

## Article

# A SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN YOUTH PARTICIPATING IN A SOCIO- EDUCATIVE PROGRAM AIMED TO PREVENT RADICALIZATION

**Análisis sociocultural de la construcción identitaria en jóvenes participantes  
en un programa socioeducativo orientado a la prevención de la radicalización**

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**Abstract:** This article analyses youth radicalization processes in a culturally diverse and socially marginalised context in northern Morocco. Radicalization is approached as a multidimensional process linked to identity construction, struggles for recognition and structural inequalities. The study adopts a Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology, combining participatory workshops, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation with young people, educators and community actors. The results indicate that vulnerability to radicalization is not primarily driven by ideological factors, but by fragmented identity trajectories, experiences of stigma, perceived injustice and limited opportunities for social recognition. The findings highlight the role of socio-educational initiatives, participatory spaces and intercultural dialogue as key protective factors. The study concludes that prevention strategies should move beyond securitised approaches and prioritise inclusive socio-educational practices that foster recognition, participation and alternative pathways of belonging.

**Keywords:** Youth, Identity, Radicalization, Social exclusion, Cultural diversity, Prevention.

**Resumen:** Este artículo analiza los procesos de radicalización juvenil en un contexto culturalmente diverso y socialmente marginado del norte de Marruecos. La radicalización se aborda como un proceso multidimensional vinculado a la construcción de la identidad, las luchas por el reconocimiento y las desigualdades estructurales. El estudio adopta una metodología de Investigación-Acción Participativa (IAP), combinando talleres participativos, entrevistas semiestructuradas y observación participante con jóvenes, profesionales y actores comunitarios. Los resultados indican que la vulnerabilidad frente a la radicalización no está determinada principalmente por factores ideológicos, sino por trayectorias identitarias fragmentadas, experiencias de estigmatización, percepciones de injusticia y limitadas oportunidades de reconocimiento social. Los hallazgos destacan el papel de las iniciativas socioeducativas, los espacios participativos y el diálogo intercultural como factores de protección clave. El estudio concluye que las estrategias de prevención deben superar los enfoques securitarios y priorizar prácticas inclusivas que fomenten el reconocimiento, la participación y nuevas formas de pertenencia.

**Palabras clave:** Juventud, Identidad, Radicalización, Exclusión social, Diversidad cultural, Prevención.

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## 1. Introduction.

In this paper we present a research analysis of how sociocultural factors may contribute to conditions of vulnerability that relate to youth identity trajectories and their experiences of recognition or exclusion in their social environments, as well as to identify protective factors embedded in educational and social practices that may help prevent radicalization processes. The study was conducted within a broader intervention framework aimed at preventing processes of radicalization among young people in northern Morocco.

Youth radicalization has increasingly been addressed through security-centred and risk-based approaches that prioritise surveillance, early detection and individual profiling. While these frameworks have contributed to identifying certain patterns associated with violent extremism, they often overlook the deeper social, cultural and historical processes that shape young people's identity trajectories (UNESCO, 2017). As a consequence, radicalization is frequently framed as an individual deviation or ideological anomaly, detached from the broader dynamics of recognition, belonging and social inequality that structure young people's everyday experiences (Roy, 2017).

In recent years, a growing body of research has argued for the need to move beyond securitised perspectives and to analyse radicalization as a socially situated process embedded in specific socio-historical contexts (Githens-Mazer & Lambert, 2010; Kundnani, 2012; Neumann, 2013). From this perspective, radicalization cannot be understood solely in relation to ideological exposure (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008; Wiktorowicz, 2004) but must be examined in connection with the social conditions under which young people construct meaning, negotiate belonging and access socially recognised identity positions (Jensen & Larsen, 2021; Lygren & Bjørge, 2023; Sageman, 2008).

Drawing on psycho-historical-cultural perspectives, identity is understood as a dynamic and relational process mediated through social interaction, cultural meanings and lived experience (Erikson, 1968; Vygotsky, 1978). Identity development does not occur in isolation but unfolds within ecological systems shaped by family relations, institutional encounters and wider socio-political structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Within these environments, struggles for recognition play a central role in shaping young people's sense of dignity, belonging and social participation (Honneth, 1995). When opportunities for recognition are constrained by processes of exclusion, stigma or marginalisation, identity trajectories may become fragmented and uncertain.

This article explores these dynamics through an analysis of youth voices in a socially marginalised neighbourhood in northern Morocco characterised by a historical background

of political violence and public narratives linking the area to processes of radicalization. In this context, multiple structural and symbolic factors intersect, including socio-economic marginalisation, territorial stigma, limited access to institutional recognition and restricted opportunities for social mobility. These conditions shape how young people perceive themselves, their communities and their possible futures.

Rather than approaching radicalization primarily through ideological frameworks, the study seeks to understand how identity construction unfolds within these social conditions and how experiences of stigma and exclusion influence young people's sense of belonging. Particular attention is given to the ways in which young people interpret their social environment, articulate experiences of injustice and seek recognition within different social spaces.

Importantly, the article presents and analyses the lived realities described by the young people themselves, whose narratives provide insight into everyday experiences shaping their perceptions of belonging, exclusion and recognition. By foregrounding these first-person perspectives, the study aims to illuminate the social conditions that may contribute to vulnerability, while also identifying protective dynamics capable of preventing pathways towards violent radicalization.

In line with critical approaches to globalization and multiculturalism, identity negotiations are situated within broader sociocultural transformations and tensions between local, national and global imaginaries (Appadurai, 1996; Canclini, 2001; Giddens, 1999). Within peripheral urban contexts, these dynamics are often accompanied by processes of territorial stigmatisation and symbolic exclusion that shape how young people's identities are perceived and valued in wider society.

The study adopts a participatory methodological approach that foregrounds the voices and experiences of young people, educators and community actors involved in socio-educational initiatives in the neighbourhood. Through the analysis of their narratives and perceptions, the research seeks to identify both the sociocultural factors that contribute to vulnerability and the protective factors emerging within educational and community practices.

The findings of this research have also informed the development of community-based prevention initiatives in the region. Drawing on insights generated through the study, the first author has contributed to the design and formulation of projects aimed at preventing radicalization through a holistic and heuristic approach integrating socio-educational, cultural and community dimensions. These initiatives have successfully obtained international

funding and have supported the implementation of intervention programmes focused on youth participation, social inclusion and community resilience.

This article contributes to the literature on youth radicalization in three main ways. First, it advances an analytical perspective that conceptualises radicalization as a socially situated identity process shaped by struggles for recognition, belonging and experiences of stigma that influence how young people perceive themselves and are perceived within their social environments. Second, it provides empirical insights from a marginalised urban context in northern Morocco, a setting that remains underrepresented in international research on radicalization. Third, it illustrates how qualitative research grounded in participatory methodologies can inform the design of socio-educational and community-based prevention strategies. By connecting theoretical reflection, empirical analysis and practice-based knowledge, the article seeks to contribute to more nuanced and socially grounded approaches to understanding and preventing youth radicalization in culturally diverse and marginalised contexts, paying particular attention to how dynamics of stigma, exclusion and recognition shape young people's identity trajectories.

## **2. Context of the study.**

The research was conducted in a neighbourhood located in the northern area of Tétouan, a city in northern Morocco characterised by significant socio-spatial inequalities linked to uneven regional development processes. The area forms part of the urban and peri-urban periphery of the city and has historically been affected by socio-economic marginalisation, limited access to public infrastructure and persistent territorial stigma.

Northern Morocco has long experienced structural disparities compared to other regions of the country. According to national statistics, youth unemployment remains significantly higher than the national average, particularly in urban areas where rates exceed 30% among young people aged 15–24 (Haut-Commissariat au Plan [HCP], 2022). At the same time, a considerable proportion of Moroccan youth fall into the category commonly referred to as NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training). Recent estimates suggest that approximately one quarter of young people in the country are neither studying nor engaged in formal employment or training, reflecting persistent structural barriers to labour market integration and educational continuity (HCP, 2022; World Bank, 2018).

Educational indicators further reveal significant levels of early school dropout in socially disadvantaged urban contexts. Young people from low-income households and families with limited educational capital are disproportionately represented among those leaving the education system prematurely, reinforcing intergenerational cycles of social

exclusion (HCP, 2021). These inequalities are particularly visible in peripheral urban neighbourhoods where access to educational support programmes, extracurricular activities and youth-oriented initiatives remains limited.

Socio-economic challenges are compounded by the uneven spatial distribution of public services and infrastructure. Cultural centres, sports facilities and youth-oriented programmes tend to be concentrated in central urban areas, while peripheral neighbourhoods often face deficits in public infrastructure, limited access to recreational spaces and reduced opportunities for social participation. Such infrastructural disparities contribute to restricting young people's opportunities for civic engagement, community participation and cultural expression.

These structural conditions intersect with a complex cultural landscape shaped by local traditions, national identity narratives and transnational influences linked to migration, diaspora connections and digital media. Tétouan's historical position as a border city, together with its strong migratory ties with Europe, contributes to hybrid identity configurations in which young people navigate multiple and sometimes contradictory cultural reference frames (Appadurai, 1996; Boukhars, 2016). Migration has long been a central feature of northern Moroccan society, with many families maintaining transnational social and economic connections with European countries, particularly Spain and Belgium. These dynamics influence young people's aspirations, mobility imaginaries and perceptions of opportunity.

Within this broader context, some neighbourhoods in northern Morocco have appeared in public debates and security reports in connection with cases of radicalization and arrests linked to extremist networks. Since the early 2000s, Moroccan authorities have conducted several counterterrorism operations targeting radical groups operating in different regions of the country (Boukhars, 2016). Although such cases involve a very small minority of individuals, these events have contributed to the emergence of public narratives that associate certain territories with radicalization, reinforcing processes of territorial stigma.

The everyday experiences of many young people in these neighbourhoods are marked by social marginalisation, low levels of institutional trust and limited opportunities for upward social mobility. Sociological studies on Moroccan youth highlight widespread perceptions of exclusion from political, economic and decision-making processes, particularly among those residing in marginalised urban areas (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2016). While dominant national discourses emphasise stability, cohesion and religious moderation, many young people describe a gap between these

narratives and their lived realities, characterised by precariousness, limited recognition and weak institutional responsiveness.

These structural inequalities shape the everyday experiences through which young people construct their identities and interpret their place within society. Understanding the dynamics of marginalisation, stigma and limited access to opportunities becomes essential for analysing how identity trajectories are formed, how perceptions of belonging or exclusion emerge, and how these dynamics may contribute to conditions of vulnerability associated with processes of radicalization. At the same time, situating youth experiences within these broader socio-structural conditions also allows for the identification of protective factors embedded in socio-educational and community practices that foster recognition, participation and alternative pathways of belonging.

Importantly, the neighbourhood examined in this study should not be interpreted as an exceptional or pathological case, but rather as indicative of broader structural inequalities affecting marginalised urban and peri-urban territories in northern Morocco. Situating the analysis within this wider socio-historical and sociological framework allows for an interpretation of radicalization processes that foreground the structural and symbolic conditions shaping young people's identity trajectories. From an ecological perspective, these trajectories are influenced by the multiple and interconnected environments in which young people develop, including family, school, community and broader institutional contexts, as emphasised in Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Such an approach makes it possible to move beyond individualised or securitised explanations and instead understand radicalization as a process embedded within the broader social environments that shape young people's experiences, opportunities and perceptions of belonging.

### **3. Theoretical Framework: Psycho-historical-cultural perspectives on identity construction.**

From a psycho-historical-cultural perspective, identity is understood as a dynamic, socially mediated and historically situated process that emerges through participation in culturally organised activities and social relations. Drawing on the foundational work of Vygotsky, identity does not precede the social world but is formed through processes of mediation and internalisation of socially produced meanings, values and symbolic resources (Vygotsky, 1978). Language, cultural tools and shared practices play a central role in shaping how individuals understand themselves and their place within a given social context.

Subsequent developments within the historical-cultural tradition have further elaborated this approach by emphasising the role of lived experience (*perezhivanie*) in identity formation. Social conditions do not shape identity in a direct or mechanical way; rather, their impact is mediated by how individuals subjectively experience, interpret and emotionally integrate their social environment (Vygotsky, 1994). In contexts marked by exclusion, marginalisation or symbolic violence, these lived experiences often become central to the construction of meanings about the self, others and society, particularly during adolescence and youth, when identity positions are actively negotiated.

Contemporary cultural and psychological research has expanded these foundations by conceptualising identity as inherently relational and dialogical. From the perspective of the Dialogical Self Theory, the self is understood as a dynamic multiplicity of “I-positions” that emerge through dialogue between internal voices and external social positions (Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans, 2001). Identity, in this sense, is not a unified or stable entity but an ongoing negotiation between multiple, and sometimes conflicting, positions shaped by social recognition, power relations and cultural narratives. Questions such as “who I am”, “who I can become” and “how I am seen by others” are therefore inseparable and deeply embedded in social interaction.

In culturally diverse societies characterised by structural inequality, access to socially valued identity positions is uneven. Research shows that when young people are repeatedly confronted with deficit-based representations, stigmatised territorial identities or institutional mistrust, dialogical processes within the self may become constrained, polarised or conflictual (Hermans & Gieser, 2012; Honneth, 1995). Rather than offering a broad repertoire of possible futures, the social environment limits the range of legitimate or recognised identity trajectories, increasing vulnerability to rigid or exclusionary forms of self-definition.

From this perspective, radicalization should not be conceptualised as an individual deviation from normative developmental pathways, but as a situated response to constrained identity possibilities. Classical notions of deviation tend to pathologise individuals by framing radicalisation as abnormal behaviour or ideological extremism detached from social context (Becker, 1963). In contrast, cultural and dialogical approaches emphasise how processes of social labelling, exclusion and lack of recognition contribute to the emergence of oppositional or radical identity positions, particularly among youth exposed to persistent stigma or blocked mobility (Bourdieu, 1999; Hammack, 2010; Honneth, 1995).

Emerging research has begun to apply these perspectives to the study of radicalization and violent extremism, highlighting the role of identity threat, recognition struggles and meaning-making processes rather than ideological indoctrination alone (Aiello et al., 2018; Benslama, 2016; Boukhars, 2016; Moghaddam, 2005; Olés, 2020). Studies focusing on youth radicalization in marginalised contexts underline how radical narratives may offer symbolic resources for restoring dignity, agency and coherence to fragmented identity experiences, especially where institutional and socio-educational alternatives are weak or inaccessible.

From a psycho-historical-cultural and dialogical standpoint, identity remains open to transformation. Educational, cultural and community practices function as mediational spaces that can expand the symbolic and dialogical resources available to young people, enabling alternative identity positions grounded in participation, dialogue and collective recognition. Socio-educational interventions that foster critical reflection, intercultural dialogue and meaningful social participation thus play a key role in preventing radicalization by widening identity horizons rather than by correcting supposed individual deviations. This theoretical framework provides a robust foundation for understanding radicalization as a socially situated identity process and for developing preventive strategies rooted in social inclusion and cultural sustainability.

#### **4. Methodology.**

The study, adopts a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach, consistent with a psycho-historical-cultural understanding of identity as socially mediated, relational and historically situated. PAR was chosen not only as a methodological strategy, but as an epistemological and ethical stance that challenges extractive research practices by actively involving participants as co-producers of knowledge (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005; Reason & Bradbury, 2008). Field work was conducted during 2018.

In line with this tradition, the research was embedded in the ongoing socio-educational work of a non-governmental organisation operating in marginalised urban contexts in northern Morocco. This institutional anchoring is a central feature of the study, as it situates the research within a framework of action-oriented knowledge production, where analysis, reflection and intervention are closely interconnected. The aim was not limited to diagnosing radicalization-related dynamics, but also to inform and strengthen socio-educational practices aimed at fostering youth participation, recognition and social inclusion.

#### **4.1. Context and objectives of the project.**

This study took place within the framework of a doctoral research project in which that local NGO served as the primary field access partner. The project combined preventive and educational objectives, including the creation of safe spaces for dialogue with young people, capacity-building for families and professionals, and the promotion of participatory initiatives addressing stigma, exclusion and identity-related tensions. The researcher occupied a dual role throughout this process, serving simultaneously as project manager NGO and as doctoral researcher. This insider positioning afforded privileged access to the field, grounded in sustained prior professional engagement with the organisation and in established relationships of trust with community members.

Within this broader intervention context, the research pursued three interrelated objectives:

1. To analyse perceptions of the sociocultural factors that contribute to conditions of vulnerability that may lead to processes of radicalization.
2. To explore young people's identity trajectories and their experiences of recognition and exclusion within their social environment.
3. To identify and analyse perceived protective factors within educational and social practices aimed at preventing processes of radicalization.

#### **4.2. Participants and sample composition.**

The study involved a purposive and heterogeneous sample reflecting the diversity of actors engaged in youth socialisation processes and community-based prevention initiatives within the neighbourhood under study.

Participants included three main groups. First, the core group consisted of young people aged between 16 and 30 years old residing in the neighbourhood and participating in socio-educational activities organised by local community programmes. 32 young participants were involved in initiatives aimed at promoting youth participation, social inclusion and prevention of social exclusion.

Second, the sample included 13 social actors working directly with young people in the community, such as youth educators, community mediators, social workers and representatives of local civil society organisations involved in youth and community development programmes.

Third, the study incorporated perspectives from 32 members of the educational community of a secondary education centre located in the neighbourhood, including

educators and staff members who interact regularly with young people in educational contexts.

Young participants were selected through the NGO's community programmes using purposive sampling, with attention to diversity in terms of gender, educational trajectories and levels of social vulnerability. Adult participants were recruited based on their professional or relational involvement with young people in the neighbourhood and their experience in socio-educational or community-based initiatives.

This combination of participants allowed the research to integrate first-person narratives from young people with the perspectives of professionals and educational actors who engage with them in everyday institutional and community settings.

### **4.3. Data collection techniques.**

Data collection combined multiple qualitative and participatory techniques, implemented over an extended period of fieldwork within educational and community settings. The techniques were the following:

***Semi-structured interviews.*** A total of 18 in-depth interviews were conducted with professionals, social agents and community leaders. Interview scripts were organised around seven thematic axes: (1) life trajectories and biographical turning points; (2) experiences of exclusion and social recognition; (3) perceptions of religiosity and spiritual identity; (4) community ties and neighbourhood belonging; (5) relations with institutions and public services; (6) knowledge and direct experience of the radicalisation phenomenon; and (7) prevention strategies considered most effective by practitioners. Each interview lasted between 60 and 90 minutes.

***Focus groups.*** Four focus groups were conducted with distinct collectives: young people from the neighbourhood (n = 8), mothers (n = 8), educators and school staff (n = 8) and community and religious leaders (n = 8), for a combined total of 32 participants. Each group was facilitated by the researcher following a thematic script of approximately 10 open questions covering perceptions of radicalisation, experiences of territorial stigma, identity and belonging, institutional trust and community protective resources. Sessions lasted between 90 and 120 minutes and were recorded through audio recording and systematic field notes.

***Participatory workshops in the neighbourhood.*** Differentiated workshop sessions were organised for young people (n = 22) and for families, primarily mothers (n = 10), in the neighbourhood under study. Sessions lasted approximately two hours and were facilitated by the researcher in collaboration with NGO educators. Workshops with young

people combined techniques drawn from popular education, artistic expression (social theatre, community murals, audiovisual creation) and collective analysis of situations linked to exclusion, stigma and hate speech. These spaces provided valuable qualitative data on participants' perceptions and experiences, while also fostering recognition, participation, and empowerment.

***Workshops in schools.*** Specific workshops were developed in secondary schools and vocational training centres located in the neighbourhood under study, engaging three groups of actors (n = 13 in total): teaching staff, students and school management teams. Sessions with teachers, lasting approximately 90 minutes, focused on their perceptions of radicalisation, knowledge of warning signs and capacity to address these issues in the classroom from a critical, non-stigmatising pedagogical perspective; they also addressed the stereotypes and unconscious biases that practitioners may reproduce in their daily work.

***Interviews with local associations.*** Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of four local associations operating across the fields of youth work, culture, sport, community mediation and interreligious dialogue, as well as with social professionals specialised in the prevention of violent extremism. Scripts covered the intervention strategies considered most effective, the institutional and community barriers encountered in practice, the resources available and the most significant gaps in the local prevention ecosystem, and the changes observed in the radicalisation phenomenon over each practitioner's years of experience.

***Participant observation and field diary.*** Systematic observations were conducted across a range of everyday settings in the neighbourhood: educational spaces, community and civil society associations, religious spaces and leisure environments. Participant observation allowed access to dimensions of the phenomenon that do not always surface in verbal narratives, everyday practices, informal interactions, uses of space and sociability rituals that configure the relational fabric of the communities studied.

#### **4.4. Data analysis.**

Data were analysed using a thematic qualitative analysis with an inductive orientation, informed by principles of Grounded Theory without adhering strictly to a full grounded theory design (Charmaz, 2006). This analytical approach allowed categories to emerge progressively from participants' narratives through iterative cycles of coding, comparison and interpretation.

The analysis followed several stages. First, the researchers engaged in a process of familiarisation with the data, involving repeated readings of interview transcripts, workshop

records and field notes to gain an overall understanding of participants' narratives and experiences. Second, an open coding process was conducted to identify recurring meanings, expressions and narrative patterns related to participants' experiences of belonging, exclusion, recognition and participation. Third, the initial codes were grouped into broader thematic clusters through constant comparison between different data sources. This process led to the identification of recurring themes related to identity construction, cultural stigmatisation and socio-educational mediation. Finally, an interpretative phase connected the emerging themes with the psycho-historical-cultural and dialogical theoretical framework guiding the study. This step enabled the empirical material to be analysed in relation to broader debates on identity construction, recognition processes and youth vulnerability in marginalised contexts.

Although no qualitative analysis software was used, data management and coding were conducted systematically using analytical matrices, coding tables, memos and reflexive notes. These tools facilitated transparency in the analytical process and enabled the organisation of emerging categories across the different data sources.

Attention was paid to reflexivity, acknowledging the researcher's positionality and the influence of the NGO context on knowledge production. Reflexive notes were used throughout the analysis to critically examine how the researcher's involvement in community-based initiatives might shape interpretation of the data.

#### **4.5. System of analytical categories.**

To interpret the qualitative material, the study employed a system of analytical categories derived inductively from the data through iterative coding and constant comparison between interviews, participatory workshops and field observations. Rather than being predefined, the categories progressively emerged from participants' narratives and were refined during the analytical process, based on the logic developed in grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

The categorisation process was guided both by thematic analysis principles and by the theoretical framework of the study, particularly psycho-historical-cultural perspectives on identity construction, recognition and social mediation.

Through this process, three main analytical categories were identified:

1. Cultural stigmatisation and social exclusion, referring to participants' perceptions of social suspicion, territorial stigma and cultural or religious categorisation associated with their neighbourhood or background.

2. Identity construction and belonging, capturing the ways in which young people negotiate their sense of identity and belonging in contexts marked by uncertainty, struggles for recognition and fragmented identity trajectories.

3. Protective socio-educational practices, referring to the role of youth centres, participatory workshops and community initiatives as spaces where recognition, dialogue and participation can emerge.

These categories were used as analytical lenses to organise and interpret the data while remaining grounded in the participants' own narratives. Table 1 shows the analytical categories, subcategories and analytical focus emerged in the category system employed.

**Table 1.**

*Analytical categories and subcategories*

Analytical category	Subcategories	Analytical focus
Cultural stigmatisation	Territorial stigma	Social exclusion
Identity construction	Fragmentation	Belonging
Protective practices	Participation	Prevention

Source: Own elaboration

#### **4.6. Ethical considerations.**

Ethical considerations guided all stages of the research process, from the design of the study to data collection, analysis and dissemination of the findings. Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to their involvement in interviews, participatory workshops and other research activities. Participants were informed about the objectives of the study, the voluntary nature of their participation and their right to withdraw at any moment without consequences.

Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured throughout the research process. All personal identifiers were removed from transcripts and field notes, and pseudonyms were used when referring to participants in the presentation of the results. Particular care was taken to avoid the inclusion of information that could indirectly identify individuals or specific locations within the neighbourhood.

Special attention was given to the ethical implications of conducting research with young people in contexts characterised by social vulnerability and experiences of stigma or exclusion. The research did not seek to classify participants according to ideological or religious categories, nor to label individuals in relation to radicalization processes. Instead, the study focused on understanding participants lived experiences and narratives within their social context.

In line with the principles of Participatory Action Research (PAR), reflexivity regarding power relations between researchers, participants and institutions formed an integral part of the research process. Reflexive practices were used to critically examine how the researcher's positionality and institutional involvement within the community-based project might influence both the research process and the interpretation of the data.

Finally, the analytical categories used in the study were treated as interpretative tools rather than fixed ethnological classifications, to avoid reproducing essentialising or stigmatising representations of individuals or communities.

## 5. Results.

The qualitative analysis generated three analytical categories that respond directly to the research objectives. The analysis integrated multiple participant perspectives, young people, educators, social workers, community mediators, mothers and civil society representatives, following a triangulation strategy designed to identify convergences and divergences across different positional standpoints.

The aim of the analysis was to identify how young people interpret their social environment, how these interpretations shape identity trajectories, and how socio-educational practices may function as mediational spaces capable of supporting recognition, participation and social inclusion.

The following sections present the findings according to these three analytical dimensions.

### 5.1. Cultural stigmatization and social exclusion.

This analytical dimension examines the mechanisms through which young people experience social marking, labelling and exclusion based on territorial origin, cultural background or perceived religious affiliation.

Participants' narratives suggest that stigma operates not only through direct discrimination but also as a symbolic process that shapes expectations, moral judgements and perceptions of belonging. Crucially, this perception was not limited to young people themselves but was consistently confirmed across all participant groups, educators, social workers, community mediators and family members, lending the finding particular analytical weight.

***Territorial stigma as moral suspicion.*** Living in a peripheral neighbourhood was repeatedly described as a source of pre-emptive suspicion. Territorial origin often functioned as a social marker that influenced how young people were perceived in everyday interactions.

As one young participant representing a sports association explained: "When they know where you come from, everything changes. You don't have to say anything. The

neighbourhood already speaks for you" (Civil society organisation representative, personal communication, 2018).

As we see in the previous excerpt, young people recognise that their social interactions are conditioned by the stigmatising perception of the territory in which they live, depriving them of their own agency and marking their definition as associated with extremism in the eyes of any interlocutor in any context. Participants reported that identifying themselves with a stigmatized neighbourhood could trigger automatic associations with violence, criminality or extremism.

This silencing dynamic was confirmed by educators, who acknowledged the absence of legitimate spaces for dialogue on these experiences within formal educational settings: "We don't have the tools to address these topics in the classroom. We have never been trained for this. And the result is that young people seek answers elsewhere" (Educational professional, personal communication, 2018).

From a professional standpoint, social workers and prevention specialists added an institutional layer to this analysis, describing how the neighbourhood's historical association with political violence had produced a lasting stigmatising effect extending well beyond those directly involved: "These young people carry a mark they did not choose. They are suspected before they have done anything. That creates bitterness, and bitterness is a much more fertile ground for radicalisation than ideology" (Social worker, personal communication, 2018).

The convergence of these three voices, young civic representative, educators and prevention professionals, around the same dynamic of pre-emptive suspicion constitutes one of the most robustly triangulated findings of the study. Stigma did not operate as a background condition but as an active, daily mechanism of exclusion that shaped young people's self-perception, their relationship with institutions and their sense of future possibility.

***Cultural and religious categorization.*** In addition to territorial stigma, some participants described experiences of being categorised or suspected based on perceived cultural or religious identity. A community mediator noted: "Many of these young people are not religious at all, but they are treated as if they were a problem just because of how they look or where they live" (Community mediator, personal communication, 2018).

As the informant points out, young people are assumed to hold orthodox religious beliefs simply because they live in a particular area, regardless of their everyday reality and their genuine emotional or spiritual commitments, which, in most cases, are not linked to religious observance. Young people themselves articulated this experience with notable precision:

You don't even have to do anything. As soon as you say where you are from, everything changes. The name of the neighbourhood arrives before you do, and it says things about you that you have never said about yourself (Youth participant, personal communication, 2018).

Mothers in family workshops noted that stigmatisation impacted both their children and the entire family. Several recounted experiences of indirect discrimination in accessing services, employment or housing, reinforcing the perception that the entire community was subject to a form of collective moral suspicion: "It is not just our children. When you say where you live, doors close for everyone (...). We have learned to hide it, but you cannot hide it forever" (Mother, personal communication, 2018)

These experiences contributed to a broader perception of structural injustice in which social recognition appeared unevenly distributed. As one young participant stated in a focus group: "This neighbourhood has more good things than bad, but nobody talks about them. It only appears in the news when something bad happens" (Youth participant, personal communication, 2018).

## **5.2. Identity construction and belonging.**

This dimension captures the ways in which young people construct, negotiate and question their sense of self and belonging in relation to their social environment. Participants' narratives reveal identity construction as a dynamic and often unstable process shaped by tensions between multiple identity references and limited access to socially recognised positions.

***Fragmented identity trajectories and uncertainty.*** A recurring theme in participants' narratives was a prolonged sense of identity uncertainty. Many young people described difficulties in articulating a coherent sense of belonging, particularly in relation to institutional spaces such as school or the labour market. As one young participant expressed: "I don't know very well who I am supposed to be. At home I am one thing, at school another, and out there in the street something else again. And none of those versions is completely mine" (Youth participant, personal communication, 2018).

Identity was often experienced as fragmented, oscillating between local attachments, national narratives and global imaginaries circulating through digital media.

The most analytically significant formulation of this dynamic came directly from the young participants themselves in a focus group discussion, where they collectively defined radicalisation as 'a reaction to an action that harms them.' This formulation displaces the phenomenon from the field of ideology to the field of social response and represents one of the most original contributions of the study to the theoretical framework. One young participant elaborated:

We are not born radical. What happens is that at some point you get tired of not being heard, of being pointed at, and the label never leaves you. And then someone listens to you, and tells you that you are right, and that is where it all begins (Youth participant, personal communication, 2018).

Educators and school counsellors confirmed this dynamic from their own professional standpoint, acknowledging the role that institutional failure played in generating these conditions: "Many of them arrive at secondary school already feeling that the system is not for them. By the time they drop out, they have been telling us for years that they don't belong here. We just weren't listening" (Educational professional, personal communication, 2018).

Prevention professionals added a structural dimension to this analysis, emphasising how the convergence of socioeconomic precarity, institutional abandonment and symbolic stigmatisation produced conditions in which the search for identity and recognition could be redirected toward radical alternatives:

When a young person has no job prospects, feels discriminated against at school, sees no future, and then an extremist group offers them brotherhood, a sense of purpose and the certainty of being right, that is not an ideological seduction. It is a response to a void that we collectively created (Prevention professional, personal communication, 2018).

In response to the strong negative labelling described in the "territorial stigma" category, some young participants reported distancing themselves from territorial identity as a strategy to avoid suspicion or social labelling. In their narratives, publicly identifying with the neighbourhood was perceived as exposing oneself to automatic associations with violence, extremism or deviance. As one participant explained during a workshop discussion, "when people hear the name of the neighbourhood, they already think they know who you are." In this context, several young people described deliberately avoiding mentioning where they live in educational or social environments. This distance should not be interpreted as a rejection of the neighbourhood itself, but rather as a protective strategy developed in response to the symbolic stigma attached to the territory. By minimising visible markers of territorial belonging, participants attempt to navigate social interactions in ways that reduce the risk of being categorised through negative stereotypes. Some testimonies suggested that experiences of exclusion and lack of recognition contributed to feelings of uncertainty regarding future possibilities.

***Recognition and reconfigured belonging.*** Participants also described searching for recognition in social spaces where their experiences were acknowledged and validated. Some young people reported finding greater emotional resonance within peer groups or informal networks that openly discuss experiences of injustice.

As one participant explained: "They listen without minimising. They say things as they are" (Youth workshop, personal communication, 2018).

In the words of the young participant, the peer group provides a relational environment based on building bonds and listening, escaping the 'deficit' or stigma perspective they are accustomed to facing. Within these networks, belonging was constructed less around territory or institutions and more around shared experiences and interpretations of social reality.

Mothers described a parallel dynamic within family contexts. Those who had maintained open communication with their children described how this communicative openness had served as a powerful protective factor: "We have learned to speak with our children about what happened. It is not easy, but if we don't do it, they will find it on the internet and misunderstand it" (Mother, personal communication, 2018).

### **5.3. Protective socio-educational practices and mediational spaces.**

The third analytical dimension focuses on the role of socio-educational and community spaces as contexts where recognition, dialogue and participation can emerge. This dimension was the most consistently and unanimously affirmed across all participant groups: young people, families, educators and professionals converged in identifying sustained socio-educational engagement as the most effective protective factor identified in the study.

Participants frequently described youth centres, workshops and community initiatives as environments where they felt listened to and respected.

***Spaces of voices and recognition.*** Participatory workshops organised by the NGO were perceived as spaces where young people could articulate experiences that were often silenced in other contexts.

As one participant noted: "Here, at least, we can talk without being judged. No one tells you what you should be" (Youth workshop, communication personal, 2018).

As illustrated in the statement, young people feel that their voices can be heard within the framework of community activity, without interference from external labels that imprison their individual agency. Such spaces allowed participants to reflect collectively on identity, belonging and future possibilities.

Educators who participated in school-based workshops confirmed the scarcity of such spaces within formal educational settings and expressed the need for structured support to create them: "What these young people need is not more surveillance. They need to be

taken seriously. They need a teacher who asks how they are doing and actually wants to know the answer" (Community association representative, personal communication, 2018).

Community professionals and association representatives emphasised the specific protective function of spaces that combined participatory methodology with community rootedness: "The programmes that work are those that stay. The ones that come in for a month and leave don't change anything. What protects young people is being known, being part of something that has continuity" (Community association representative, personal communication, 2018).

This triangulation between the voices of young people, educators and community professionals reveals a coherent and mutually reinforcing understanding of what constitutes effective protection: not surveillance, not short-term intervention, but sustained relational presence and genuine recognition.

***Community participation and prevention.*** Community-based initiatives also played an important role in supporting youth participation and fostering a sense of belonging.

Participants emphasised that sustained socio-educational engagement helped them imagine alternative trajectories and strengthened their connection with community life. In several narratives, youth centres and community-based activities were described as environments where young people could explore possibilities beyond the limitations often associated with their neighbourhood context. For example, one young participant explained during a workshop that participating regularly in community activities: "Makes you realise that you can do other things, that your future doesn't have to be the same as everyone expects" (Youth, personal communication, 2018).

Another young person described how involvement in youth initiatives helped them feel part of a collective project within the neighbourhood rather than isolated from it. These experiences suggest that socio-educational initiatives can function as mediational spaces where young people are encouraged to reflect on their aspirations and imagine alternative pathways of participation and social engagement.

#### **5.4. Integrative interpretation.**

Taken together and viewed through the lens of triangulated voices, the findings indicate that identity construction, stigmatisation and socio-educational mediation are deeply interconnected processes. Experiences of stigma and exclusion can constrain identity horizons, while participatory socio-educational practices may open spaces for recognition, dialogue and collective reflection. For example, one young participant explained that he often avoided mentioning the neighbourhood where he lived because doing so would immediately

trigger assumptions about violence or deviance. However, he also noted that participation in youth workshops organised within the community allowed him to speak openly about these experiences and feel listened to in ways that were rarely possible in other institutional settings. Such accounts illustrate how different social environments can produce contrasting experiences of labelling and recognition. From this perspective, vulnerability emerges not as an individual attribute but as a socially situated condition shaped by the interaction between structural inequalities, symbolic boundaries and everyday experiences of recognition or exclusion. In one of our participants' words:

What these programmes do is open a door that many of these young people did not know existed. It is not about keeping them busy. It is about making them feel that they are part of something, that they have a place here, and that their future can be different from what the neighbourhood seems to offer them (member of civil society organisation, personal communication, 2018).

## **6. Discussion.**

The study developed adopts a psycho-historical-cultural and dialogical perspective that understands identity as a relational process shaped by lived experience, social mediation and institutional encounters. From this perspective, identity development does not occur in isolation but emerges through interactions with family environments, educational institutions, peer networks and wider social structures. The narratives collected in this study illustrate how young people in our sample interpret their social environment and negotiate belonging within contexts marked by stigma, inequality and limited opportunities for recognition.

To maintain analytical coherence, the discussion follows the three research objectives and connects them directly with the analytical categories identified in the results section.

### **6.1. Sociocultural factors shaping conditions of vulnerability.**

The first objective of the study was to analyse perceptions of the sociocultural factors that contribute to conditions of vulnerability within marginalised urban contexts.

As highlighted in the findings presented above, participants described how neighbourhood origin and perceived cultural identity frequently operate as social markers that shape both how they are perceived by others and how they interpret their own position within society. These dynamics resonate with theories of recognition, which emphasise the role of social validation in identity formation (Honneth, 1995). When recognition is limited, conditional or mediated through stigma, individuals may experience uncertainty regarding their social position and prospects.

From this perspective, vulnerability should not be interpreted as an individual attribute but as a socially produced condition emerging from the interaction between structural inequalities and symbolic boundaries (Wacquant, 2008; Schweiger, 2024). Participants' narratives illustrate how experiences of territorial stigma and social labelling contribute to shaping interpretative frameworks through which young people understand injustice, belonging and opportunity (Bourdieu, 1999; Link & Phelan, 2001; Wacquant, 2007). In contexts where neighbourhood identity is associated with negative stereotypes, young people may internalise these perceptions (Verkuyten, 2018) or develop defensive strategies to negotiate their social position (Goffman, 1963; Junnilainen, 2024). These adaptive responses have been documented in comparable marginalised urban contexts across different national settings (Bronsard, Cherney & Vermeulen, 2022), suggesting that the mechanisms identified in the present study reflect broader structural processes of symbolic exclusion rather than culturally specific phenomena.

These findings align with sociological studies highlighting the effects of territorial stigma in marginalised urban areas, where place-based identities can become socially devalued and influence access to opportunities, institutional recognition and social mobility (Wacquant, Slater & Pereira, 2014; Lancione, 2019). When young people repeatedly encounter stigma in educational, institutional or public spaces, their sense of belonging may become fragile or contested a dynamic that Honneth (1995) conceptualises as a form of social injury capable of generating both withdrawal and active resistance, depending on the relational resources available to the individual. Studies conducted in Moroccan and broader Maghrebi contexts (Boukhars, 2016; Masbah, 2014; El Houssaini, 2021) confirm that the intersection of territorial stigma with limited institutional recognition constitutes one of the most consistent predictors of youth disengagement and social vulnerability in peripheral urban settings.

Understanding these sociocultural dynamics is therefore essential for analysing the social conditions that may contribute to vulnerability in contexts where inequality, stigma and limited opportunities intersect. From a socio-educational perspective, this suggests the need to develop interventions that address not only individual attitudes but also the relational and structural conditions that shape young people's experiences.

Possible lines of socio-educational intervention emerging from the study include initiatives aimed at challenging deficit-based narratives associated with marginalised neighbourhoods, strengthening positive community identities and creating spaces where young people can critically reflect on experiences of stigma and social labelling. Such

approaches may contribute to transforming symbolic boundaries and fostering more inclusive representations of youth identities an objective that aligns with UNESCO's (2017) emphasis on long-term community-based initiatives as the most effective framework for preventing radicalisation through inclusive socio-educational practices, and with the whole-school approach proposed by Gereluk (2023), which argues that belonging and connection must function as structural commitments of educational institutions rather than as supplementary programmes.

## **6.2. Identity trajectories and experiences of recognition.**

The second objective of the study was to explore young people's identity trajectories and their experiences of recognition and exclusion.

As shown in the results section, narratives reveal identity construction as a dynamic and often fragmented process influenced by tensions between multiple references. Young people navigate between local belonging, national narratives and global imaginaries circulating through migration networks and digital media. These different reference frames interact in complex ways, producing identity negotiations that are neither linear nor stable.

Dialogical approaches to identity help explain these dynamics by conceptualising the self as a space where multiple identity positions interact and negotiate meaning (Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Gieser, 2012). From this perspective, identity tensions should not be interpreted as individual instability but as expressions of broader relational processes embedded in social contexts marked by diversity, inequality and cultural change.

Recognition emerges as a central element in these trajectories. Participants repeatedly emphasised the importance of being listened to, understood and acknowledged. Experiences of recognition, whether in educational settings, peer groups or community initiatives, were often described as moments that strengthened self-confidence and facilitated the construction of more coherent identity narratives (Hammack, 2010; Aiello et al., 2018; Olés, 2020).

Conversely, experiences of exclusion or lack of recognition can generate feelings of frustration, injustice or social disconnection. In such contexts, young people may seek alternative spaces where their experiences and interpretations of social reality are validated. These dynamics highlight the importance of relational environments in shaping identity development.

From a socio-educational perspective, these findings suggest the importance of creating spaces where identity dialogue can take place in constructive and inclusive ways.

Educational and community programmes can play a key role in facilitating conversations about identity, belonging and cultural diversity, helping young people to explore multiple identity positions without fear of judgement or exclusion.

Intervention strategies may therefore include participatory workshops on identity and belonging, intercultural dialogue programmes and youth-led initiatives that encourage reflection on personal and collective experiences. By promoting dialogue and mutual recognition, such initiatives can support young people in developing more resilient and plural identity narratives (Macías-Gómez-Estern & Lalueza, 2024).

### **6.3. Socio-educational mediation as a protective context.**

The third objective of the study was to identify perceived protective factors within socio-educational and community practices.

The findings presented indicate that youth centres, community initiatives and participatory workshops can function as mediational spaces where recognition, dialogue and participation become possible. Participants frequently described these environments as contexts where they felt listened to, respected and able to express their perspectives without fear of stigma.

From a cultural-historical perspective, such spaces support identity development through social interaction and shared meaning-making (Vygotsky, 1978). Within these environments, young people are able to articulate experiences of exclusion and reinterpret them collectively, transforming individual experiences into shared reflections about social realities. These community-based environments may operate as contexts of sociocultural mediation that support identity development through interaction, dialogue and shared meaning-making (Vygotsky, 1978). At the same time, these spaces can be understood as part of the ecological contexts shaping youth development, influencing how young people interpret opportunities, relationships and future possibilities within their broader social environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

These findings reinforce the importance of socio-educational mediation as a protective context capable of strengthening resilience and social participation. When young people are able to participate actively in community initiatives, develop meaningful relationships with educators and engage in collective activities, they may experience greater recognition and a stronger sense of belonging (Hammack et al., 2010; Aiello et al., 2018; Olés, 2020).

The findings therefore suggest that prevention should not be understood solely as a short-term response to perceived risks. Instead, preventive processes emerge through

sustained socio-educational engagement that strengthens participation, recognition and community belonging over time.

Based on the experience developed in the study context, several lines of socio-educational intervention can be identified. These include the creation of youth participation spaces where young people can contribute to the design of community initiatives, the promotion of intercultural dialogue programmes that foster mutual understanding across cultural backgrounds, and the development of community-based projects that strengthen connections between young people, families and local institutions.

Additionally, strengthening collaboration between schools, community organisations and social services may help create more coherent support networks for young people living in marginalised contexts. Such collaborative approaches can contribute to expanding opportunities for participation and recognition while addressing structural barriers that limit social inclusion (Macías-Gómez-Estern & Lalueza, 2024).

This interpretation aligns with research highlighting the importance of long-term community-based initiatives in supporting youth development, strengthening social cohesion and preventing processes of radicalization through inclusive socio-educational practices (UNESCO, 2017).

## **7. Conclusions.**

This study contributes to ongoing debates on youth radicalization by emphasising the importance of analysing identity processes within their broader social and relational contexts. Rather than approaching radicalization primarily through ideological or security-based frameworks, the findings highlight how experiences of social stigma, exclusion and limited opportunities for recognition shape the ways in which young people interpret their social position and negotiate belonging.

By foregrounding the narratives of young people living in a marginalised urban context in northern Morocco, the study illustrates how identity trajectories are shaped by everyday encounters with institutions, community environments and symbolic boundaries associated with territorial stigma. These experiences influence how young people construct meanings of belonging, interpret perceptions of injustice and navigate their social environments.

The findings suggest that vulnerability to radicalization should be understood as a socially situated condition emerging from the interaction between structural inequalities, experiences of non-recognition and fragmented identity trajectories. At the same time, the study highlights the important role that socio-educational and community-based initiatives

can play as mediational environments where recognition, dialogue and participation become possible.

Youth centres, participatory workshops and community initiatives were identified as spaces where young people could express their experiences, engage in dialogue and construct alternative narratives of belonging. These environments contribute to strengthening social participation and expanding identity horizons by fostering recognition and collective reflection.

From a policy and practice perspective, the study suggests that prevention strategies should prioritise long-term socio-educational engagement rather than short-term risk-focused interventions. Strengthening inclusive community infrastructures, promoting youth participation and creating spaces for intercultural dialogue can contribute to fostering more resilient identity pathways and supporting social cohesion in culturally diverse contexts.

Future research may further explore how participatory socio-educational approaches influence identity development over time and how community-based initiatives can contribute to preventing radicalization while promoting inclusive and sustainable forms of social participation.

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