

	k	z	95%CI	Q between	p
Publication year					
Newer	5	-0.047	-0.147, 0.052	1.746	0.186
Older	3	0.141	-0.120, 0.402		
Location					
Non-Western	3	0.211	0.049, 0.373	8.366	0.004
Western	4	-0.049	-0.116, 0.019		
Participants					
Muslim	4	0.131	-0.111, 0.373	1.840	0.175
Other	4	-0.043	-0.110, 0.024		
Age group					
Adolescents	3	0.028	-0.030, 0.086	1.224	0.269
Adults	5	-0.055	-0.190, 0.080		
Type of radicalization					
Behavioral	2	-0.090	-0.356, 0.176	0.546	0.460
Cognitive	6	0.013	-0.045, 0.070		
Ideology*					
Islamist	3	0.037	-0.070, 0.144	23.835	<0.001
Left-wing	1	0.080	0.055, 0.105		
Right-wing	2	-0.003	-0.032, 0.026		
Unspecified/other	11	-0.039	-0.106, 0.028		
Quality					
Higher	2	-0.064	-0.916, 0.789	0.008	0.930
Lower	6	-0.026	-0.090, 0.038		

* Given that one study provided separate effect sizes for various ideologies, all the selected outcomes were used assuming independence. This is a conservative approach that artificially increases the p value.

Extremist family

Only two studies focused on the relation between having extremist family members and own radicalization. These studies included parental right-wing extremism (Boehnke, 2017), and spouse involved in a wider movement (Clemmow, 2020). Boehnke (2017) focused on right-wing cognitive and behavioral radicalization with Western adults while Clemmow (2020) focused on lone-wolf terrorism in Western countries. Both showed a significant relation between family members' radicalization and own radicalization, with a significant overall effect size ($z = 0.263$, 95%CI 0.172, 0.355). A forest plot with the included studies is shown in Figure 4. Given that only two studies were included, no moderator analysis or publication bias analysis was run.

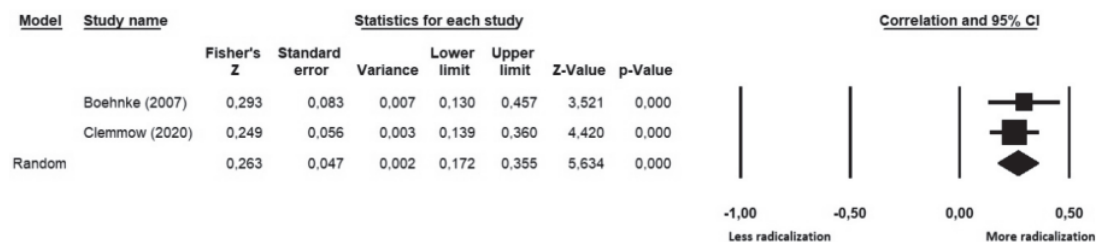


Figure 4. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between having extremist family members and radicalization.

Family commitment

Overall, high family commitment was related to less radicalization ($z = -0.060$, 95%CI $-0.090, -0.030$). As shown in Figure 5, ten studies reported on variables related to family commitment. These studies were heterogeneous ($Q = 54.34$, $df = 9$, $p < 0.001$, $I^2 = 83.44$). Variables included in this factor were importance of family (European Values Study, 2008; Moskaleiko & McCauley, 2009, studies 1 and 2), feeling that parents are important (Kuhn, 2004), family cohesion (Goede et al., 2020; Jahnke et al., 2021), leisure time with parents (Kuhn, 2004), parental involvement (Nivette et al., 2017), parental care (Baier et al., 2016; Manzoni et al., 2019), and democratic parenting (Wildan & Qibtiyah, 2020). Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill did not trim any studies to left or right of mean, and the effect was not reduced to non-significant after removing any of the included studies. No study removal brought the effect to nonsignificant.

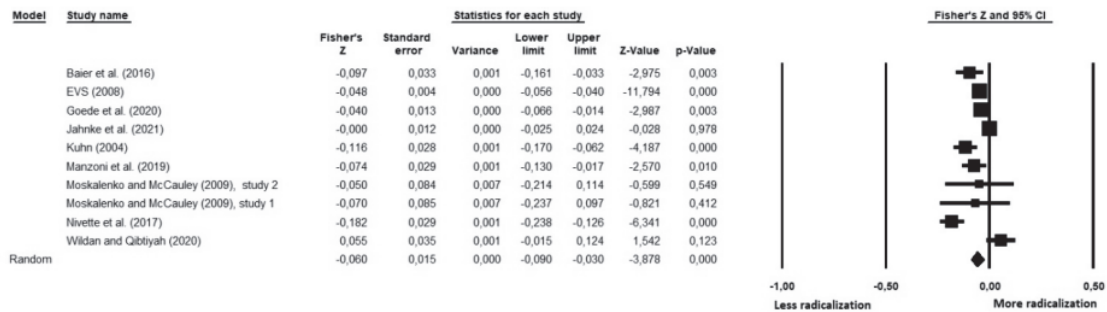


Figure 5. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between family commitment and radicalization.

The number of studies was too small for a meta-regression analysis, and thus, separate moderator analyses were run (see Table 8). Moderator analyses showed that the relation between high family commitment and low radicalization was only true in Western (non-Muslim) countries, although there was only one non-Western (Muslim) country comparison study and results need to be interpreted with caution. Regarding ideology, family commitment was related to lower right-wing, left-wing and unspecified/other radicalization, but not to Islamist radicalization. Quality could not be used as a moderator because all the studies were rated as lower quality.

Table 8. A moderator analysis for family commitment

	k	Z	95%CI	Q between	P
Publication year					
Newer	6	-0.059	-0.080, -0.037	0.031	0.861
Older	4	-0.051	-0.141, 0.040		
Location/Participants					
Non-Western/Muslim	1	0.055	-0.015, 0.124	10.451	0.001
Western/Other	9	-0.070	-0.100, -0.040		
Age group					
Adolescents	6	-0.056	-0.108, -0.003	0.186	0.666
Adults	4	-0.071	-0.116, -0.025		
Type of radicalization					
Behavioral	1	-0.097	-0.161, -0.033	1.253	0.263
Cognitive	9	-0.056	-0.088, -0.024		

Ideology*							
Islamist	5	-0.005	-0.058, 0.047	15.361	0.002		
Left-wing	2	-0.118	-0.148, -0.088				
Right-wing	3	-0.062	-0.090, -0.034				
Unspecified/other	9	-0.070	-0.129, -0.011				

* Given that several studies provided separate effect sizes for various ideologies, all the selected outcomes were used assuming independence. This is a conservative approach that artificially increases the p value.

Family conflict

Only four studies reported results on the relation between family conflict and radicalization. Among them, Kuhn (2004) focused on conflict with parents, Abdi (2019) and Goede et al. (2020) on family conflict in general, and Manzoni et al. (2019) on parental inconsistency. A forest plot with the effect sizes of these studies and an overall effect size is shown in Figure 6. Family conflict was related to more radicalization ($z = 0.113$, 95% CI 0.071, 0.155). There was no evidence of heterogeneity ($Q = 7.400$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.060$, $I^2 = 59.459$). Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill publication bias trimmed one study to right of mean, showing the adjusted values of $z = 0.119$ (95%CI 0.078, 0.160). No study removal brought the effect size to nonsignificant.

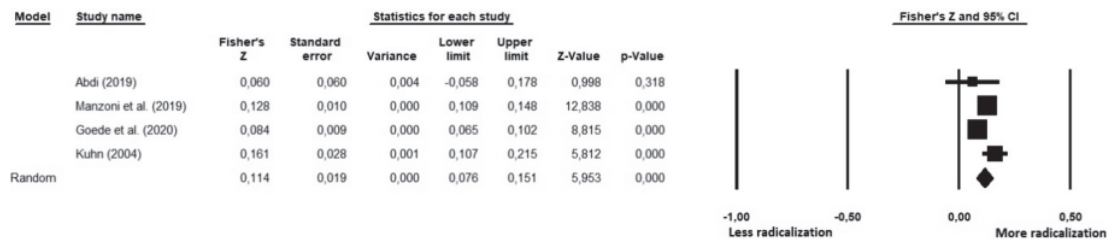


Figure 6. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between family conflict and radicalization.

A moderator analysis is shown in Table 9. Given that only four studies were available, the moderator analysis did not provide very meaningful results. The ideology was a significant moderator, with a weaker relation between family conflict, right-wing and left-wing radicalization. One older study (Kuhn, 2004) had a bigger effect size than the newer studies.. All the studies focused on family conflict and radicalization were conducted in Western countries, measured cognitive radicalization and were rated as lower quality.

Table 9. Moderator analysis for family conflict

	K	z	95%CI	Q between	p
Publication year					
Newer	3	0.092	0.067, 0.117	5.142	0.023
Older	1	0.161	0.107, 0.215		
Participants					
Muslim	1	0.060	-0.058, 0.178	0.841	0.359
Other	2	0.120	0.072, 0.168		
Age group					
Adolescents	2	0.099	0.060, 0.137	0.248	0.618

Adults	2	0.125	0.030, 0.220		
Ideology*					
Islamist	2	0.095	0.009, 0.182	8.238	0.041
Left-wing	1	0.151	0.126, 0.176		
Right-wing	2	0.097	0.068, 0.126		
Unspecified/other	2	0.125	0.030, 0.220		

* Given that several studies provided separate effect sizes for various ideologies, all the selected outcomes were used assuming independence. This is a conservative approach that artificially increases the p value.

Family size

Three studies measured the relation between family size and radicalization. Among them, Dhumad et al. (2019) focused on the number of children and family size, European Values Study (2008) on the number of children and Clemmow (2020) on having children. An overall effect size (see Figure 7) shows that a bigger family size was related to less radicalization ($z = -0.046$, 95%CI -0.054 , -0.038). There was no evidence of heterogeneity ($Q = 2.419$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.298$, $I^2 = 17.314$). Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill publication bias analysis did not trim any studies to right or left of mean but removing the European Values Study (2008) from the analysis brought the effect size to nonsignificant.

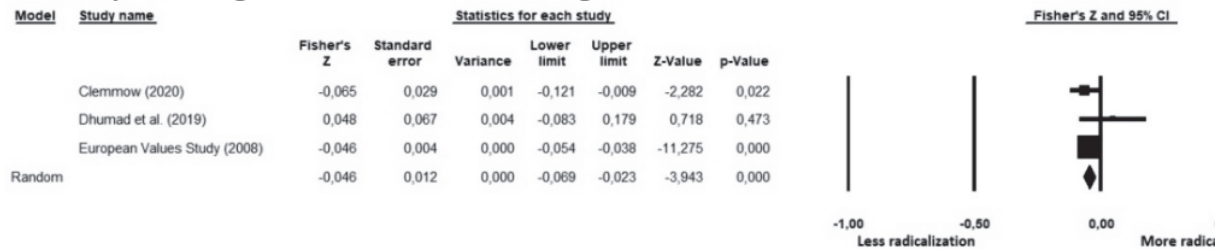


Figure 7. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between critical family events and radicalization.

A moderator analysis did not find any significant moderators (see Table 10). All participants were adults, and all ideologies were unspecified. Quality could not be used in the moderator analysis because all the studies were rated as lower quality.

Table 10. A moderator analysis for family size

	k	Z	95%CI	Q between	P
Publication year					
Newer	2	-0.025	-0.131, 0.081	0.153	0.695
Older	1	-0.046	-0.054, -0.038		
Location/Participants					
Non-Western/Muslim	1	0.048	-0.083, 0.179	1.981	0.159
Western/Other	2	-0.046	-0.054, -0.038		
Type of radicalization					
Behavioral	2	-0.025	-0.131, 0.081	0.153	0.695
Cognitive	1	-0.046	-0.054, -0.038		

Family socioeconomic factors

Family socioeconomic factors analysis included variables such as parental education (European Values Study, 2008; Kuhn, 2004; Manzoni et al., 2019), education level and unemployment of the spouse (European Values Study, 2008), parental unemployment (European Values Study, 2008; Siedler, 2006 study 1 and 2), parents liked to read books (European Values Study, 2008), parental poverty (European Values Study, 2008), parental unemployment or reception of social assistance (Baier et al., 2016) and parents liked to follow the news (European Values Study, 2008). An overall effect size (see Figure 7) showed that high family socio-economic status was related to less radicalization ($z = -0.028$, 95%CI -0.045, -0.012) with heterogeneous effect sizes ($Q = 25.220$, $df = 5$, $p < 0.001$, $I^2 = 80.174$). Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill publication bias analysis did not trim any studies to right of mean and trimmed one study to left of mean with an adjusted effect size of $z = -0.030$ (95% CI -0.045, -0.014). A removal of any study did not bring the effect to nonsignificant.

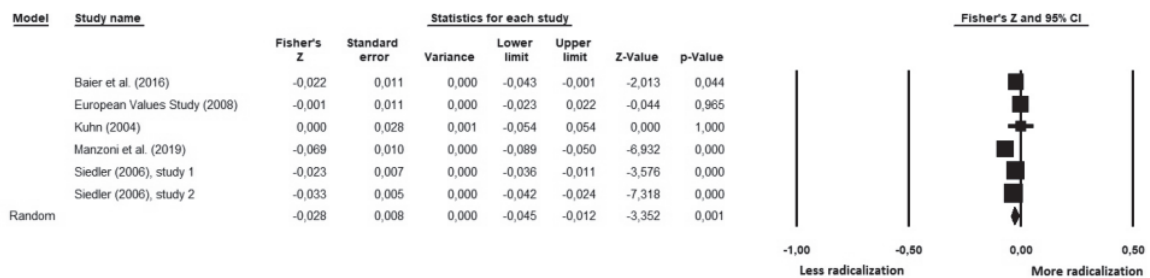


Figure 7. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between family socioeconomic factors and radicalization.

A moderator analysis is shown in Table 11. The only significant moderator was ideology, where high socioeconomic family status was found to be related to less Islamist, left-wing and right-wing ideology, but not to unspecified ideology (e.g., supporting terrorism in general, without specifying anything else). All the studies were rated as lower quality, so quality could not be used as a moderator.

Table 11. Moderator analysis for family socioeconomic status

	K	z	95%CI	Q between	P
Publication year/ age group					
Newer/adolescents	2	-0.046	-0.092, 0.001	0.999	0.318
Older/adults	4	-0.021	-0.035, -0.006		
Ideology*					
Islamist	2	-0.089	-0.155, -0.023	19.063	<0.001
Left-wing	2	-0.037	-0.066, -0.008		
Right-wing	10	-0.038	-0.053, -0.023		
Unspecified/other	11	0.002	-0.013, 0.018		

* Given that several studies provided separate effect sizes for various ideologies, all the selected outcomes were used assuming independence. This is a conservative approach that artificially increases the p value.

Family Violence

Family violence included variables such as parental violence and harsh treatment (Baier et al., 2016; Clemmow, 2020; Dhumad et al., 2019; Jahnke et al., 2021; Vukcevic Markovic et al., 2021), violence between parents (Manzoni et al., 2019) and being a perpetrator of domestic abuse (Clemmow, 2020). A meta-analysis of these studies (see Figure 8) showed that the relation between family violence and radicalization was nonsignificant ($z = 0.052, -0.032, 0.135$), with heterogeneous studies ($Q = 39.198, df = 5, p < 0.001, I^2 = 87.244$). The effect became significant ($z = 0.098, 95\%CI 0.035, 0.160$) after the removal of Dhumad et al. (2019). Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill analysis did not trim any studies to right or left of mean.

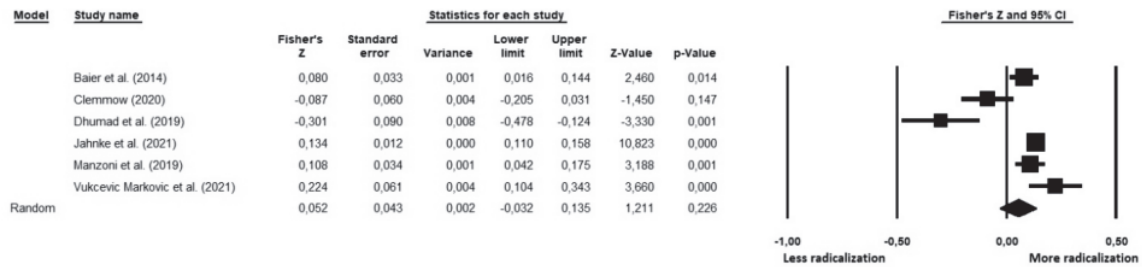


Figure 8. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between family violence and radicalization.

There were several significant moderators of the relation between family violence and radicalization (see Table 12). Only one study on the relation between family violence and radicalization in non-Western Muslim countries was included (Dhumad et al., 2019). Although the effect based on Western samples showed that family violence was related to more radicalization, Dhumad et al. (2019) who studied convicted terrorists in Iraq found that harsh treatment by parents was more common among controls than among terrorists. Family violence was related to more radicalization in adolescents, but this relation was not significant in adults. Also, family violence was related to more cognitive radicalization, but there was no evidence of this relation for behavioral radicalization. Regarding ideology, family violence was related to Islamist, right-wing and left-wing radicalization, but there was no evidence of this relation for unspecified radicalization. Quality could not be used as a moderator because all the studies were rated as lower quality.

Table 12. A moderator analysis of studies on family violence

	K	Z	95%CI	Q between	P
Publication year					
Newer	3	0.093	-0.047, 0.234	0.918	0.338
Older	3	-0.008	-0.160, 0.144		
Location/participants					
Non-Western/ Muslim	1	-0.301	-0.478, -0.124	17.285	<0.001
Western/Other	5	0.098	0.035, 0.160		
Age group					
Adolescents	4	0.124	0.086, 0.163	8.113	0.004
Adults	2	-0.183	-0.392, 0.025		
Type of radicalization					
Behavioral	3	-0.089	-0.291, 0.114	4.581	0.032

Cognitive Ideology*	3	0.136	0.099, 0.173		
Islamist	4	0.104	0.055, 0.154	14.737	0.002
Left-wing	4	0.138	0.104, 0.171		
Right-wing	4	0.068	0.050, 0.087		
Unspecified/other	6	0.023	-0.078, 0.124		

* Given that one study provided separate effect sizes for various ideologies, all the selected outcomes were used assuming independence. This is a conservative approach that artificially increases the p value.

Immigrant spouse

There was only one study focused on having an immigrant spouse (European Values Study, 2008), and its relation to radicalization was non-significant ($z = 0.012$, 95%CI 0.032, -0.056).

Marital status

Seven studies reported results on the relation between radicalization and being married (Acevedo & Chaudhary, 2015; Altunbas & Thornton, 2011; Cherney & Murphy, 2019; Delia Deckhard & Jacobson, 2015; European Values Study, 2008; Fair & Hamza, 2018; McCauley, 2011). Also, seven studies measured the relation between being single and radicalization (Berger, 2016; Bhui et al., 2014; Clemmow, 2020; Dhumad et al., 2019; European Values Study, 2008; McCauley, 2011; Schbley, 1988). Four studies measured the relation between being divorced and radicalization (Bhui et al., 2014; European Values Study, 2008; Fair & Hamza, 2018; McCauley, 2011), and three studies focused on the relation between being widowed and radicalization (European Values Study, 2008; Fair & Hamza, 2018; McCauley, 2011).

An overall effect size was calculated for being married (see Figure 9). This was done by entering only the effect for being married for the studies that measured different marital statuses (e.g., European Values Study, 2008), and reversed coding the effects of being single for the study that did not measure being married (Bhui et al., 2014). An overall effect size for marital status was nonsignificant ($z = -0.027$, 95%CI -0.069, 0.014). Included effects were heterogeneous ($Q = 52.13$, $df = 11$, $p < 0.001$, $I^2 = 78.897$).

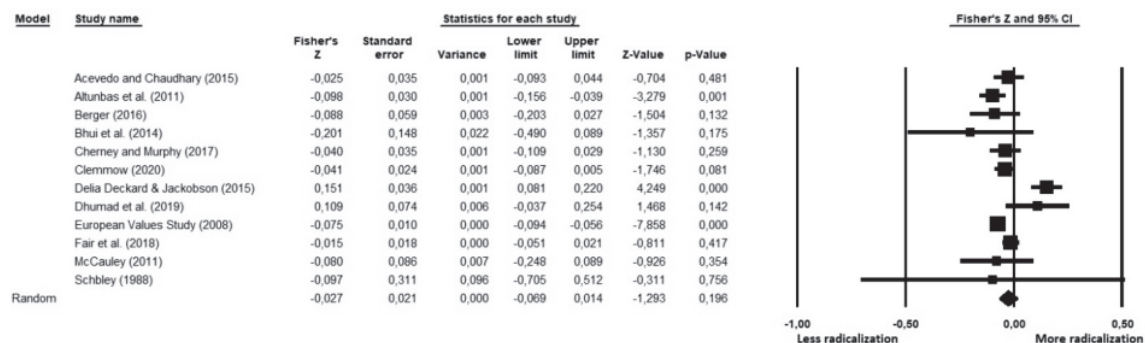


Figure 9. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between being married and radicalization.

Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill publication bias analysis did not trim any studies to left of mean and trimmed three studies to right of mean, with an adjusted effect of $z = -0.013$ (95%CI -0.559, 0.028). Removal of Delia Deckhard and Jacobson (2015) produced a significant effect between being married and lower radicalization. A sensitivity analysis that included only unadjusted studies found that being married was related to lower radicalization ($z = -0.062$, 95%CI = -0.091, -0.033).

A moderator analysis for the relation between marital status and radicalization is shown in Table 13. There were no significant moderators. All participants were adults, and therefore, no moderator analysis for age groups was performed.

Table 13. Moderator analysis for marital study

	K	z	95%CI	Q between	p
Publication year					
Newer	5	-0.027	-0.059, 0.006	0.027	0.870
Older	7	-0.034	-0.112, 0.045		
Location					
Non-western	3	0.012	-0.069, 0.093	1.083	0.298
Western	9	-0.038	-0.088, 0.011		
Participants					
Muslim	9	-0.013	-0.073, 0.047	3.223	0.073
Other	3	-0.070	-0.088, -0.053		
Type of radicalization					
Behavioral	3	-0.036	-0.114, 0.043	0.048	0.827
Cognitive	9	-0.025	-0.079, 0.029		
Ideology					
Islamist	6	-0.017	-0.082, 0.048	0.800	0.371
Unspecified/other	6	-0.053	-0.096, -0.009		
Quality					
Higher	8	-0.028	-0.088, 0.032	0.135	0.713
Lower	4	-0.043	-0.096, 0.010		

Parental control

Parental control meta-analysis included studies focused on parental control (Boehnke et al., 1998; Goede et al., 2020; Hagan et al., 1999; Manzoni et al., 2019), authoritarian parenting (Dhumad et al., 2019; Wildan & Qibtiyah, 2020) and reversed permissive parenting (Wildan & Qibtiyah, 2020). Overall, the relation between parental control and radicalization was nonsignificant ($z = -0.048$, 95%CI -0.097, 0.0001; see Figure 10), and studies were heterogeneous $Q = 21.70$, $df = 5$, $p = 0.001$, $I^2 = 76.96$. Duval and Tweedie's trim and fill analysis did not trim any studies to right of mean, and trimmed one study to left of mean with an adjusted effect of $z = -0.058$ (95%CI = -0.106, -0.009). Removal of Wildan and Qibtiyah (2020) and Dhumad et al. (2019) resulted in a significant relation between low parental control and more radicalization.

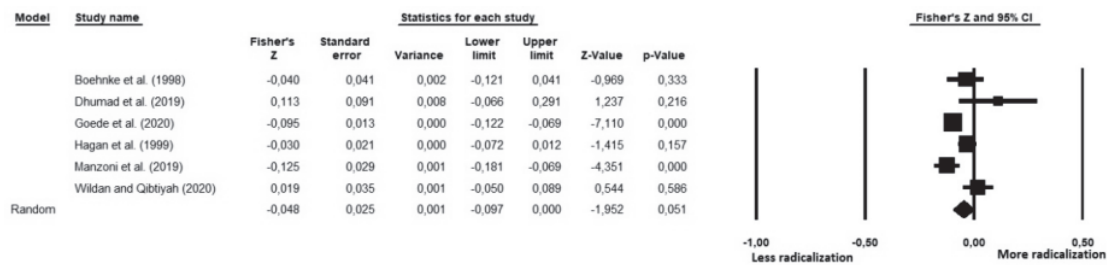


Figure 10. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between parental control and radicalization.

A moderator analysis for the relation between parental control and radicalization is shown in Table 14. Location was a significant moderator. Studies conducted in Western countries found a relation between low parental control and higher radicalization. Ideology was also a significant moderator. It was found that low parental control was related to higher right-wing and left-wing radicalization, and there was no evidence of the relation between parental control and Islamist or unspecified radicalization. All the studies were rated as lower quality and quality could not be used as a moderator.

Table 14. Moderator analysis for parental control and radicalization

	k	z	95%CI	Q between	P
Publication year					
Newer	4	-0.051	-0.122, 0.021	0.202	0.653
Older	2	-0.032	-0.069, 0.005		
Location/participants					
Non-western/Muslim	2	0.032	-0.033, 0.096	7.215	0.007
Western/Other	4	-0.075	-0.118, -0.032		
Age/ Type of radicalization					
Adolescents/Cognitive	5	-0.058	-0.105, -0.012	3.304	0.069
Adults/Behavioral	1	0.113	-0.066, 0.291		
Ideology*					
Islamist	6	-0.010	-0.063, 0.043	76.87	<0.001
Left-wing	1	-0.224	-0.249, -0.199		
Right-wing	4	-0.074	-0.125, -0.025		
Unspecified	1	0.113	-0.066, 0.291		

* Given that one study provided separate effect sizes for various ideologies, all the selected outcomes were used assuming independence. This is a conservative approach that artificially increases the p value.

Parental “elbow mentality”

Parental “elbow mentality” was only measured in one study (Boehnke, 2017) focused on cognitive and behavioral right-wing radicalization in Western adults. “Elbow mentality” was defined as parental Machiavellianism, acceptance of social inequality and competitive orientation. The relation between parental “elbow mentality” and radicalization was nonsignificant ($z = 0.055$, 95%CI -0.108, 0.218).

Parental politics communication

Parental politics communication defined as talking about politics with parents was measured in two studies (Kuhn, 2004; European Values Study, 2008). Both studies focused on a cognitive unspecified radicalization in Western adults. The relation was non-significant ($z = 0.069$, 95%CI -0.062, 0.199), as shown in Figure 11.

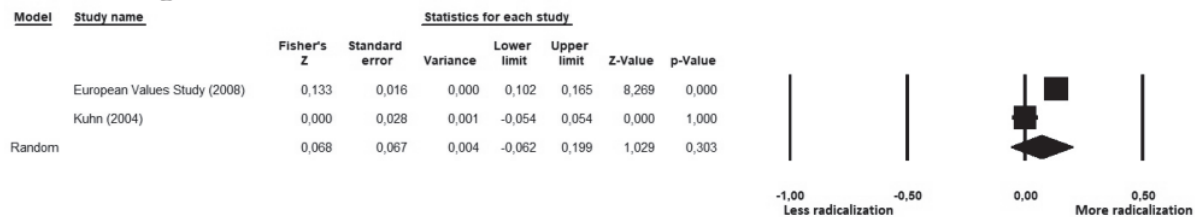


Figure 11. A forest-plot with the meta-analysis of the relation between critical family events and radicalization.

Religious household

Only one study (Clemmow, 2020) focused on the relation between having grown up in a religious household and radicalization, with non-significant results ($z = -0.042$, 95%CI = -0.089, 0.006). Clemmow (2020) studied lone-actor terrorists in Western countries, with no specific radicalization ideology.

Undesirable ethnic socialization

Undesirable ethnic socialization was defined as bias and mistrust induced by parents towards other cultures, teaching predominantly about own culture, and teaching that people are all equal (reversed), and it was measured in one study (van Bergen, 2016). Van Bergen (2016) focused on Western adolescent Muslims and measured cognitive unspecified radicalization. It was found that an undesirable ethnic socialization was related to more radicalization ($z = 0.265$, 95%CI 0.166, 0.364).

Comparison of the effect sizes among the family factors

Figure 12 shows the relation between each family-factor included in this systematic review and radicalization. Undesirable ethnic socialization, extremist family members and family conflict were significant risk factors for radicalization. High family socioeconomic status, larger family size, and high family commitment were significant protective factors against radicalization.

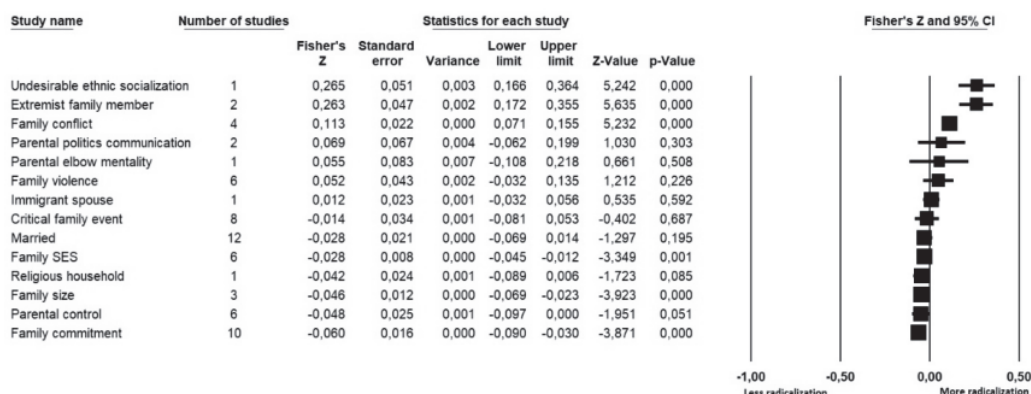


Figure 12. The relation between each family-factor included in this systematic review and radicalization

Figure 13 shows the results separately for behavioral and cognitive radicalization. Having extremist family members and critical family events were found to be risk factors for cognitive radicalization. Family commitment and control were protective against cognitive radicalization. Undesirable ethnic socialization, family violence and conflict were risk factors for cognitive radicalization, and bigger family size, and family commitment were protective.

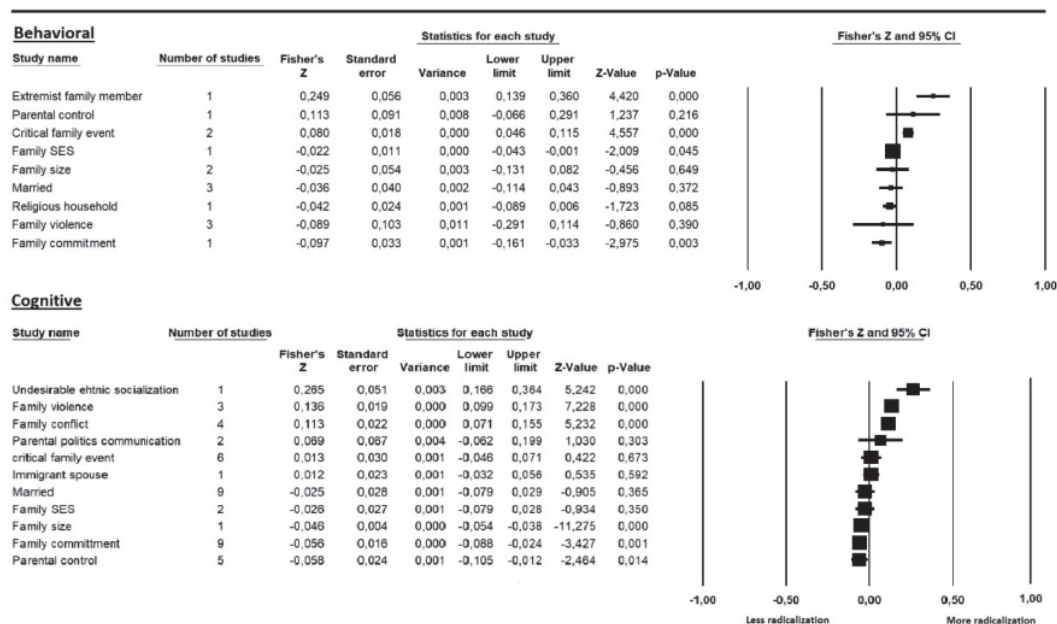


Figure 13. The relation between each family-factor included in this systematic review and behavioral and cognitive radicalization

Figure 14 shows the relation between family factors and different ideologies, including Islamist, right-wing and left-wing radicalization. Family conflict and violence were risk factors for Islamist radicalization, whereas high family socioeconomic status was protective. Regarding left-wing radicalization, family conflict, family violence and critical family events were risks, and high family SES, family commitment and parental control were protective. Having an extremist family member, family conflict and violence were risk factors for right-wing radicalization, and high family SES, family commitment and parental control were protective.

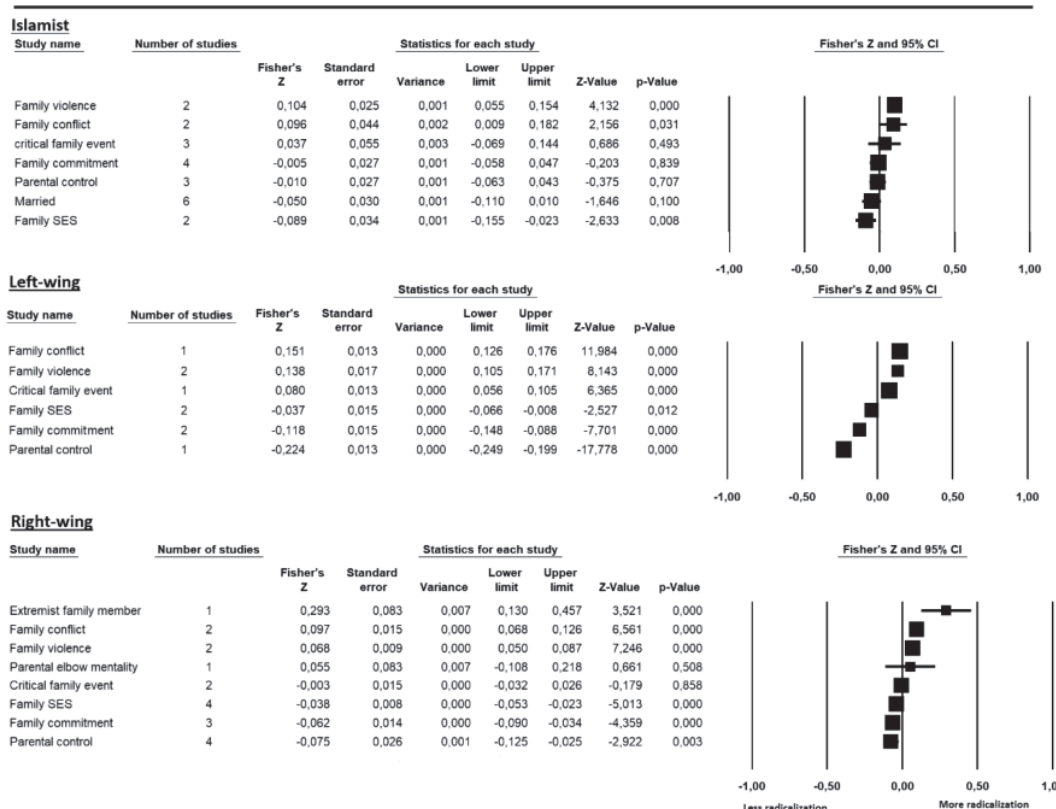


Figure 14. The relation between each family-factor included in this systematic review and different radical ideologies

SENSITIVITY ANALYSIS

A sensitivity analysis treating outcomes as uncorrelated and therefore independent was performed. As can be seen in Table 15, only minor variations with respect to the previously described results were observed. The relation between family-size and radicalization was no longer significant when outcomes such as number of children and family size were treated as uncorrelated. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suggest that these outcomes are highly correlated, and therefore, probably the analysis which treat them as such is more accurate. Other variations were the effects of the relations between family violence and radicalization, and marital status and radicalization, that became significant if treated as independent. For family violence, combined outcomes included different ideologies (Islamist, right-wing and left-wing), and types of violence (e.g., violence between parents and punishment of children). These outcomes could indeed be relatively independent and, therefore, it is possible that family violence is indeed related to more radicalization. Regarding marital status, combined outcomes include different questions that measured Islamist radicalization and future willingness or past radicalization. These outcomes are likely to be highly correlated and therefore, previously described results are probably more accurate than the results of an analysis that treated all the outcomes as independent.

Table 15. Sensitivity analysis treating all the outcomes as uncorrelated and independent

	Fisher's Z	SE	95% CI	
Critical family events	-0 .012	0 .025	-0 .060	0 .037
Extremist family	0 .270	0 .041	0 .191	0 .350
Family commitment	-0 .061	0 .014	-0 .088	-0 .034
Family conflict	0 .114	0 .019	0 .076	0 .151
Family size	-0 .031	0 .027	-0 .084	0 .021
Family SES	-0 .022	0 .007	-0 .035	-0 .008
Family violence	0 .090	0 .015	0 .060	0 .120
Marital status	-0 .048	0 .021	-0 .089	-0 .007
Parental control	-0 .046	0 .027	-0 .099	0 .007

Discussion

SUMMARY OF MAIN RESULTS

This systematic review was conducted to summarize evidence on families and radicalization. Specifically, its first objective was to describe family-related risk and protective factors for radicalization. The second objective was to analyze the impact of radicalization on families and the third objective was to discover if family-based interventions were effective against radicalization. Although there are some previous systematic reviews focused on risk or protective factors for radicalization in general (Emmelkamp et al., 2020; Lösel et al., 2018; Wolfowicz et al., 2021) none of them focused specifically on families and radicalization. Thus, this is the first comprehensive systematic review conducted to describe the scientific field of quantitative research on families and radicalization.

This systematic review did not locate any studies on consequences of radicalization for families or family-focused interventions that would meet its inclusion and exclusion criteria. Some qualitative studies on the impact of radicalization were located (e.g., Guru, 2012), but this systematic review included only quantitative studies. Also, some qualitative evaluations of family-focused intervention programs were located (e.g., Koehler, 2013), but again, these were excluded according to our inclusion and exclusion criteria.

A systematic review of family-related risk and protective factors for radicalization included a total number of 33 studies published in 35 documents. Among the included studies, 30 provided sufficient information for the calculation of effects, and given that many studies focused on the relation between various family-related risk and protective factors and radicalization, the current systematic review included 89 effect sizes and 48 variables grouped into 14 family-related factors. The current systematic review showed that undesirable ethnic socialization, extremist family members and family conflict were significant risk factors for radicalization whereas high family socioeconomic status, bigger family size, and high family commitment were significant protective factors against radicalization. Thus, several family-related risk and protective factors for radicalization have been described, although many were based on a limited number of studies and results should be taken with caution.

Moderator analyses were conducted when more than two studies per factor were included. It was found that critical family events (such as death, divorce or imprisonment) were a risk factor for radicalization in Non-Western countries, and there was no evidence of their relation to radicalization in Western countries. Based on one study and one effect (Manzoni et al., 2019), having experienced a critical family event was related to more left-wing radicalization. Family

commitment was protective against radicalization in Western countries, and there was no evidence of its relation to radicalization in non-Western, Muslim countries, although only one study in a non-Western location analyzed the relation between family commitment and radicalization. Based on one study, the relation between family conflict and radicalization was weaker for the right-wing ideology, compared to Islamist, left-wing and unspecified (Manzoni et al., 2019). High family socioeconomic status was protective against Islamist, left-wing and right-wing radicalization, but there was no evidence of the relation between family socioeconomic status and unspecified radicalization.

Family violence was related to more radicalization in Western countries, but the only included study that measured this relation in non-Western Muslim countries (Dhumad et al., 2019) found that harsh treatment by parents was more common among controls than among terrorists. Family violence was related to more radicalization in adolescents, but there was no evidence of this relation in adults. Also, family violence was related to more cognitive radicalization, but the relation between family violence and behavioral radicalization was not significant. Family violence was related to Islamist, right-wing and left-wing radicalization, but there was no evidence of this relation for unspecified radicalization.

There was no evidence of a significant relation between marital status and radicalization or moderators. Parental control was related to less radicalization in Western countries, but there was no evidence for this relation in Non-western Muslim countries. Moreover, there was no evidence of the relation between parental control and Islamist radicalization whereas high parental control was related to less left-wing radicalization (although only based on one study by Manzoni et al., 2019) and to right-wing radicalization. Again, moderator analyses results should be taken with caution taking into account the low number of studies in many comparisons.

OVERALL COMPLETENESS AND APPLICABILITY OF EVIDENCE

This systematic review is based on extensive searches in 25 databases, including databases with high-impact journals (e.g., Web of Science, Scopus) and databases that include gray literature (e.g., ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, Google Scholar). Hand searches were performed in ten leading journals in the field. Searches were also performed on 12 websites of different agencies and professional organizations to locate gray literature. Authors of the included studies and other leading researchers in the field were contacted and asked to provide published and unpublished studies on family and radicalization. They were all provided with the protocol so they could get familiar with all the details of the current systematic review. Reference lists of the included studies and previously published systematic reviews on risk and protective factors for radicalization were scanned. There were no restrictions regarding publication year, geographic location, types of participants and publication language. Published and unpublished studies were included, together with two publicly available datasets that were analyzed by the authors of this systematic reviews to provide the most comprehensive review possible. Thus, we believe that the current systematic review includes up-to-date evidence of what is known regarding families and radicalization worldwide.

Unfortunately, there were no studies focused on impact of radicalization on families or family-based interventions against radicalization. Given our extensive searches, we believe that such studies are yet to be conducted. Although there are some interesting qualitative studies on these topics, these were not included in the current review.

This review includes fourteen family-related risk and protective factors for radicalization. These factors were extracted from primary studies located in various geographic areas, including Western and non-Western countries. There were different age groups studied in the primary studies, including adults and adolescents, and different ethnic-cultural backgrounds such as Muslim and other participants. Studies focused on cognitive and behavioral radicalization, including Islamist, right-wing, left-wing and unspecific ideologies. Thus, a broad range of factors in heterogeneous samples and ideologies was included. This systematic review can be therefore considered comprehensive as it shows a whole panorama of research in the field. Nevertheless, the included heterogeneous set of primary studies allowed to include only a limited number of effects per analysis, and very limited moderator analyses. It was not possible to run meta-regressions because the number of included studies was too low. Meta-regressions would have been especially important to discover which characteristics of the studies could be uniquely influencing the results. These are important limitations of the current systematic review.

Only three included studies were longitudinal (Boehnke et al., 1998a; Nivette et al., 2017; Siedler, 2006), and each longitudinal study focused on different family-related factors. Thus, it was not meaningful to run a moderator analysis with cross-sectional versus longitudinal studies. Family-related factors were studied as risk and protective for radicalization on a theoretical basis, but it is not possible to establish causal relations or even the order of appearance of factors and radicalization in time in most of the studies. Thus, it is possible that some factors are consequences of radicalization instead of risk and protective factors. For example, family conflict was included in the current systematic review as a risk factor for radicalization, but it is also possible to think of situations in which radicalization could cause conflicts within families.

This systematic review included primary studies based on rigorous inclusion and exclusion criteria, providing evidence based on quantitative studies that defined radicalization as the use of or support for violence to defend a cause, including support for radical groups and terrorism. Projects that defined radicalization differently were not included to ensure a comparable set of studies. Nevertheless, some of these studies could be synthesized in separate systematic reviews, focused on, for example, voting for radical parties. Also, a meta-synthesis of qualitative studies could be especially interesting for future projects.

This systematic review included 14 family-related risk and protective factors for radicalization, but many other family factors could have a crucial role in radicalization and have not been studied yet. Although this systematic review is likely to have included most of the family-related factors related to radicalization studied up to date, there are probably many other factors that will be studied in future and could contribute to the understanding of radicalization. There were three studies that did not provide enough information to calculate the effects and were therefore excluded from the meta-analyses. Taking into account the publication bias analyses, it is unlikely that these studies affected greatly the results. Nevertheless, given a limited number of studies per meta-analysis, results need to be interpreted with caution.

Thus, the current systematic review includes a complete and comprehensive set of studies focused on family-based risk and protective factors for radicalization. Although with some limitations, the applicability of the results is high. Knowledge gathered in this systematic review could be used to design future family-based interventions to decrease risks and increase protective factors for radicalization. Future family-focused interventions could be evaluated and included in future systematic reviews.

QUALITY OF THE EVIDENCE

None of the located studies focused on family related consequences of radicalization or family-focused interventions met the inclusion criteria of the current systematic review. Regarding family-related risk and protective factors, 33 studies were included, among which, 30 provided enough information to be included in the meta-analysis. Although the number of included studies was high enough to conduct a high-quality systematic review and meta-analysis, family-related risk and protective factors were heterogeneous, and they were divided into fourteen meaningful categories. Four categories (undesirable ethnic socialization, parental “elbow mentality”, immigrant spouse, and having grown up in a religious household) only included one study, so no meta-analysis could be conducted. The remaining factor categories included at least two studies, and therefore, ten meta-analyses were conducted. Nevertheless, the number of studies included in each meta-analysis was relatively low, which is an important limitation regarding the quality of the included evidence, even though no evidence of publication bias was found in most of the meta-analyses.

An application of the Cambridge Quality Checklist (Murray et al., 2009) to the included studies made it possible to evaluate the quality of the primary data used in this systematic review. The highest quality study was Nivette et al. (2017). All the included studies scored two out of seven on the “causal risk/protective factors” criterion because none of them controlled for variables measured before the risk factor was measured. This is a common limitation in criminological research in general as found in a review of studies on disrupted families and crime where Jolliffe et al. (2012) tested the Cambridge Quality Checklist and all 60 included studies scored two out of seven on the causality criterion. Thus, factors included in our review cannot be considered causal.

Even though causality or even time ordering cannot be assumed based on the quality of the studies included in this systematic review, other methodological quality criteria of many of the included studies were met. In most of the studies, samples were relatively large, and random selection of participants made it possible to collect the data from several representative samples. Nevertheless, high-quality validated instruments were rarely used. Thus, there are some limitations regarding the quality of the evidence included in this systematic review, but this synthesis of family-related risk and protective factors is a steppingstone to understand the role of families in radicalization.

LIMITATIONS AND POTENTIAL BIASES IN THE REVIEW

This systematic review was performed by two independent researchers in all its stages, including searches, screening of titles and abstracts, full text

screening, and coding of the included studies. Agreement rates at all these stages were high. Thus, the current review adhered to high standards and the risk of potential biases is expected to be low. Nevertheless, there are two potential sources of bias that need to be acknowledged. One of them is the possibility of having missed some studies focused on one of the three objectives of this systematic review. The number of located studies was high, with 86,591 titles and abstracts screened. Although this was done by two independent researchers, some studies could have been missed among this high number of titles and abstracts. Moreover, searches and screening focused on family and radicalization, but some studies could include some family-related factors without mentioning them in titles and abstracts. This is especially plausible for demographic factors that are frequently controlled in the field, but not even mentioned in texts of the articles, such as marital status or having children. Some of these studies were indeed missed during our searches in databases, but hopefully all of them were retrieved after screening the references of the included studies and previous systematic reviews.

Another possible limitation of the current systematic review is the way in which categories of risk and protective factors were created. This systematic review included 48 variables, most of them measured in one study, or a very limited number of studies. Thus, it was necessary to classify these variables into meaningful categories. This was carefully done to only include studies focused on highly similar constructs in each category, as this is a common practice in the field (see, for example, Emmelkamp et al., 2020; Wolfowicz et al., 2021). Nevertheless, some categories still included outcomes that were not identical (e.g., parental violence, violence between parents and perpetration of domestic abuse in adulthood all classified as family violence). If the number of included studies per variable was much higher, it would have been ideal to focus on each variable separately. It is also possible that other researchers would have grouped these variables in different categories.

Even with these limitations, risk of bias of this systematic review is rather low because of its high transparency. Variables included in each factor are described in detail, together with effects for each included study and overall effects for each variable. A definition of each variable is also provided. Thus, besides using our classification into family-related factors, readers can easily check what studies are included in each factor and draw conclusions based on each variable separately.

AGREEMENTS AND DISAGREEMENTS WITH OTHER REVIEWS

Findings of this systematic review are mostly in agreement with previous reviews, although the number of studies focused on families and radicalization included in this systematic review is much higher in comparison to the previous reviews. Thus, the number of family-factors studied in this systematic review is also higher. At the same time, some studies focused on family and radicalization that were included in the previous reviews were excluded from the current review based on our inclusion and exclusion criteria. Categories used in the previous systematic reviews differed from our categories probably because they included a lower number of studies.

Based on five studies, Lösel et al. (2018) found that protective family-related factors against radicalization were positive parenting, non-violent family

members and ownership of a house. In our systematic review, family commitment was found to be related to less radicalization, having extremist family members was related to more radicalization, there was no evidence of the relation between family violence and radicalization, and no studies on ownership of a house were included. Thus, our results are mostly in agreement with Lösel et al. (2018), although our systematic review includes many more studies focused on families and radicalization.

Emmelkamp et al. (2020) included only one domain focused on family and radicalization based on six studies, called negative parenting. They did not find evidence of a significant relation between negative parenting and radicalization, although the effect was in the risk direction. Our systematic review did not include such a category, but we did find that undesirable ethnic socialization by parents was related to more radicalization, family conflict was also related to more radicalization, and there was no evidence of the relation between family violence and radicalization. Thus, our results regarding family and radicalization are more specific, but they do point out in a similar direction.

Wolfowicz et al. (2012) included several family-related risk and protective factors for radicalization. They concluded that having children (based on two studies), being married (based on 11 studies), parental academics (based on four studies), parental involvement (based on 12 studies), parental control (based on four studies) were protective against radical attitudes, whereas family violence (based on five studies) and parental abuse (based on six studies) were risk factors. There was no evidence of the relation between marital status (based on six studies) and behavioral radicalization, whereas parental involvement (based on four studies) was related to less behavioral radicalization. Several studies focused on family and radicalization included in Wolfowicz et al. (2021) were excluded from the current meta-analysis and several other studies not included in Wolfowicz et al. (2021) were included in the current systematic review. Wolfowicz et al. (2021) analyzed separately radical attitudes, intentions and behaviors (and no overall results were calculated), whereas the current systematic review differentiated behavioral and cognitive radicalization. If the results focused on cognitive and behavioral radicalization are compared, similarly to Wolfowicz et al. (2021), there was no evidence of the relation between marital status and behavioral radicalization, but parental involvement as such was not analyzed in relation to behavioral radicalization in our study. Regarding cognitive radicalization, the current systematic review found that undesirable ethnic socialization, family violence and conflict were risk factors, bigger family size and higher commitment were protective, and there was no evidence regarding the relation between other factors and radicalization. Thus, our results point out in a similar direction as Wolfowicz et al. (2021), although there are differences regarding the set of primary studies included.

AUTHORS' CONCLUSIONS

Implications for policy and practice

This systematic review has important implications for policy and practice. Although causal relations between family-related risk and protective factors

based on our results cannot be established, it is reasonable to suggest that policies and practice should aim at decreasing family-related risks and increasing protective factors for radicalization. Although only based on one study (van Bergen et al., 2016), undesirable ethnic socialization was found to be related to more radicalization. Thus, decreasing bias against other cultures and ethnicities, teaching about different cultures and teaching that people are all equal would be desirable. Based on two studies (Boehnke, 2017; Clemmow, 2020), having extremist family members is related to more radicalization. It is therefore desirable to counter extremism in families, not only in individuals. A bigger family size, probably driven by having children, was protective. It is possible that having a family, including children, is a sign of a better functioning in the society for some individuals, and this should be assessed. Family commitment should also be promoted as it was found to be protective against radicalization. High family socioeconomic status was also protective, so policy makers and practitioners should aim at increasing the level of education and decreasing poverty.

Tailored interventions that would aim at decreasing specific family-related risk factors and increasing specific-family related protective factors described in this systematic review could be useful to decrease radicalization. Besides implications for future tailored interventions, findings of this systematic review have some implications for risk assessment. Given that having extremist family members was found to be related to own radicalization, risk of radicalization in family members of extremists should be evaluated.

Implications for research

This systematic review did not locate any studies focused on the impact of radicalization on families or family-based interventions. Thus, studying the impact of radicalization on family is urgently needed. This is especially true given that some qualitative studies found that families of radicalized individuals are highly affected (Guru, 2012). Our systematic review included a wide range of family-related risk and protective factors, showing that families may be important in the process of radicalization. Thus, family-based interventions need to be urgently designed, implemented and evaluated. It is crucial to discover what works regarding family-based interventions and conduct such programs in different geographic areas.

The included studies were mostly cross-sectional, and it was impossible to establish which family-related factors were causal or preceded radicalization. Thus, longitudinal research is urgently needed. Longitudinal studies, especially controlled non-experimental studies with a measure of within-individual change and randomized controlled trials (Murray et al., 2009) could clarify causal relations between family-factors and radicalization. Given that longitudinal studies are especially difficult to conduct taking into account costs and time needed for these projects, it would be crucial for policy makers to provide funding that would make them possible. Also, more possible family-related risk and protective factors should be studied in future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was supported by the Horizon 2020 Grant 699824, DHS Science and Technology Directorate and the Five Research and Development (5RD) Countering Violent Extremism Network, awarded to the study authors via the Campbell Collaboration.

Authors are grateful to all the contacted authors who provided studies for this systematic review, especially to Michael Wolfowicz whose assistance in locating studies was especially important.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF AUTHORS

This systematic review will be conducted by a team from University of Cordoba (Spain).

- Content: Zych and Nasaescu
- Systematic review methods: Zych and Nasaescu
- Statistical analysis: Zych and Nasaescu
- Information retrieval: Zych and Nasaescu

Izabela Zych is an Associate Professor in Psychology at the University of Cordoba and has broad experience and expertise in conducting systematic reviews and meta-analyses focused on different topics related to violence. She has successfully led and published similar studies, including papers in the leading journals in the field. She is a member of Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group Steering Committee.

Elena Nasaescu is a PhD candidate supervised by Izabela Zych, who is currently in the final stage of her PhD. She has a specific training in conducting systematic reviews and meta-analyses, and excellent methodological skills.

DECLARATIONS OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interests. However, one of the review authors has an internal role within the Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group. Specifically, Izabela Zych is a member of the Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group Steering Committee, including the Campbell/DHS Counter-Terrorism Systematic Review Advisory Board. Thus, Izabela Zych is not involved in any editorial or internal Campbell Collaboration communications about this review.

PLANS FOR UPDATING THIS REVIEW

We plan to produce an updated version of this review every four years. The lead author (Izabela Zych) will be in charge of coordinating the revised versions.

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