the Western world bears special relevance for social sciences research.

Methodological Approach

Without available empirical data, the research into Romani resilience against radicalisation required extensive inductive, qualitative inquiry, in line with calls for further research voiced by other scholars (Ajil, 2020; Horgan, 2011; Horgan et al., 2017; Malkki, 2020). To shed further light on the issue, the research utilises the exploratory methodological approach of Grounded Theory in Ethnography (Charmaz, 2006). The research questions addressed were as follows: What coping mechanisms do the Romani activate to address their grievances? How do the Romani respond to adverse societal conditions? Do the Romani consider using violence to achieve betterment for their community?

Empirical data collection for this study was based primarily on conducting qualitative, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. For this study, a total of 54 participants were interviewed. Further data was gathered through 40 targeted, mixed-method questionnaires with the aim of providing greater depth and causal certainty for specific theoretical concepts and the links between them. Additionally, the data collection techniques have been enhanced by participant observation (such as rallies) and nonparticipant observation (offline and online), shadowing, and in-depth description fieldnotes that help contextualize the concepts identified during interviews. As the Romani represent a hard-to-reach community, gaining access required considerable and sustained effort that I invested in transparent communication and building trust with multiple gatekeepers from within the researched group. Understanding of the gatekeepers about my research objectives became critical in order to be able to approach and interview various Romani communities in Czechia and Slovakia. The selection of interviewees was based on the nonprobability purposive, snowball (referral) sampling technique. Although a recent meta-analysis reveals that sociodemographic factors produce comparatively modest effects on radicalisation (Wolfowicz et al., 2020), a substantial body of scholarship acknowledges the importance of specific demographic factors such as age and gender (Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018, p. 96; Jasko et al., 2017, p. 12; Vergani et al., 2020, p. 864). To ensure consistency with empirical evidence from both criminology and terrorism studies (LaFree & Schwarzenbach, 2021, p. 185-186), the interviewed sample predominantly comprises males between the ages of 15 and 35. To address the heterogeneity of scholarly findings in terms of socioeconomic status and education (Wolfowicz et al., 2020, p. 409), the respondents include individuals from all walks of life: individuals who are destitute; educated people; those relatively well-off in comparison with their ethnic peers; and individuals with a record of criminal behaviour (including felony offences). The aim was to incorporate the latest evidence on the convergence of risk factors related to crime and radicalisation that leads to political violence (LaFree & Schwarzenbach, 2021; Vergani et al., 2020; Wolfowicz et al., 2020). Stronger emphasis was placed on interviewing Romani elites, as they are well positioned due to their familiarity with community dynamics and due to their greater predisposition to playing an active role in the recruitment process. The interviewees were preferably residents of urban areas which, when compared with rural settlements, have been considered a more fertile breeding ground for radicalisation (de la Corte Ibáñez, 2018). In

addition, it has been proven that, when discussing homegrown jihadism, which serves as an initial point of reference for this research, 'most individuals became radicalised in their country of residence and … that most of the radical groups analysed consist of individuals of more or less the same age and from more or less the same residential area' (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2010, p. 805). However, in Slovakia, the research participants were also recruited in populous Romani settlements, which have an essentially rural character. Data collection has been conducted in more than two dozen locations in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, while some of the interviews and questionnaires were administered online to adapt to the restrictions enacted in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2009) helped in analysing the extensive interview data in a systematic way. I used initial and (re)focused coding and constant comparison of further (or even previously collected) data against these codes to detect emerging concepts. The most salient, frequently emerging codes and recurring patterns were then integrated into conceptual categories. Belongingness and conflict avoidance as the two main protective factors discussed in detail in this study represent such conceptual categories. They surfaced when the initial codes, such as 'family', 'acceptance', 'happy', 'satisfaction' and 'safe' (belongingness), or 'danger', 'threat', 'them' and 'punishment' (conflict avoidance) were pieced together.

In order to maintain ethical standards, informed consent from all participants was secured and they were always carefully instructed about preserving their anonymity and data confidentiality[3]. Most importantly, strong emphasis was placed on a non-directive, humanistic approach to the interviewing process (Brinkmann, 2013, p. 9) to prevent distress and emotional harm to the respondents as members of a marginalised community.

Empirical Findings

This section consists of three parts, which discuss original findings in the case of Romani resilience against radicalisation. First, a brief overview of group grievances as experienced by individual respondents is presented to provide a backdrop for the discussion of two core

---

[3] The research was approved by the Committee for Ethics in Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague.

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

concepts identified as instrumental in the absence of radicalisation among the investigated group. The two core concepts are belonging and conflict avoidance. Additionally, it should be noted that the ultimate research objective beyond the scope of this study is to formulate a coherent theory of group resilience against radicalisation, as the European Romani represent a salient case of a transnational group that does not resort to violent political action as a means of channelling and addressing their group grievances. Essentially, the results of the investigation appear to imply that it is an inherent quality of Romani communities across Europe to opt for a peaceful *modus vivendi* with the respective majority populations.

The overall empirical findings point towards five groups of factors key to making the Romani resilient against radicalisation that can be conceived as concrete manifestations of socio-cultural practice and socio-psychological mechanisms. The factors are as follows: the considerable fragmentation of the Romani community, with weak or non-existent leadership incapable of mobilising the community politically; a tendency to forgive inflicted wrongs rather than seeking revenge; the distinct way of experiencing time as a significant coping mechanism within the socio-psychological realm[4]; a high degree of social cohesion determined by a deep sense of belonging; and a propensity for self-imposed isolation in potential conflict situations. This study primarily examines Romani belongingness and conflict avoidance that stem from their socio-cultural practice, as the role and functioning of these two factors have been explored most systematically. On top of that, the aim of the article is to facilitate deeper understanding of the individual components of resilience, precisely as the spirit of qualitative approaches requires, thereby avoiding superficial treatment of the rich empirical data.

Reasons to Feel Aggrieved: Sharing Stories

In line with the classification of grievances outlined above, this section offers first-hand empirical evidence of the specific grievances experienced by Czech and Slovak Romani; it directly reflects their existential predicament within their societies. The purpose of mapping

---

[4] It is assumed that the Romani have retained an ability to live in the present moment due to their itinerant lifestyle (often resulting from forced migration) (Crowe, 2003) coupled with the absence of territorial statehood. This feature is likely to contribute to a disinclination for accumulating grievances and pursuing long-term strategies oriented towards aggressive action. Furthermore, the tendency to experience the present rather than being forward-looking is enhanced by an approach that can be characterised as 'going with the flow'. This might, however, verge on apathy or resignation towards the idea of bettering one's own group in society.

respondents' traumatic experiences was to create a reference situation that prompted a discussion about how attitudes towards the majority population are formed, as well as about the activation of adaptation mechanisms the Romani use to cope with these experiences. In most cases, the situations that could potentially generate a sense of injustice fall into the categories of socioeconomic and ethnic and racial grievances. Some of the participants also encountered inequities that fit into the category of political grievances. However, it must be noted that, despite not being common in the Romani's everyday lives, these political grievance situations are most frequently characterised by discriminatory, abusive treatment by law enforcement. These events have a much more negative impact on respondents' psyches than other grievances, and severely undermine their trust in the political system.

It is widely acknowledged that children and youth constitute one of the most at-risk social groups when it comes to radicalisation (Heinke & Persson, 2016). Also, for Romani children, their formative stage takes place under conditions of counter-culture, shaping their identity and permeating it with experiences of deep-seated out-group prejudice, thus having a considerable impact on how their personality develops (Ramakrishna, 2016). In general terms, the most typical situations Romani respondents encounter during their school years are their stigmatization as racially distinct Others and bullying by both schoolmates and teachers. In specific cases, the interviewees reported being labelled as members of a group that 'live in filth, with thefts committed against the majority as well as a routine practice within their own group' (Questionnaire 13) and having low socioeconomic status. One interviewee explained:

> I remember the math teacher. She would humiliate me before the class because of different things day in, day out. Once, it was because I was running out of blank pages in my school notebook. There were the last four left as my parents didn't have money to buy me a new one. She called me to her desk, took her pointer and told me to pull down my pants in front of the class. She wanted to hit me, but she didn't. She told me I was so skinny she couldn't even hit me, she would have missed. (Questionnaire 9)

Later in life, the discriminatory treatment of Romani children at schools takes on another dimension in public space. Analytically, these situations can be characterised as acts of collective microaggression, contact avoidance, or even ostracism, often framed by the

suspectification of the Romani. The respondents stated that they encounter these acts of collective microaggression on a systematic basis and they have become an integral part of their existence in the public sphere. They are subject to racial slurs with accusations of laziness or threats that 'they will be the first ones to be gassed when the war comes' (Questionnaire 8). Contact avoidance with someone who is 'of a Romani appearance' is frequently linked to the perception of the Romani as 'suspects' whose intentions are to steal and rob (Interviewee 11, Interviewee 36).

In the socioeconomic domain, the respondents most often suffer problems when looking for housing or employment as a secondary symptom of racial discrimination. Their frustration stems from the fact that they are unable to find a job, because they live in a stigmatised neighbourhood, or from the actual impossibility of securing even rented housing. Several interviewees also shared experiences that could be framed as political grievances which, in the cases of Czechia and Slovakia, typically develop as a result of discriminatory practices by law enforcement during interventions against the Romani. In one specific case, together with other community members, one research participant was assaulted and beaten by the police: 'It was like the WWII. So many police officers were there, even with dogs. And we had no one to turn to when they started beating us' (Interviewee 49)[5]. Although this specific incident represented a rare case, such lapses do have an adverse impact on the Romani's trust in the political system and their unequal treatment within it, thus potentially generating a uniquely compelling cause for political grievances.

The following qualitative data analysis reveals how the community use, among other factors, a deep sense of belonging and conflict avoidance to cope with their grievances and how these contribute to their resilience against radicalisation.

Creating a Secure Community: Belonging, Solidarity, and Cohesion

At the individual level, the absence of community and acceptance is the principal reason for becoming radicalised (Liechtenstein, 2017). Terrorist organizations may 'offer a sense of belonging, purpose, and the promise of recognition and status to anyone who works

---

[5] In this specific case, several of the beaten members of this Romani settlement were even prosecuted and charged with false accusations. The charges were, however, withdrawn, presumably owing to the verdict of the European Court of Human Rights, which stated that the police operation against the Romani in the given community and the related proceedings were in breach of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

on their behalf' (Lyons-Padilla et al., 2015, p. 2). It is acknowledged that many individuals who lack a sense of belonging will turn away from a difficult home environment and gravitate towards terrorist or extremist organizations (Silke & Brown, 2016, p. 137; Horgan et al., 2017, p. 69). Other findings suggest that, for example, the perpetrators of school shootings in the US tend to suffer from a belongingness deficit when they experience both acute and chronic rejection, which could reinforce tendencies toward aggression and mass violence against outgroups (DeWall et al., 2011, pp. 1283-1284).

In this study, belonging (or the synonymous 'belongingness') is understood in socio-psychological terms as a critical component of human functioning in a certain community, fulfilling an individual's need to belong somewhere they feel cared about and safe in their day-to-day interactions (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). At the beginning of the fieldwork, belongingness was not a key topic area. Only later, during the inquiry, did this concept begin to emerge as a critical factor most participants identified as a reason for their indifference to participating in the improvement of the Romani community's situation as a whole. First, they seemed not to identify with the notion of the Romani as an ethnically defined community or a nation (with a few exceptions). They instead pointed out the extended family or clan (*fajta*), Romani 'macrofamilies' as one interviewee called them, as a basic reference unit they identify with and whose interests they are willing to advance, but especially to protect. For them, it is not important that the Romani, as a barely perceptible collective, live a good life, but that their family, who mean 'the whole life, love and everything' (Interviewee 35) to them, are prosperous. Second, they expressed 'satisfaction with what they have' (Interviewee 34), while the idea of striving for higher political goals was considered only by a small number of interviewees. Hypothetically, they said they may go and fight if they were recruited by someone, but only provided they were single, without a family, and hence had nothing to lose.

How does the family then satisfy the Romani's need to belong? What ties and bonds does it create so that it motivates individual members to stay and not seek alternative sources of belonging, as can be observed with radicalised individuals? One participant was able to critically reflect on this subject, due to his expertise in psychology, his reflections being then corroborated by other respondents through their more intuitive accounts. He captured the character and dynamic of building a specifically Romani belonging. When asked why the

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

Romani do not take emancipatory action to express their opposition to the way they are treated by the majority population and the political system, or why they do not initiate systematic unrest or similar actions, the respondent answered:

> It is fairly simple – it's because with us the family is in first place. And when I have my own place where I can stay, where I can live, where I am surrounded by my family and people I feel good with, I am in no way interested … from the perspective of a Romani … I am not interested in other people's acceptance and approval because I am among my folks. And this is exactly why the Romani are not interested in what is happening in the society, with a few exceptions, because they feel satisfied. They cannot see any reason why they should become interested in politics if it does not endanger their family, if it does not endanger the way I have been able to live my life. If it does not harm my close ones. (Interviewee 13)

Although the interviewee's account of belongingness may seem elusive, it does reflect the principal Romani cultural code it is grounded in – *romanipen*. In general terms, *romanipen* is conceptualized as a system of norms that regulates intra-community social order (Klakla, 2015, p. 83) or the 'quality of a bearer of Romani culture in the broadest sense' (Sekyt, 2004, p. 191). Belonging, as an individual's awareness of their allegiance to the clan, represents the key and most stable component of *romanipen*. The benefits of this Romani cultural code that are typically enjoyed by all family members can be summarized as follows: the Romani rarely get uprooted or alienated; they are permanently surrounded by love and their loved ones; they always get material and mental support; disadvantaged (physically, mentally, or otherwise) members are not abandoned or excluded; all types of experiences are collectively shared, making the unpleasant ones more bearable and the pleasant ones more gratifying; and finally, the Romani do not get paralysed by fear of the past or future, as their decisions and all sorts of fears are shared with others (Frištenská, 2010, pp. 8-9; Sekyt, 2004).

Within the confines of *romanipen*, the essential attributes of belonging as defined by a specific place and a community are further enhanced by another function performed by the Romani family unit: child rearing in an emotionally secure environment. For the Romani, children are 'little divinities who are placed on a pedestal and given constant attention'

(Interviewee 13). The fact that they are doted on by so many people[6] boosts their self-love and self-esteem. The participants stated that 'as children, they always knew that they could enjoy a secure home, and they always had people who would defend them' (Interviewee 12). Support and nurturing of self-worth in the Romani family then serve as a protective layer in the critical period of maturation. The data gathered through fieldwork are in line with scholarly findings about Romani upbringing. They confirm that one of the core principles of *romanipen* is 'unconditional love for children' (Zezulkova & Stastna, 2018, p. 75) and abundance of physical contact between mother and child, which creates secure foundations for the rest of one's life; 'for a Romani, physical contact, later extended to all family members, becomes a need and tool of consolidating the sense of propriety and also belonging to the family' (Sekyt, 2004, p. 201).

Furthermore, the central importance of belongingness for mental wellbeing and resilience is also manifested in situations when a member of a clan commits an act of transgression. A common example the interviewees provided is when a family member needs financial support. In the spirit of intra-familial solidarity and cohesion, the Romani are always willing to help, even at the cost of having to apply for a loan themselves, as they are 'ready to do everything they can so that people in their group live a good life' (Interviewee 30). If that particular family member does not repay the loan, he is rejected together with his immediate family. Contact is broken with the whole group, not just the specific individual, since they used the money with him; 'they all did it' (Interviewee 13). When reconciliation is eventually achieved (even though the debt may not have been settled) and the family is reunited, it is usually done at a common gathering fraught with intensely emotional moments involving crying, apologies, and repentance. The interviewees claim that the reason for reconciliation is the profound significance attached to the family as a community ensuring the survival of an individual. The transgressing family strive to re-establish severed contacts through their strong desire to be re-accepted into the space they once belonged to. They want to enjoy secure bonds again. The rejection of one's family can cause an identity crisis that represents a risk factor of 'an existential scope' (Interviewee 13), greatly influencing the individual and their family's chances of survival.

---

[6] In comparison with the size of an average majority family, the Romani family unit can comprise often dozens or even hundreds of members.

If we assume that the absence of belonging is a radicalisation risk factor, it is important to note that, according to the respondents, ostracism does not tend to be applied to individuals, but the whole of their immediate family. Even though excluded, the family stays together. This implies that the function of belonging and related psychosocial benefits still exist even for the ostracised, though to a reduced extent. The disposition to forgive family members and accept them back despite their transgressions means that the Romani do not exclude other Romani, do not produce outcasts, and do not fuel personal grievances. Thus, despite experiencing social rejection from the majority population that reinforces exclusion (DeWall et al., 2011, p. 1282), the Romani still have the social environment of their family available.

While most theories and definitions of social cohesion apply at the macro-level of society, in the Romani case, it is aptly applied at the meso-level, where cohesion can be understood as the degree of connectedness and solidarity among members of a specific group. It has two major dimensions: belonging to a community and the relationships within the actual community (Manca, 2014, p. 261). This concept of social cohesion does not apply to the relationship between the Romani and the majority when it refers to solidarity and belongingness as well as the 'fair and non-discriminatory sharing of resources, goods and services as well as the recognition of the dignity and skills of each individual [that] are guaranteed by society' (Council of Europe, 2005, p. 26). In this respect, the Romani can be perceived as a sort of self-sufficient community which, because of the circumstances, is able to maintain its own social cohesion. From the perspective of the individualistic majority society, the Romani still represent a collectivist culture based on traditional kinship ties, although these values have been steadily eroding in recent years. Older respondents in particular point out that 'mutual respect is gradually disappearing; uprooting and identity crises can be observed and the traditional cultural code represented by *romanipen* is being abandoned' (Interviewee 11), usually as a result of the assimilation of some community members into the majority society.

The cultural code of *romanipen* with all its components, i.e. belongingness, strong emotional bonds for children, and intra-group solidarity, which generate highly cohesive communities, seems to remain crucial for Romani resilience against radicalisation. Doubts remain regarding the extent to which belonging and social cohesion are tied to the weakening

romanipen code, and whether these cultural qualities are deeply rooted enough to continue protecting against radicalisation.

Avoidance as Conflict Prevention

For an individual, radicalisation leading to political violence requires stepping outside of one's group and actively becoming engaged in another group whose agenda might be political change through violent action. For the Romani, such an action would involve leaving one's own territory, such as the ghetto or settlement, moving into the territory of the 'white majority', and perpetrating acts of aggression in retaliation for acts committed against them. Given the strong bonds within Romani communities, for them such a step would present a significant psychological hurdle.

During the qualitative inquiry, the interviews posited the above scenarios in an attempt to understand why the Romani do not opt for such a solution; and more specifically, why the Romani as a group discriminated against by society do not seek to improve their situation through both non-violent and violent action, framed by political demands. This motif of avoidance kept emerging, manifested as reluctance to leave one's community in order to prevent conflict. In this regard, Romani self-isolation is intertwined with belonging and group cohesion, precisely the qualities that enable the Romani not to involve themselves in society-wide processes, mainly because their basic psycho-social needs are already sufficiently met by their community. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the impact of this factor was present rather implicitly in most cases. However, the unwillingness to further their interests by taking active steps was explicitly stated in their concerns about the consequences, namely adverse responses by the police or the public to Romani efforts at emancipation, whether violent or non-violent.

The tendency towards conflict avoidance in the Romani cannot, however, be generalised, and should be seen as part of a continuum. In this sense, the research revealed a qualitative distinction between different types of communities and categories of respondents. Participants from heavily stigmatised, socially excluded neighbourhoods exhibited a greater tendency towards noninterference, not actively seeking any resolution but rather closing themselves up in their community to avoid both contact as well as conflict. The reason is that the Romani do not feel that grievances they face as a group are of any concern to them, and

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

that remedying those grievances is simply not 'their thing' (Interviewee 16). When confronted with the idea of bettering their community situation, they responded that 'they [the majority] would start chasing us if we called ourselves leaders' (Interviewee 32), or 'we would be the bad guys and not sort out anything' (Interviewee 34). Members of these disadvantaged communities concluded any discussion on political involvement by stating that 'they will not meddle in anything' (Interviewee 20) and 'as long as our families are not concerned, we will not take any action' (Interviewee 23) or 'we prefer not to go amongst them' (Interviewee 19), i.e. the white majority.

In contrast, the motivation for avoidance is weakened in participants representing educated Romani elites. They do not fear publicly identifying as Romani and voicing their grievances to express outrage at the plight of the community because these respondents were not raised in a strict Romani environment; they and their parents' generation enjoyed contact with both Romani and non-Romani populations. These respondents reported being the only Romani person in hostile environments and having to learn how to defend themselves and the group as a whole. Rather than remaining silent, they would speak out against discriminatory treatment.

Although these research participants refused to retreat into isolation within their familiar space, their will to actively improve the Romani's status and assertively address attacks on the Romani has legally defined limits. They either become (political) activists renouncing violence, or they belong to elites involved in the public sector and use the existing institutional framework in their work for the community. Nevertheless, even these members of the elite recollect that when they were young, they tended to avoid potential conflict situations with the majority. Moreover, they also emphasise that the Romani and the majority population do not make direct contact, claiming that the real danger lies in 'living here apart' (Interviewee 12), not cultivating friendly everyday relationships between the two groups.

In connection with the motivation to isolate from the majority as otherwise 'it only leads to trouble' (Interviewee 19), it is worth reflecting on the dynamics symptomatic of Romani communities targeted during the Anti-Romani Protests in Czechia's Šluknov Hook area in 2011 and in the Moravian-Silesian Region in 2013. At that time, groups of right-wing extremists and ordinary local citizens held marches in Romani-inhabited neighbourhoods. In response to what were perceived as incursions, the Romani prepared to defend their homes in

case there was contact with the extremists. According to a respondent, some Romani were ready to use weapons, such as poles, knives, or axes, but most reacted to the organised marches by barricading houses, withdrawing, and staying at home so that the family was protected. While discussing similar situations[7] with participants in Slovakia, they said they do not want to become actively involved in fighting, but would defend their territory if threatened. Their aim would be to prevent extremists from entering the socio-spatial realm where they foster belonging within their families.

In sum, when the Romani are targeted by aggression from, e.g. radicalised individuals, they tend not to reciprocate, but rather default to their usual pattern: withdrawal. Here, avoidance of threatening situations converges with safeguarding existential necessities, i.e. the family, which represents a safe space, critical for survival in a hostile society. Escalated situations then prove the high social cohesion of the community – mobilisation to (non-political) violence becomes reactive when the place they live in comes under direct threat. In such circumstances, the Romani resort to the physical defence of the space and community they are tied to.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

As part of an extensive investigation into the European Romani population's resilience against radicalisation, the findings presented here demonstrate how two major factors – belonging and conflict avoidance – act as a deterrent to violent radicalisation despite the widespread discrimination the community experiences. Even though examined as separate analytical categories, belonging and avoidance are interrelated – it can be hypothesized that the Romani opt to conflict avoidance since the space of their own community provides them with safety and fully satisfies their need to belong. Although the motivation for avoidance seems to decrease with greater integration into the majority society, their vulnerability to radicalisation remains undiminished, owing to other preventative factors pertaining to their socio-cultural practices and the socio-psychological mechanisms they utilize. However, the role and salience of other factors mainly related to socio-psychological mechanisms, such as

---

[7] These situations are most commonly marches or incursions by local units of the neo-fascist People's Party-Our Slovakia into their ghettoes and settlements.

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

the ability to forgive or a distinct perception of time, and their causal relation with belongingness and avoidance, must be explored further. Future analysis of all the data could shed light on the cases where radicalisation 'does not happen' even though it seems likely according to prior research.

Furthermore, the study corroborates evidence considered by some authors to be conducive to resilience against both radicalisation and non-radicalisation. The central role of belonging to a family supports the findings about the seminal importance of a secure social space with existing strong ties. Avoidance of potential conflict then attests to the notion of resilience as a kind of flexibility that enables the community to adapt to change in adverse circumstances. The empirical evidence presented in the study also supports those voices that advocate for the whole-of-government and whole-of-society approaches to P/CVE programming, where families and local communities assume a powerful role in addressing radicalisation and promoting resilience against it.

Acknowledgements

References

Abbas, M. S. (2019). Producing 'Internal Suspect Bodies': Divisive Effects of UK Counter-terrorism Measures on Muslim Communities in Leeds and Bradford. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *70*(1), 261-282.

Adam, J. (2018). Bringing Grievances Back in: Towards an Alternative understanding of the rise of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the Philippines. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Ladamand-en volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, *174*(1), 1-23.

Ajil, A. (2020). Politico-ideological Violence: Zooming in on Grievances. *European Journal of Criminology*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370819896223

Alimi, E. Y., Bosi, L., & Demetriou, C. (2015). *The Dynamics of Radicalization: A Relational and Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Altier, M. B., Thoroughgood, C. N., & Horgan, J. G. (2014). Turning Away from Terrorism: Lessons from Psychology, Sociology, and Criminology. *Journal of Peace Research*, *51*(5), 647-661. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343314535946

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(3), 497-529.

Bjørgo, T., & Horgan, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Bourbeau, P. (2018). A Genealogy of Resilience. *International Political Sociology, 12*(1), 19-35. https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olx026

Brinkmann, S. (2013). *Qualitative Interviewing: Understanding Qualitative Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

British Council. (2018). Western Balkans Extremism Research Forum – Serbia Report. Retrieved from https://www.britishcouncil.rs/sites/default/files/erf_report_serbia_2018.pdf

Busher, J., & Bjørgo, T. (2020). Restraint in Terrorist Groups and Radical Milieus: Towards a Research Agenda. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *14*(6), 2–13. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26964721

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Coaffee, J. (2006). From Counterterrorism to Resilience. *European Legacy*, *11*(4), 389-403. https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770600766094

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

Cragin, R. K. (2014). Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 26*(2), 337-353. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2012.714820

Cragin, K., Bradley, M. A., Robinson, E., & Steinberg, P. S. (2015) What Factors Cause Youth to Reject Violent Extremism? Results of an Exploratory Analysis in the West Bank. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation. Retrieved from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1118.html.

Crowe, D. (2003). The International and Historical Dimensions of Romani Migration in Central and Eastern Europe. *Nationalities Papers, 31*(1), 81-94. https://doi.org/10.1080/0090599032000058839

Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. (2010). Violent Radicalization in Europe: What We Know and What We Do Not Know. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33(9), 797-814.

Dalgaard-Nielsen, A., & Schack, P. (2016). Community Resilience to Militant Islamism: Who and What?: An Explorative Study of Resilience in Three Danish Communities. *Democracy and Security*, *12*(4), 309-327. https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2016.1236691

De la Corte Ibáñez, L. (2018). Urban Environments Vulnerable to Jihadist Radicalization: A Study of Two Spanish Cities in North Africa. In Rocha, I.M., & Mendoza, H.T. (eds.) *Jihadism, Foreign Fighters and Radicalization in the EU* (pp. 64-90). London: Routledge.

Demetriou, C. & Alimi, E. Y. (2018). Relational Radicalization. In F. Dépelteau (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology* (pp. 559-578). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

DeWall, N. C., Deckman, T., Pond, R. S. Jr., & Bonser, I. (2011). Belongingness as a Core Personality Trait: How Social Exclusion Influences Social Functioning and Personality Expression. *Journal of Personality*, *79*(6), 1281-1314.

Djorić, M. (2021). The Attitudes of Roma Women on Violent Extremism and Radicalization in Serbia: A Preliminary Study. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 27*(2), 213-225.

Dutter, L. E. (2012). Why Don't Dogs Bark (or Bomb) in the Night? Explaining the Non-Development of Political Violence or Terrorism: The Case of Quebec Separatism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *35*(1), 59-75. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2012.631458

EU-MIDIS II. (2016). *Second European Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Roma – Selected Findings*. Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. Retrieved from https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2016-eu-minorities-survey-roma-selected-findings_en.pdf

European Commission. (2020). *EU Roma Strategic Framework for Equality, Inclusion and Participation for 2020 – 2030*. Brussels: European Commission. Retrieved from

https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/union_of_equality_eu_roma_strategic_framework_for_equality_inclusion_and_participation_en.pdf

Fahmi, G. (2020). Resilience Against Violent Radicalisation: Why Haven't More Islamists Taken up Arms in Egypt Since 2013?. *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No. RSCAS 2020/17.* https://ssrn.com/abstract=3630225

Feddes, A., Nickolson, L., Mann, L., & Doosje, B. (2020). Psychological Perspectives on Radicalization (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315178837

Frištenská, H. (2010). *Specifická situace romské mládeže na trhu práce* [Specific Situation of Romani Youth on the Labour Market]. Prague: R-Mosty.

Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. (2018). The Time for Causal Designs: Review and Evaluation of Empirical Support for Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 39, 90-99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.02.003

Government Offices, Department of Culture. (2015). *The Dark Unknown History: White Paper on Abuses and Rights Violations against Roma in the 20th Century*. Stockholm: Ministry of Culture Sweden.

Grossman, M. (2021). Resilience to Violent Extremism and Terrorism: A Multisystemic Analysis. In M. Ungar (Ed.), *Multisystemic Resilience: Adaptation and Transformation in Contexts of Change* (March 2021 ed.). New York: Oxford Academic. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190095888.003.0017

Gurr, T. R. (2016). *Why Men Rebel*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Hafez, M., & Mullins, C. (2015). The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *38*(11), 958-975.

Hansen, S. J. (2020). Concepts and Practices: A Brief History of Disengagement and Deradicalisation. In S. J. Hansen & E. Lid (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Deradicalisation and Disengagement* (pp. 26-40). Routledge.

Heinke, D. H., & Persson, M. (2016). Youth Specific Factors in Radicalization. *Defense Against Terrorism Review*, *6*(1), 53-66.

Hofmannová, H., & Řepa, K. (2020). 'Othering' in Unconcerned Democracies and the Rise of Anti-liberal Political Divisions. In Jesse, M. (Ed.), *European Societies, Migration, and the Law: The 'Others' Amongst 'Us'* (pp. 43-61). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horgan, J. (2011). Interviewing the Terrorists: Reflections on Fieldwork and Implications for Psychological Research. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 4*(3), 195-211.

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

Horgan, J., Altier, M. B., Shortland, N., & Taylor, M. (2017). Walking Away: The Disengagement and Deradicalization of a Violent Right-Wing Extremist. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, *9*(2), 63-77.

Jasko, K., LaFree, G., & Kruglanski, A. (2017). Quest for Significance and Violent Extremism: The Case of Domestic Radicalization. *Political Psychology*, *38*(5), 815-831. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12376

Jore, S. H. (2020). Is Resilience a Favourable Concept in Terrorism Research? The Multifaceted Discourses of Resilience in the Academic Literature. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *13*(2), 337-357. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2020.1733788

Kavaliauskaite, J. (2008). Chimeras of Terror: Disciplining Roma Identity in Lithuania. *Alternatives*, *33*(2), 153-171. https://doi.org/10.1177/030437540803300203

King, M., & Taylor, D. M. (2011). The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *23*(4), 602-622.

Klakla, J. B. (2015). The Attitudes Towards the Customary Law Within Roma Groups in Central Europe. *The Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture*, *14*(2), 83-100.

Koomen, W., & Van Der Pligt, J. (2016). *The Psychology of Radicalization and Terrorism*. London: Routledge.

Krueger, A. B., & Malečková, J. (2003). Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *17*(4), 119-144.

Kruglanski, A. W., Molinario, E., Jasko, K., Webber, D., Leander, N. P., & Pierro, A. (2022). Significance-Quest Theory. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 17*(4), 1050-1071. https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916211034825

Kunst, J. R., & Obaidi, M. (2020). Understanding Violent Extremism in the 21st Century: The (Re)emerging Role of Relative Deprivation. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *35*, 55-59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.03.010

LaFree, G., & Schwarzenbach, A. (2021). Micro and Macro-level Risk Factors for Extremism and Terrorism: Toward a Criminology of Extremist Violence. *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform*, *104*(3), 184-202. https://doi.org/10.1515/mks-2021-0127

Liechtenstein, S. (2017). Interview with Peter Neumann: The Best Prevention against Radicalization Is to Create a Sense of Belonging to a Community. *Security and Human Rights Monitor*. Retrieved from https://www.shrmonitor.org/best-prevention-radicalization-create-sense-belonging-community/

Lyons-Padilla, S., Gelfand, M. J., Mirahmadi, H., Farooq, M., & van Egmond, M. (2015). Belonging Nowhere: Marginalization and Radicalization Risk among Muslim Immigrants. *Behavioral Science and Policy*, *1*(2), 1-12.

Mahoney, J., & Goertz, G. (2004). The Possibility Principle: Choosing Negative Cases in Comparative Research. *American Political Science Review, 98*(4), 653-669. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404041401

Malkki, L., & Sinkkonen, T. (2016). Political Resilience to Terrorism in Europe: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *39*(4), 281-291. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1117325

Malkki, L. (2020). Learning from the Lack of Political Violence. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *14*(6), 27-36. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/e26964718

Manca, A. R. (2014). Social Cohesion. In: Michalos, A. C. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Mancheva, M. (2015). Risks of Islamist Radicalisation. In *Radicalisation in Bulgaria: Threats and Trends*. Sofia: Center for the Study of Democracy. Retrieved from https://csd.bg/fileadmin/user_upload/publications_library/files/22795.pdf

Mareš, M., & Milo, D. (2019). Vigilantism against Migrants and Minorities in Slovakia and in the Czech Republic. In T. Bjørgo & M. Mareš (Eds.)., *Vigilantism against Migrants and Minorities* (pp. 129-150). Oxon and New York: Routledge.

McCauley, C., & Moskalenko, S. (2017). Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-pyramids Model. *American Psychologist, 72*(3), 205-216.

Moskalenko, S. (2021). Conceptualizing Radicalization in Comparative Context. Retrieved 27 In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (March 2021 ed.). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.661

Póczik, S., & Sárik, E. (2019). Vigilante Militias and Activities against Roma and Migrants in Hungary. In T. Bjørgo & M. Mareš (Eds.)., *Vigilantism against Migrants and Minorities* (pp. 103-128). Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Ramakrishna, K. (2016). Understanding Youth Radicalization in the Age of ISIS: A Psychosocial Analysis. *E-International Relations*. Retrieved from https://www.e-ir.info/2016/02/11/understanding-youth-radicalization-in-the-age-of-isis-a-psychosocial-analysis/.

Ratelle, J. F., & Souleimanov, E. A. (2017). Retaliation in Rebellion: The Missing Link to Explaining Insurgent Violence in Dagestan. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *29*(4), 573-592. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1005076

Schuurman, B. (2020). Non-Involvement in Terrorist Violence: Understanding the Most Common Outcome of Radicalization Processes. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *14*(6), 14–26. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26964722

Sekyt, V. (2004). Romské tradice a jejich konfrontace se současností (Romství jako znevýhodňující faktor) [Romani Traditions and their Confrontation with the Present (Romaness as a Disadvantaging Factor)]. In: Hirt, T. & Jakoubek, M. (eds.), Romové: Kulturologické etudy (Etnopolitika, příbuzenství a sociální organizace) [Romani: Culturological Studies (Ethnopolitics, Kinship, and Social Organization)] (pp. 188-217). Pilsen: Aleš Čeněk.

Sieckelinck, S., & Gielen, A.J. (2017). RAN Issue Paper: Protective and Promotive Factors Building Resilience Against Violent Radicalisation. Radicalization Awareness Network. Retrieved from https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files_en?file=2020-09/ran_paper_protective_factors_042018_en.pdf

Silke, A., & Brown, K. (2016). *'Radicalisation': The Transformation of Modern Understanding of Terrorist Origins, Psychology and Motivation*. In: Jayakumar, S. (ed.). State, Society and National Security: Challenges and Opportunities in the 21st Century (pp. 129-150). Singapore: World Scientific Publishing.

Stephens, W., & Sieckelinck, S. (2020). Being Resilient to Radicalisation in PVE Policy: A Critical Examination. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *13*(1), 142-165. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2019.1658415

Stephens, W., & Sieckelinck, S. (2021). Resiliences to Radicalization: Four Key Perspectives. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, *66*, 100486. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcj.2021.100486

Stephens, W., Sieckelinck, S., & Boutellier, H. (2021). Preventing Violent Extremism: A Review of the Literature. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *44*(4), 346-361. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1543144

Vidino, L. (2010). *Countering Radicalization in America: Lessons from Europe. Special Report*. Washington, DC: The United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep12213.pdf

Wimelius, M. E., Eriksson, M., Kinsman, J., Strandh, V., & Ghazinour, M. (2018). What is Local Resilience Against Radicalization and How Can it be Promoted? A Multidisciplinary Literature Review. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1531532

Windisch, S., Simi, P., Ligon, G. S., & McNeel, H. (2016). Disengagement from Ideologically-Based and Violent Organizations: A Systematic Review of the Literature. *Journal for Deradicalization*, (9), 1-38.

Markéta Kocmanová: Understanding the Resilience of the Romani Against Radicalisation

Wolfowicz, M., Litmanovitz, Y., Weisburd, D., & Hasisi, B. (2020). A Field-Wide Systematic Review and Meta-analysis of Putative Risk and Protective Factors for Radicalization Outcomes. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 36(3), 407-447. doi:10.1007/s10940-019-09439-4

Zezulkova, M., & Stastna, L. (2018). Parental Ethnotheories in Children's Digital and Media Lives. The Case of Romanipen. In Mascheroni, G., Ponte, C., & Jorge, A. (eds.) *Digital Parenting. The Challenges for Families in the Digital Age* (pp. 69-79). Göteborg: Nordicom.

About the JD Journal for Deradicalization

The JD Journal for Deradicalization is the world's only peer reviewed periodical for the theory and practice of deradicalization with a wide international audience. Named an "essential journal of our times" (Cheryl LaGuardia, Harvard University) the JD's editorial board of expert advisors includes some of the most renowned scholars in the field of deradicalization studies, such as Prof. Dr. John G. Horgan (Georgia State University); Prof. Dr. Tore Bjørgo (Norwegian Police University College); Prof. Dr. Mark Dechesne (Leiden University); Prof. Dr. Cynthia Miller-Idriss (American University Washington D.C.); Prof. Dr. Julie Chernov Hwang (Goucher College); Prof. Dr. Marco Lombardi, (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano); Dr. Paul Jackson (University of Northampton); Professor Michael Freeden, (University of Nottingham); Professor Hamed El-Sa'id (Manchester Metropolitan University); Prof. Sadeq Rahimi (University of Saskatchewan, Harvard Medical School), Dr. Omar Ashour (University of Exeter), Prof. Neil Ferguson (Liverpool Hope University), Prof. Sarah Marsden (Lancaster University), Prof. Maura Conway (Dublin City University), Dr. Kurt Braddock (American University Washington D.C.), Dr. Michael J. Williams (The Science of P/CVE), Dr. Mary Beth Altier (New York University) and Dr. Aaron Y. Zelin (Washington Institute for Near East Policy), Prof. Dr. Adrian Cherney (University of Queensland), Dr. Håvard Haugstvedt (Center for Research on Extremism, University of Oslo), and Dr. Wesley S. McCann (RTI International).

For more information please see: www.journal-derad.com

Twitter: @JD_JournalDerad
Facebook: www.facebook.com/deradicalisation

The JD Journal for Deradicalization is a proud member of the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ).

ISSN: 2363-9849

Editor in Chief: Daniel Koehler