

A decorative grid of 30 icons arranged in 3 rows and 10 columns, featuring various symbols like line graphs, pie charts, and data points.

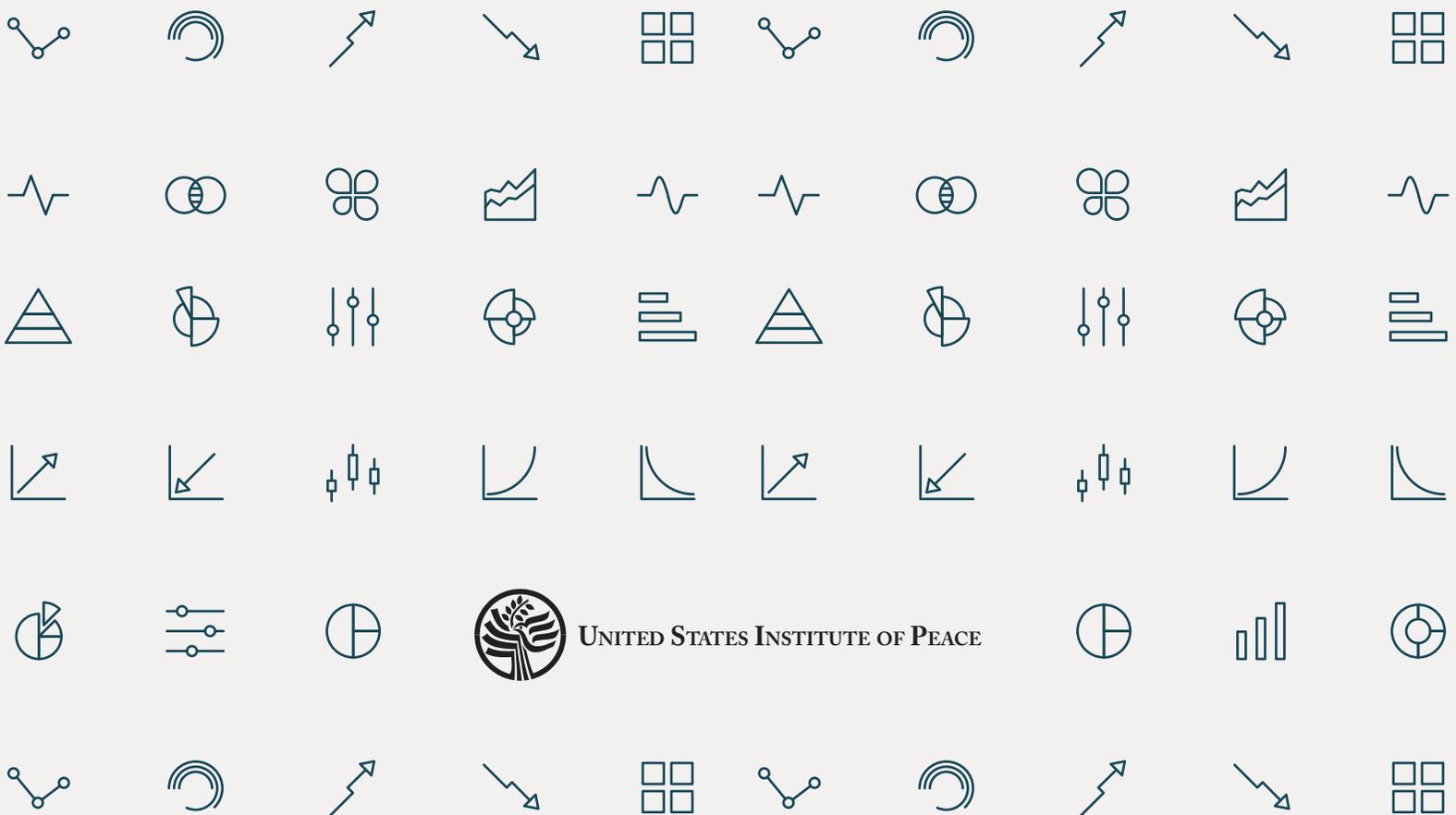
Taking Stock

Analytic Tools for Understanding and Designing P/CVE Programs

Georgia Holmer and Peter Bauman



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE





**UNITED STATES
INSTITUTE OF PEACE**
Making Peace Possible

United States Institute of Peace Press
2301 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20037
www.usip.org

To request permission to photocopy or reprint materials for course use, contact the Copyright Clearance Center at www.copyright.com. For print, electronic media, and other subsidiary rights, email permissions@usip.org.

The paper used in this report meets the minimum requirements of American National Standards for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

First published 2018.

© 2018 by the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace.
All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America.

ISBN: 1-60127-730-X
ISBN: 978-1-60127-730-5

P/CVE Resources from USIP

Taking Stock

Analytic Tools for Understanding and Designing
P/CVE Programs

Georgia Holmer and Peter Bauman

About This Report

This report examines the various analytic tools that have been developed to understand the causes and dynamics of radicalization and violent extremism. The report assesses the strengths and limitations of these tools in informing the design of P/CVE interventions. It considers micro- and macro-level frameworks and models, and the various contexts in which they may be relevant. A companion report, “Measuring Up: Monitoring and Evaluating P/CVE Programs,” examines tools for assessing the impact of such programs.



Contents



4	Key Findings
6	Introduction
7	Methodology and Structure of This Report
8	Micro-level (Individual) Tools
15	Macro-level (Group and Context) Tools
19	Assessing the Role of Social Dynamics
20	Conclusion
22	Bibliography
25	Notes
27	About the Authors Acknowledgments
28	About USIP USIP Board of Directors



Key Findings

- ▶ Understanding the value, limits, and relevance of different analytic frameworks and models used to assess trends, causes, and dynamics of radicalization and violent extremism (VE) is a critical exercise that extends beyond academic interest. The selection and application of appropriate analytic tools to a given context allows both for more nuanced understanding of the causes of VE and for the development of more effective strategies and programs to prevent it.
- ▶ Multiple and different conceptual frameworks and analytic models are used to understand VE and to design interventions and strategies that prevent or counter violent extremism. These tools can be sorted into two general categories, or levels, of analysis: micro-level tools that primarily focus on individuals and macro-level tools that focus on VE groups and contexts.
- ▶ Micro-level tools for assessing VE examine radicalization on the individual level and have evolved over the past fifteen years from linear to more dynamic models, reflecting an increased understanding of the complexity of radicalization processes.
- ▶ Micro-level models tend to emphasize the role of ideology in an individual's path to VE activity. Linear models, in particular, often assume radical ideology to be a precursor to an individual's engagement in violent activity. Yet, some research shows ideology to be a secondary or non-antecedent factor. Both linear and dynamic individual radicalization models are useful in identifying risk factors for and vulnerabilities to radicalization. However, these models cannot predict which specific individuals will become radicalized or carry out violent acts.



- ▶ On the macro level, analysis generally focuses on structural drivers and systemic root causes of violent extremism. Some macro-level analytic tools reflect multiple levels of analysis and see the causes of VE as encompassing individual and collective grievances, social dynamics, and structural issues. Such levels of analysis, however, do not always directly inform or prescribe options for interventions. Further, these tools often include so many variables that it is difficult to isolate the impact of relevant dynamics and factors, especially in fragile and fluid environments.
- ▶ The dynamics of radicalization and VE in conflict-prone and fragile environments are especially complex and analysis benefits from applied conflict assessment tools.
- ▶ Despite the significant influence of group dynamics, social relationships, and networks on radicalization, there are few analytic tools that assist policymakers and program designers in assessing, mapping, or evaluating the social ties and relationships that influence individuals and groups toward or away from VE activity and violent extremist organizations.

Introduction

The emergence and spread of violent extremism (VE) and the evolution of violent extremist organizations (VEOs) continue to pose a complex and global threat. Policy responses have changed considerably over the past decade and those concerned with preventing terrorism now include many actors outside of the security sector, such as development and peace-building organizations. This has led to a more nuanced understanding of the causes of VE and the application of significant new tools to address it, but it has also led to a proliferation of approaches, lexicons, and perspectives. An increasingly diverse community of policymakers, practitioners, and academics is striving to better understand what causes and drives VE and to develop effective ways of preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE), bringing their unique organizational mandates and perspectives to bear.

To advance efforts to prevent violent extremism, it is vital that practitioners and researchers have a broader sense of different approaches as well as access to relevant, rigorous, and updated analytic tools. This report provides an overview and analysis of common conceptual frameworks and models used for understanding VE and designing P/CVE programs and strategies, and explores their underlying assumptions, strengths, and limitations. The overarching aim of this report is to examine the different ways in which VE is analyzed and addressed and to suggest how, where, and why certain tools have specific contextual value.

This report was developed in conjunction with a report that surveys monitoring tools for P/CVE programs. These two studies, both published by the United States Institute of Peace,¹ are intended to help improve P/CVE program design and thus give P/CVE interventions greater and more enduring impact.





Methodology and Structure of This Report

This study followed an iterative process of research and analysis. The research component included an extensive review of published sources from academic literature, think tanks, government organizations, donors, foundations, contractors, and nongovernmental organizations, as well as consultations with experts. The research focused on definitions of terms related to terrorism, associated models and frameworks, and underpinning concepts and theories. In the analysis phase, models and frameworks (referred to as “analytic tools” in this report) were aggregated into two broad categories—micro-level and macro-level—creating a taxonomy that provides the structure for this study. Each category was assessed in terms of its underlying assumptions, its potential utility and implications for program design and implementation, and its general strengths and limitations. Also considered were the comparative value of different types and levels of analytic tools, areas of potential synergy, and potential gaps in the P/CVE toolkit.

This report captures the learning from this analytic exercise and looks first at micro-level tools, which primarily focus on individuals; then at macro-level tools, which focus on VE groups and contexts; and finally, at the importance of social dynamics in understanding and developing interventions. Each category is discussed in terms of

its limits, strengths, and the relevance of its application. The tools and research reviewed for this study are listed in the attached bibliography.

For researchers, a *framework*—often called a “conceptual framework” or a “theoretical framework”—is a collection of interrelated concepts used to structure and guide research and organize ideas. For those who design programs, frameworks are analytic tools used for the practical implementation of certain theories of change. A *theory of change* is an assumption that a certain activity or set of activities will produce certain outcomes. Frameworks are meant to be iterative; in this way, they have research value themselves. An *analytic model* is a representation of a theory developed through research; it is often static.

Although these distinctions may seem academic, they matter in practice. Conceptual frameworks, theories of change, and analytic models have all been used in the design of P/CVE programs, but they have sometimes been employed indiscriminately, with limited understanding of their application and relevance, which has impaired the effectiveness of P/CVE interventions. In addition, the concepts, theories, and research that inform the design of P/CVE programs continue to evolve, meaning that even a broadly effective tool for program design needs to be updated with new learning.



Micro-Level (Individual-Level) Programs

Many models are used to explain how and why an individual radicalizes. The models represent theories and learning about the processes by which an individual increasingly espouses or supports extremist ideas and/or engages in violent activity justified and inspired by extremist ideologies. Most of these are analytic models—not frameworks—informed by research on aspirational, active, or (most often) former violent extremists. They represent insights on motives and changes in attitudes and behaviors. Because these models capture generalized theories around individual dynamics of radicalization, there are limits to their practical application and their predictive value—even though this research has been used to develop behavioral indicators for radicalization. Much of the research on individual-level radicalization was developed in response to threats that revolved around “lone wolf” actors or small groups in Western countries. There is also more research on individual radicalization related to those who join or support Salafi jihadist groups rather than other types of VE, such as violent neo-Nazi groups.

In general, micro-level models can be categorized into two types:

- ▶ Those that are linear in nature, presenting a series of stages denoting a process of increasing radicalization leading to violence
- ▶ Those that represent a more dynamic, multidirectional understanding of the radicalization process

This distinction is in part generational. Over the past fifteen years, micro-level models have evolved from the linear to the dynamic, partly because of a growing understanding about the highly fluid and complex nature of an individual’s path to VE informed by psycho-social research and learning on VE more generally.

LINEAR MODELS OF RADICALIZATION

Early micro-level models describe radicalization as a series of steps through which an individual progresses toward increasingly radical beliefs and, finally, violent activity. Of the linear models reviewed for this report, all assume, to some degree, that radical beliefs or the adoption of an extremist ideology precedes violent action. In other words, linear models implicitly hold that an individual's adoption of violent behavior is an ideologically driven process.

Graphic depictions used to represent the stages of the radicalization process often take the form of flowcharts, steps, or pyramids to demonstrate a progression along a radicalization trajectory. Fathali M. Moghaddam's staircase model depicts radicalization as a process through which an individual advances up a series of steps leading to the apex, the point at which the individual is prepared to undertake acts of violence against others.² Tiered models like that of Moghaddam's delineate a clear path toward individual radicalization but do not necessarily allow for the skipping of stages in the process.

Although some models assume that radicalization naturally proceeds as an individual progresses through each stage, others incorporate the concept of a "trigger" event that leads to a final step of violent participation. Paul Gill's model of radicalization incorporates a catalyzing factor or trigger to explain the point at which an individual decides to join a VEO and thus advance to the next phase of VE.³ Quintan Wiktorowicz's four-process model identifies an individual's path to joining an Islamic

Linear micro-level models provide a straightforward, accessible conceptualization of radicalization ... they advance the idea that radicalization is a process.

extremist group and hypothesizes that the journey begins with a "cognitive opening" triggered by a personal crisis that unlocks an individual's receptivity to extremist ideologies.⁴

Linear micro-level models provide a straightforward, accessible conceptualization of radicalization and, significantly, they advance the idea that radicalization is a process. Understanding radicalization as a process suggests that there may be ways to interrupt and/or change an individual's trajectory toward VE. Such models opened the door to new levels of thinking about how to understand, anticipate, and prevent violent extremist activity. Linear models, however, have since been augmented by new research that underscores the very complex, individualized, and nonlinear nature of radicalization. Contemporary dynamic models incorporate a more multidimensional understanding of the factors that lead individuals to VE and continue to advance ideas about interventions.

DYNAMIC MODELS OF RADICALIZATION

Contemporary analysis of individual radicalization reflects a broad academic consensus that radicalization is a dynamic—not a linear—process. Dynamic models underscore the fact that there is no single distinct pathway to VE and that individuals may enter and exit a path for different reasons at different times.

Models developed over the last decade incorporate a more robust understanding of the psycho-social processes at play in radicalization and the interaction among multiple influencing factors. Research by Max Taylor and John Horgan, for example, has led to the incorporation of a variety of sociological, psychological, and political forces, direct experiences, and relationships in individual-level models. In their dynamic model, Taylor and Horgan show that radicalization can follow multiple and shifting routes or pathways and individuals can enter, follow, and exit VE activity at any time. The model depicts how the various influences on an individual affect changes in cognition and behavior, and maps the possible pathways that individuals may take, or roles they may assume, based on various factors and the interaction between those factors.⁵

Marc Sageman's research also focuses on the interrelatedness of cognitive, social, and environmental factors in influencing individual radicalization.⁶ Sageman's model asserts that an individual's path to VE depends on a combination of these factors and that likelihood of radicalization varies as each factor varies.

In this way, most dynamic micro-level models assume a logical interplay between internal factors (inherent characteristics and predispositions) and external factors (social influence, grievances, and recruitment dynamics). These models highlight how external factors influence the individual and inform grievances that make a person susceptible to recruitment. Such models are often represented as onion graphs, Venn diagrams, or concentric circles.⁷ They explicitly focus on the individual experience, however, and do not explain how or why a violent extremist movement has emerged or what allows it to flourish beyond the factors that spur participation.

Notably, ideology—or radical beliefs—is a feature of these models but not necessarily a precursor of violent behavior. Some theorists posit that ideological commitment can occur after an individual has joined a group or committed a violent act.⁸ Other research, especially in non-Western contexts, reveals that ideology can be a secondary consideration.⁹ For example, research examining the motivations for participation in VEOs such as Boko Haram, al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and Islamic State has shown that engagement in VE actions and in VEOs may have more to do with material deprivation, an individual's predisposition to violence, or dynamics of coercion than with an individual's ideology. In some of these cases, recruitment preceded the adoption of radical beliefs and ideologies; in other cases, engagement in VE activity or in VEOs happened in the absence of an individual's adoption of extremist ideologies and beliefs.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF MICRO-LEVEL MODELS AND RESEARCH

Research on individual radicalization has informed practice and gained currency outside of academic environments. National government agencies and departments with security and law enforcement mandates have drawn on this research to develop models that are used to inform efforts to detect and prevent potential attacks.¹⁰ These models emphasize stages of mobilization and preparations for violent activity, as well as factors that may provide entry points for mitigation.

The US National Counterterrorism Center, for example, published a practitioners' guide on CVE that includes a model for understanding radicalization that is dynamic in nature and focuses on factors contributing to an individual's progression toward VE.¹¹ The model conceptualizes three distinct and overlapping processes: radicalization, mobilization, and action. It provides an overview of factors important in the radicalization process—including individual perceptions, behaviors, relationships, and larger group dynamics—and, like some of the linear models, it brings attention to certain catalysts that can lead to mobilization. The model emphasizes four factors that underlie the radicalization process and that are observable and actionable for those in law enforcement who work to counter violent extremism: readiness to act (motivation and intent); targets (symbols of Western dominance, military, civilian); opportunity (access to training and resources); and capability (acquired training and personal experience).

Security and law enforcement ... have drawn on this research to develop models that are used to inform efforts to detect and prevent potential attacks.

Research on individual radicalization has also been applied to develop practical tools that identify early warning signs of radicalization in individuals and that can inform those involved in prevention outside of law enforcement, such as educators, social workers, religious leaders, and the general public. Examples of government-led efforts include online resources developed by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation and the UK Home Office, which list various factors drawn from individual radicalization models as potential signs of radicalization in order to boost community awareness and help prevent cases of radicalization that may lead to violence.¹²

The learning on individual radicalization processes has also been used to inform deradicalization programs, which aim to disengage individuals who have already committed violent acts or are already radicalized from affiliation with VE movements. The Violent Extremism Risk Assessment (VERA 2) protocol, which has been used successfully in prison settings, is one example.¹³ Such tools, it should be noted, are designed to assess an individual's risk of committing violent acts and are relevant only to those who have already participated in VE on some level.

MICRO-LEVEL TOOLS: THEIR VALUE IN DESIGNING P/CVE PROGRAMS

The micro-level analytic tools surveyed for this report provide insights for understanding how the process of radicalization on an individual level might be triggered or might progress. They also consider factors that represent an individual's increased risk or vulnerability to VE. While these tools, and the research that informs them, have been helpful in explaining radicalization, there are distinct limits to their practical application and utility in developing P/CVE interventions.

Both linear and dynamic micro-level radicalization models are useful for identifying individuals who may be vulnerable to radicalization. However, the models are limited in their ability to predict which specific individuals will become radicalized or carry out violent acts.

The evolution in the complexity of micro-level models reflects a growing consensus, informed by psycho-social research, that radicalization is not a straightforward, step-by-step process, but instead involves overlapping psychological, social, and environmental dynamics that vary over time based on the individual. This has implications for the ways in which these models can, or cannot, inform interventions.

The strength of micro-level models is their identification of individual-level risk factors that spur a person's engagement in VE activity. An understanding of risk factors

helps build awareness of who might be vulnerable to recruitment by VEOs or to participation in VE activity and may help support early interventions by families, communities, teachers, and others close to those at risk. However, because risk factors suggest only a propensity to head down a certain path, and do not guarantee that that path will be taken, such models have limited predictive value for those who work to counter terrorism. While signs of mobilization and preparations for violent acts are detectable and require law enforcement intervention, most micro-level models of radicalization cannot tell law enforcement who will become a violent extremist, and efforts at applying these models in an investigative context risk inappropriately targeting individuals who have not committed crimes.

The role of ideology, while assumed to be a precursor to an individual's engagement in violent activity in many linear models, is not the only factor, or even the foundational factor, in all cases of radicalization.

In their focus on factors and dynamics that influence or increase the vulnerability of individuals to VE, many of the micro-level models, particularly those that are linear, emphasize the role that extremist or radical ideologies play in the radicalization or recruitment process. Linear models reviewed in this study all incorporate an underlying assumption that the adoption of a radical ideology or increased ideological commitment is a prerequisite for engagement in VE acts. However, recent research has shown that the motivations for participation in VEOs, especially in non-Western contexts, may have little to do

Most micro-level models of radicalization cannot tell law enforcement who will become a violent extremist.

with ideology. Further, violent activity may precede the adoption of radical beliefs and ideologies. This assumption is additionally problematic given that not all those who adopt or espouse VE ideologies and beliefs will necessarily engage in VE activity.¹⁴ These findings underscore the limits of counter-narrative programs and counter-messaging campaigns. While debunking recruitment messages and promoting ideals contrary to the intolerant belief systems of VEOs are important parts of holistic counterterrorism strategies, those measures may not by themselves prevent radicalization and violent extremism. In some cases, they may even be counterproductive.¹⁵

Most micro-level models were developed in Western contexts and thus are limited in their relevance to conflict-prone regions or fragile environments.

As this review and similar studies have revealed, most micro-level models of radicalization were developed to understand and address the threat of VE in Western countries and, as such, are limited in their application to fragile, conflict-prone contexts.¹⁶ In such environments, P/CVE interventions should develop and assess local indicators of radicalization and risk factors influencing an individual's susceptibility to VE. It may be, as examined in the next section of this report, that macro-level frameworks, especially those that incorporate a consideration of conflict dynamics, are more appropriate tools for understanding and designing interventions to prevent VE in fragile and conflict-prone areas.

The process of deradicalization is distinct from the process of radicalization, and tools developed to assist with, and assess, disengagement from VE activity and groups are not necessarily relevant to prevention efforts.

While much progress has been made in developing risk assessment tools, largely informed by the psycho-social research that underpins many analytic micro-level models, many of those tools are designed for assessing levels of affiliation and risk presented by those who have already participated in VE activity. Such tools are not designed to be used as early warning signs of radicalization. Further, because

deradicalization assessment tools evaluate individual cognitive and behavioral indicators, the application of those tools requires the involvement of trained clinical professionals. Early warning risk factors, in contrast, are usually observable and accessible for nonspecialists, such as family and community members and teachers, who are concerned with youth who might be susceptible to recruitment into VEOs.

Macro-level frameworks ... are more appropriate tools for understanding and designing interventions to prevent VE in fragile and conflict-prone areas.



Macro-Level (Group and Context) Tools

Rather than focusing on individual pathways to participation in VE activity and groups, macro-level tools focus on the systemic root causes and the broader, exogenous factors that enable VE movements and groups to emerge and flourish. Macro-level tools are generally informed by a developmental or a conflict analysis approach, both of which tend to emphasize a holistic and contextual understanding of VE—one that moves beyond a security lens to consider the structural conditions conducive to VE, as well as relevant political and social dynamics.

Most macro-level tools are frameworks, not models, in that they propose an informed approach to assessing the drivers of VE and suggest entry points for intervention. Many also incorporate a consideration of the research that examines individual-level factors of radicalization. However, they are distinct from micro-level tools in that they focus on assessing how individual-level factors, as well as other structural, social, and environmental factors and dynamics, increase the vulnerability or resiliency of a *specific community or environment* to the influence of VE, rather than mapping individual trajectories. Macro-level tools generally take one of two forms: those that focus on factors that enable, drive, and mitigate VE (such as push-pull frameworks); and those that promote an analysis of the

social, cultural, and political dynamics that intersect with these factors and the nature of the VE movement itself (such as adapted conflict analysis tools).

PUSH-PULL FRAMEWORKS

The push-pull framework, originally developed to assess migration trends, was first adapted by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) as a way to understand the drivers that lead to participation in, and the growth of, violent extremist groups and insurgencies.¹⁷ This approach to understanding VE, which has been widely copied, involves examining factors on many levels that enable or mitigate the emergence and growth of VE movements. USAID's *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism* and the United Nations' "Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism" both identify multifaceted lists of drivers of, or enabling conditions for, VE.¹⁸ Factors contributing to VE in these frameworks include limited economic opportunities, political exclusion, weak governance, and perceptions and experiences of injustice. These guides and similar documents advocate conducting assessments to determine specific local and contextual factors.

Politically sensitive issues ... are overlooked, either because they are deemed variables beyond influence or because they are politically unpalatable.

Developing interventions based on a list of drivers—even if locally relevant—can be problematic if the framework omits key considerations or if the research and analysis are insufficiently broad. Lists of identified drivers or push and pull factors run the risk of promoting the design and implementation of P/CVE interventions that might address some real and perceived grievances but do not incorporate a full understanding of the dynamics or underlying circumstances that led to the emergence and growth of VE in a given environment.

This concern is supported by evidence that suggests that designing an intervention to counteract a list of presumed drivers of VE may prove ineffective in the absence of consideration of the broader context.¹⁹ Even well-developed frameworks often omit key variables. Politically sensitive issues such as government repression and socially marginalizing policies, the political economy of international counterterrorism efforts, or the broader geopolitical and regional political dynamics that allow VEOs to gain traction are overlooked, either because they are deemed variables beyond influence or because they are politically unpalatable.

Academic research has suggested that assessing and understanding VE is a conceptually more complex process than identifying drivers or push-pull factors. Tinka Veldhuis and Jørgen Staun's Root Cause Model of Islamist Radicalization advances the idea that the interplay among causal factors is critical to understanding VE.²⁰ This research recommends identifying different types of causes of and catalysts for VE on the micro (individual) level, meso (group and communal) level, and macro (structural) level derived from a variety of academic and theoretical disciplines and encourages analysis of the relationships among them. Adapted conflict analysis tools reflect some of these ideas.

ADAPTED CONFLICT ANALYSIS TOOLS

In recognition of the complex interplay of push and pull factors on the individual, communal, and structural levels and their role in increasing or decreasing the vulnerability of a given location to VE, some practitioners have adapted traditional conflict assessment frameworks to understand VE and design P/CVE policies, strategies, and interventions. The US Department of State's Bureau of Conflict Stabilization Operations has piloted an adapted version of the Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework called the Supplemental Guidance to Interagency Conflict Analysis Framework (ICAF 2.0).²¹ The ICAF 2.0 provides a step-by-step means of identifying the characteristics of VE in a certain area, understanding which issues are of most pressing concern (e.g., active recruitment or community support)

and what sort of intervention is most relevant. Further, this framework guides practitioners in identifying the key actors—both those promoting VE and those working to counter it—and understanding the role of relationships and group dynamics; identifying larger structural and cultural dynamics at play; and prioritizing specific drivers and areas using a threat assessment matrix. The ICAF 2.0 encourages the use of social network analysis to understand the relationships and ties contributing to increased or decreased susceptibility to VE.

Prior to the development of the ICAF, the USAID published *Conducting an Extremism or Terrorism Assessment: An Analytical Framework for Strategy and Program Development* and *Development Assistance and Counter-Extremism: A Guide to Programming*, both of which, similar to the ICAF, promote a guided approach to assessing VE and radicalization on individual, communal, and structural levels.²² In addition to illuminating causes and motivations, these tools point to the importance of understanding which populations are most vulnerable to radicalization, the processes of recruitment, types of VE activity, and the potential trajectory and reach of VE activity as part of the calculus in designing P/CVE interventions. However, the utility of these analytic tools depends heavily on the level of expertise of those who use them and on the complexity of the environment being assessed. VE dynamics, especially in fragile environments where VE groups tend to flourish, are often so intertwined with other conflict dynamics, such as interethnic conflict, that factors specific to the VE threat can be difficult to disentangle.

Overall, adapted conflict assessment tools are useful for mapping the grievances, perceptions, narratives, and relationships that drive VE or that contribute to resiliency to VE in a specific area. They provide the practitioner with a helpful guide for assessing social networks, drivers, recruitment processes, and the nature of VE itself, thereby facilitating efforts to develop relevant and impactful interventions.

MACRO-LEVEL TOOLS: CHALLENGES IN APPLICATION

Macro-level frameworks provide analytic structure to the assessment of the causes and dynamics of VE and promote a holistic and contextual understanding of the conditions in which VEOs flourish. Some analytic tools designed for assessing the root causes of VE focus on drivers and push and pull factors. Others tools incorporate a more complex analytic approach that considers the interplay of these factors and the nature and dynamics of the VE movement itself. Often these tools, especially applied conflict analysis tools, are used both for conducting assessments and for designing P/CVE interventions. Despite this, there are identifiable challenges in the application of macro-level analytic tools.

Push-pull and other macro-level frameworks informed by development approaches can help identify the factors that create an enabling environment for VE and the individual and collective grievances and dynamics that fuel participation. However, these tools do not necessarily directly inform or prescribe options for interventions.

Designing an intervention requires an analytic effort that prioritizes different drivers and assesses the likely effectiveness of various interventions to address them. This effort requires delineating in some way between enabling conditions and those factors that directly support or mitigate the activities of a VE movement or group. Macro-level push-pull frameworks may help illuminate the conditions conducive to VE, but they do not necessarily provide the tools or the information necessary to develop and design effective P/CVE interventions.

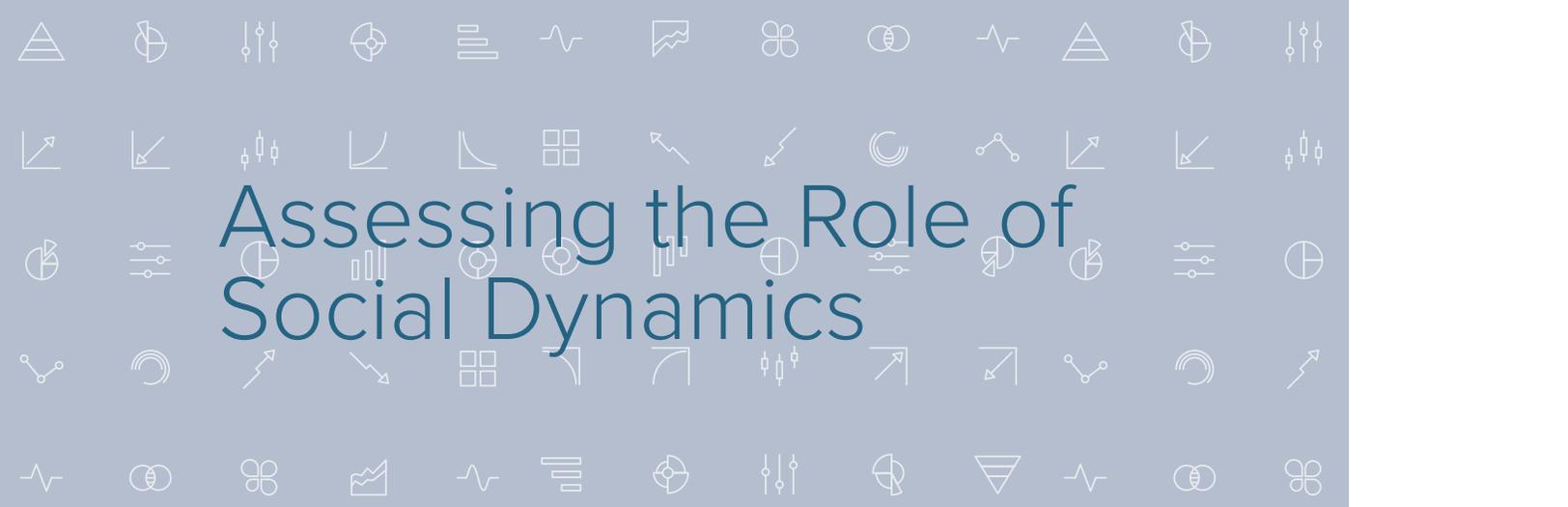
Macro-level frameworks often include so many factors that it is difficult to identify and prioritize the most relevant dynamics and issues when designing interventions.

Given the breadth of macro-level tools, their use in informing P/CVE interventions can result in interventions that risk overlooking crucial factors or relationships. Although certain tools seek to mitigate this risk by outlining a process by which certain dynamics and drivers are prioritized over others, the scope of factors being assessed can make designing P/CVE interventions difficult and pinpointing which drivers or dynamics are of consequence demanding. Moreover, conducting complex analysis

in dynamic and fluid contexts is always challenging. To develop coherent policies, strategies, and programs in complex and changing environments, analyses are sometimes disaggregated, resulting in overly general or stove-piped interventions.

Macro-level frameworks do not always incorporate a consideration of relevant and related conflict dynamics.

Violent extremist groups often harness their agendas to existing conflict dynamics and seek refuge and opportunity in poorly governed and conflict-prone environments. Understanding the root causes and dynamics that enable such groups to flourish requires a conflict analysis lens and relevant conflict analysis tools. Macro-level tools that examine VEOs without considering their relationships to other conflict dynamics run the risk of informing narrowly conceived P/CVE interventions that lack impact and sustainability.



Assessing the Role of Social Dynamics

Much of the academic literature in this field highlights the importance of the influence of group dynamics, social relationships, and networks in promoting or mitigating radicalization and VE. This research brings attention to the key role that interpersonal relations and social connections play in influencing if, when, and how an individual actively supports or joins a VEO and/or commits an act of violence and how community-level social cohesion can form a bulwark against the influence of VE more generally. Yet, although many micro-level and macro-level analytic tools incorporate some consideration of social dynamics, few assessment frameworks focus purposefully on analyzing and understanding the social ties that can encourage or discourage individuals, groups, and communities from supporting or mitigating the influence of VE and VEOs. This may be due in part to the practical and ethical limits of this type of research and data collection.

A general understanding of the importance of personal relationships and community ties has inspired and informed many P/CVE programs,²³ but it is particularly challenging to develop metrics and assess the impact of such programs, thereby limiting options for scalability and replication. The evidence basis for the effectiveness of such programs continues to grow, however, thanks to the

proliferation of individual success stories of prevention and a shift in measuring other signs of resiliency within familial and community networks.²⁴ On the community level, in particular, research continues to advance an understanding of the types and nature of relationships that help prevent VE.²⁵



Conclusion

- ▶ A review of many of the frameworks and models for understanding VE and radicalization and designing P/CVE interventions reveals a broad spectrum of analytic tools, some with clear practical utility for designing interventions, and others that are more helpful in explaining, informing, and inspiring approaches.
- ▶ It is helpful to delineate micro- from macro-level tools and understand their related but distinct value in P/CVE programming. As outlined in this report, micro-level tools focus on understanding and (when applied) identifying and interrupting radicalization in individuals. Macro-level tools focus on understanding and addressing the broader structural factors that enable VEOs to emerge and spread. Although most of these models have been developed in Western contexts and build on a considerable body of academic research, both macro-level and micro-level tools vary significantly in terms of their complexity and their relevance to a given environment. Context matters in the application of analytic tools, and research underscores the reality that the nature of radicalization is distinct in conflict-prone and fragile environments and requires careful consideration of structural factors and related conflict dynamics, as well as a sociocultural understanding of the processes of recruitment and joining VEOs.



▶ Although most micro-level and macro-level analytic tools tend to incorporate an understanding of the influence of social dynamics and interpersonal relationships in radicalization and VE, few focus specifically on assessing or incorporating this aspect into project design. Research unequivocally highlights the significance of relationships, communal ties, and social dynamics in facilitating or engendering resiliency to VE and radicalization across contexts, but tools to operationalize and apply these ideas remain underdeveloped.

▶ A key finding of this study is that although assessment frameworks and analytic models enhance understanding of the causes and drivers of VE, most are of limited value in designing interventions. In other words, the spectrum of analytic tools available to practitioners is helpful in conceptualizing the dynamics that lead to VE, but few of the tools are prescriptive in terms of developing programs to mitigate and prevent VE. Those that do provide practical and process guidance are often complex and require a sophisticated level of skill in implementation. More practical-level tools to design P/CVE programs will certainly emerge as learning about what works in the field develops. Currently, however, further analysis is needed that critically evaluates the impact of P/CVE interventions and ensures an iterative process of learning and sharing across projects and a stronger link between research and programming.

Bibliography

- Aldrich, Daniel P. "Mightier than the Sword: Social Science and Development in Countering Violent Extremism." *Frontiers in Development* (2012). Washington, DC: USAID, 2012.
- Anderson, Mary B., and Marshall Wallace. *Opting Out of War: Strategies to Prevent Violent Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2012.
- ARTIS International. *Theoretical Frames on Pathways to Violent Radicalization: Understanding the Evolution of Ideas and Behaviors, How They Interact and How They Describe Pathways to Violence in Marginalized Diaspora*. ARTIS International, 2009.
- Atran, Scott. "Pathways to and from Violent Extremism: The Case for Science-Based Field Research." Statement before the [US] Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Emerging Threats & Capabilities, Washington, DC. March 10, 2010.
- Bahadur, Aditya, Katie Peters, Emily Wilkinson, Florence Pichon, Kirsty Gray, and Thomas Tanner. *The 3As Tracking Resilience across BRACED*. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2015.
- Bandura, Albert. "Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement." In *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, edited by Walter Reich, 161–91. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . "The Role of Selective Moral Disengagement in Terrorism and Counterterrorism." In *Understanding Terrorism: Psychological Roots, Consequences and Interventions*, edited by Fathali M. Moghaddam and Anthony J. Marsella, 121–50. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2004.
- Bandura, Albert, Bill Underwood, and Michael E. Fromson. "Disinhibition of Aggression through Diffusion of Responsibility and Dehumanization of Victims." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 9, no. 4 (1975): 253–69.
- Barkindo, Atta, and Shane Bryans. "De-Radicalising Prisoners in Nigeria: Developing a Basic Prison Based De-Radicalisation Programme." *Journal for Deradicalisation*, no. 7 (2016).
- Berger, J. M., and Bill Strathearn. *Who Matters Online: Measuring Influence, Evaluating Content and Countering Violent Extremism in Online Social Networks*. London: Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, King's College London, 2013.
- Beutel, Alejandro J. *Building Bridges to Strengthen America: Forging an Effective Counterterrorism Enterprise between Muslim Americans and Law Enforcement*. Washington, DC, and Los Angeles: Muslim Public Affairs Council, 2009.
- Borum, Randy. "Understanding the Terrorist Mind-Set." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 72, no. 7 (2003): 7–10.
- . "Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (2011): 7–36.
- . "Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research." *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (2011): 37–62.
- Briggs, Rachel, and Sebastien Feve. *Review of Programs to Counter Narratives of Violent Extremism*. London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2013.
- Carpenter, Ami C. *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*. New York: Springer, 2014.
- Chowdhury Fink, Naureen, Sara Zeiger, and Rafia Bhulai, eds. *A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*. Abu Dhabi: Hedayah; New York: Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016.
- Christmann, Kris. *Preventing Religious Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: A Systematic Review of the Research Evidence*. London: Youth Justice Board, 2012.
- Couture, Krista. *A Gendered Approach to Countering Violent Extremism: Lessons Learned from Women in Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention Applied Successfully in Bangladesh and Morocco*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2014.
- CTITF (United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force). *First Report of the Working Group on Radicalisation and Extremism That Lead to Terrorism: Inventory of State Programmes*. CTITF, 2006.
- Davies, Garth, Christine Neudecker, Marie Ouellet, Martin Bouchard, and Benjamin Ducol. "Toward a Framework Understanding of Online Programs for Countering Violent Extremism." *Journal for Deradicalization* 6 (2016): 51–86.
- Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF). *Abu Dhabi Memorandum on Good Practices for Education and Countering Violent Extremism*. GCTF, 2014.
- . *Ankara Memorandum on Good Practices for a Multi-Sectoral Approach to Countering Violent Extremism*. GCTF, 2013.
- Gill, Paul. "A Multi-Dimensional Approach to Suicide Bombing." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 1, no. 2 (2007): 142–59.
- Holling, C. S. "Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems." *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 4 (1973): 1–23.
- Holmer, Georgia. *Countering Violent Extremism: A Peacebuilding Perspective*. Special Report no. 336. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2013.

- Horgan, John. "From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618, no. 1 (2008): 80–94.
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). *Framework for Community Resilience*. Geneva: IFRC, 2014.
- Khalil, James, and Martine Zeuthen. "A Case Study of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) Programming: Lessons from OTI's Kenya Transition Initiative." *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 3, no. 1 (2014): 1–12.
- . *Countering Violent Extremism and Risk Reduction: A Guide to Programme Design and Evaluation*, Whitehall Report 2-16. London: Royal United Service Institute, 2016.
- King, Michael, and Donald M. Taylor. "The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 4 (2011): 602–22.
- Kubitschek Bujones, Alejandra, Katrin Jaskiewicz, Lauren Linakis, and Michael McGirr. *A Framework for Analyzing Resilience in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations*. Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development, 2014.
- Kurtz, Jon. *Does Youth Employment Build Stability? Evidence from an Impact Evaluation of Vocational Training in Afghanistan*. Mercy Corps, 2015.
- Lloyd, Monica, and Christopher Dean. "The Development of Structured Guidelines for Assessing Risk in Extremist Offenders." *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management* 2, no. 1 (2015): 40–52.
- Margolis, J. Eli. "Estimating State Instability." *Studies in Intelligence* 56, no. 1 (2012): 13–28.
- McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20, no. 3 (2008): 415–33.
- Milgram, Stanley. "Behavioural Study of Obedience." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67 (1963): 371–78.
- . *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.
- Milgram, Stanley, and Thomas Blass, eds. *The Individual in a Social World: Essays and Experiments*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992.
- Moghaddam, Fathali. "The Staircase to Terrorism." *American Psychologist* 60, no. 2 (2005): 161–69.
- Nasser-Eddine, Minerva, Bridget Garnham, Katerina Agostino, and Gilbert Caluya. *Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Literature Review*. Edinburgh, South Australia: Counter Terrorism and Security Technology Centre, Defence Science and Technology Organisation, 2011.
- National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). *Countering Violent Extremism: A Guide for Practitioners and Analysts*. NCTC, 2014.
- Pressman, D. Elaine. *Risk Assessment Decisions for Violent Political Extremism, 2009–02*. Ottawa: Public Safety Canada, 2009.
- Pressman, D. Elaine, Nils Duits, Thomas Rinne, and John Flockton. *VERA– 2R Violence Extremism Risk Assessment—Version 2 Revised: A Structured Professional Judgement Approach*. Nederlands Instituut voor Forensische Psychiatrie en Psychologie, 2016.
- Pressman, D. Elaine, and John Flockton. "Calibrating Risk for Violent Political Extremists and Terrorists: The VERA 2 Structured Assessment." *British Journal of Forensic Practice* 14, no. 4 (2012): 237–51.
- . "Violent Extremist Risk Assessment; Issues and Applications of the VERA-2 in a High-Security Correctional Setting." In *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform*, edited by Andrew Silke, 122–43. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Ricigliano, Robert, and Karen Grattan. "Advice to Policy-Makers Who Would Tackle Syria: The Problem with Problem Solving." *PRISM* 4 (2014): 118–31.
- Sageman, Marc. "A Strategy for Fighting International Islamist Terrorists." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618 no. 1 (2008): 223–31.
- . "Islam and al Qaeda." In *Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism*, edited by Ami Pedahzur, 122–31. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- . *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- . *Radicalization of Global Islamist Terrorists*. Washington, DC: US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, 2007.
- . *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Schmid, Alex P. *Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review*. The Hague: International Centre for Counter Terrorism, 2013.
- Sharma, Kunaal. "Elite Persuasion and Religious Extremism: An Experiment among Sunni and Shia Muslims in Northern India." Working paper, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2016.
- Silber, Mitchell D., and Arvin Bhatt. *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*. New York: New York City Police Department, 2007.
- Simpson, Graeme, Anupah Makoond, Patrick Vinck, and Phuong N. Pham. *Assessing Resilience for Peace: A Guidance Note*. Geneva: Interpeace, 2016.
- Taarby, Michael. *Profiling Islamic Suicide Terrorists*. Danish Ministry of Justice, 2003.
- . *Recruitment of Islamist Terrorists in Europe: Trends and Perspectives*. Danish Ministry of Justice, 2005.

- Taylor, Max, and John G. Horgan. "A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 4 (2006): 585–601.
- Tesfaye, Beza. *Critical Choices: Assessing the Effects of Education and Civic Engagement on Somali Youths' Propensity towards Violence*. Mercy Corps, November 2016.
- UK Department for International Development (DFID). *KPI4 Guidance*. London: DFID, 2014.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Building Inclusive Societies and Sustaining Peace through Democratic Governance and Conflict Prevention: An Integrated Approach*. New York: UNDP, 2016.
- . *Preventing and Responding to Violent Extremism in Africa: A Development Approach*. New York: UNDP, 2016.
- . *Preventing Violent Extremism through Promoting Inclusive Development, Tolerance and Respect for Diversity*. New York: UNDP, 2016.
- . *Preventing Violent Extremism through Promoting Inclusive Development, Tolerance and Respect for Diversity: A Development Response to Addressing Radicalization and Violent Extremism*. New York: UNDP, 2017.
- United Nations General Assembly. "Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism." December, 2015, A/70/674.
- United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR). *Hyogo Framework for 2005–2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters*. Geneva: UNISDR, 2005.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Handbook on the Management of Violent Extremist Prisoners and the Prevention of Radicalization to Violence in Prisons*. New York: UNODC, 2016.
- United Nations Secretary-General. "Report of the Secretary-General on the Threat of Terrorists Benefiting from Transnational Organized Crime." May 20, 2015, S/2015/366.
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID). *Conducting an Extremism or Terrorism Assessment: An Analytical Framework for Strategy and Program Development*. Prepared by Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter, Management Systems International. Washington, DC: USAID, 2008.
- . *Conflict Assessment Framework, Version 2.0*. Washington, DC: USAID, 2012.
- . *Development Assistance and Counter Extremism: A Guide to Programming*. Washington, DC: USAID, 2009.
- . *The Development Response to Violent Extremism and Insurgency Policy: Putting Principles into Practice*. Prepared by Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter. Washington, DC: USAID, 2011.
- . *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism*. Prepared by Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter. Washington, DC: USAID, February 2009.
- . *Radicalization Revisited: Jihad 4.0 and CVE Programming*. Prepared by Guilain Denoeux, Management Systems International. Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development, 2016.
- United States Department of State and United States Agency for International Development. *Department of State and USAID Joint Strategy on Countering Violent Extremism*. Washington, DC: United States Department of State and USAID, 2016.
- Van Metre, Lauren. *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya*. Peaceworks no. 122. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2016.
- Van Metre, Lauren, and Jason Calder. *Peacebuilding and Resilience: How Society Responds to Violence*. Peaceworks no. 121. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2016.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Veldhuis, Tinka, and Jørgen Staun. *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2009.
- Volkan, Vamik D. *Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Joining the Cause: Al-Muhajiroun and Radical Islam." Memphis, TN: Rhodes College, 2003.
- Williams, Michael J., John G. Horgan, and William P. Evans. "The Critical Role of Friends in Networks for Countering Violent Extremism: Toward a Theory of Vicarious Help-Seeking." *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 8, no. 1 (2016): 45–65.
- Williams, Ryan J. "Approaches to Violent Extremist Offenders and Countering Radicalization in Prisons and Probation: Practitioners' Working Paper." Radicalization Awareness Network Working Group on Prison and Probation (RAN P&P), 2016.
- Zeiger, Sara, and Anne Aly. *Countering Violent Extremism: Developing an Evidence-Base for Policy and Practice*. Abu Dhabi: Hedayah, 2015.
- Zimbardo, Philip G. "A Situationist Perspective on the Psychology of Evil: Understanding How Good People Are Transformed into Perpetrators." In *The Social Psychology of Good and Evil*, edited by A. G. Miller, 21–50. New York: Guilford, 2004.
- . *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil*. New York: Random House, 2008.

Notes

1. The other study, written by Georgia Holmer and Peter Bauman with Kateira Aryaeinejad, is titled “Measuring Up: Monitoring and Evaluating the Impact of P/CVE Programs.” It is available at www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Preventing-Countering-Violent-Extremism-MeasuringUp.pdf.
2. See Fathali Moghaddam, “The Staircase to Terrorism,” *American Psychologist* 60, no. 2 (2005): 161–69.
3. Paul Gill, “A Multi-Dimensional Approach to Suicide Bombing,” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 1, no. 2 (2007): 142–59.
4. Quintan Wiktorowicz, “Joining the Cause: Al-Muhajiroun and Radical Islam” (research paper, Rhodes College, Memphis, TN, 2003).
5. Max Taylor and John G. Horgan, “A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Psychological Process in the Development of the Terrorist,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 4 (2006): 585–601.
6. See Marc Sageman, “A Strategy for Fighting International Islamist Terrorists,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618, no. 1 (2008): 223–31; “Islam and al Qaeda,” in *Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism*, ed. Ami Pedahzur, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 122–31; *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and *Radicalization of Global Islamist Terrorists* (Washington, DC: US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, 2007).
7. See, for example, Wiktorowicz, “Joining the Cause”; Tinka Veldhuis and Jørgen Staun, *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model* (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2009); and National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), *Countering Violent Extremism: A Guide for Practitioners and Analysts* (Washington, DC: NCTC, 2014), available at www.documentcloud.org/documents/1657824-cve-guide.html.
8. John Horgan, “From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618, no. 1 (2008): 80–94.
9. See, for example, Peter Bauman, *Regional Risk Assessment of Violent Extremism in West Africa* (Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development [USAID], 2015). See also Mercy Corps, *Youth and Consequences: Unemployment, Injustice, and Violence* (Mary Corps, February 2015), www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/MercyCorps_YouthConsequencesReport_2015.pdf.
10. See, for example, Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat* (New York: New York City Police Department, 2007). The following links show and discuss the Danish PET model: www.hudson.org/research/10555-the-danish-model-for-prevention-of-radicalization-and-extremism; <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1140&context=jss>; and www.files.ethz.ch/isn/195784/DIIS_Report_2015_15.pdf.
11. NCTC, *Countering Violent Extremism*.
12. See <https://cve.fbi.gov> and <https://educateagainsthate.com>.
13. D. Elaine Pressman, Nils Duits, Thomas Rinne, and Jérôme Flockton, *VERA—2R Violence Extremism Risk Assessment—Version 2 Revised: A Structured Professional Judgement Approach* (Netherlands Institut voor Forensische Psychiatrie en Psychologie, 2016).
14. See the two-part article by Randy Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism: A Review of Social Science Theories,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (2011): part I, 7–36, and part II, 37–62; and USAID, *Radicalization Revisited: Jihad 4.0 and CVE Programming*, prepared by Guilain Denoeux (Washington, DC: USAID, 2016).
15. Kunaal Sharma, “Elite Persuasion and Religious Extremism: An Experiment among Sunni and Shia Muslims in Northern India” (working paper, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2016).
16. Michael King and Donald M. Taylor, “The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 4 (2011): 602–22; and USAID, *Radicalization Revisited*.

17. USAID, *Conducting an Extremism or Terrorism Assessment: An Analytical Framework for Strategy and Program Development*, prepared by Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter, Management Systems International (Washington, DC: USAID, June 2008).
18. USAID, *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism* (Washington, DC: USAID, February 2009); and the United Nations, “Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism,” December 24, 2015, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674.
19. See, for example, Beza Tesfaye, *Critical Choices: Assessing the Effects of Education and Civic Engagement on Somali Youths’ Propensity towards Violence* (Mercy Corps, November 2016); and Jon Kurtz, *Does Youth Employment Build Stability? Evidence from an Impact Evaluation of Vocational Training in Afghanistan* (Mercy Corps, 2015).
20. Veldhuis and Staun, *Islamist Radicalisation*.
21. www.state.gov/documents/organization/187786.pdf.
22. Both documents were prepared by Guilain Denoeux with Lynn Carter. *Conducting an Extremism or Terrorism Assessment* was published in 2008; *Development Assistance and Counter-Extremism* was published in 2009.
23. See, in particular, programs such as WWB/WWB that promote the role of mothers and enhanced family relationships as a first-line response to VE. See www.women-without-borders.org/save/.
24. See the companion report to this report, Holmer and Bauman with Aryaeinejad, “Measuring Up.”
25. Lauren Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya*, Peaceworks no. 122 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2016). For further examples, see the research on community resilience to sectarian violence in Iraq presented in Ami C. Carpenter, *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad* (New York: Springer, 2014).

About the Authors

Georgia Holmer is the former director of CVE at the United States Institute of Peace and is currently senior adviser for Anti-terrorism Issues at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). She has developed, applied, and taught analytic techniques and methods for understanding—and developing strategies to prevent—radicalization, violent extremism, and terrorism. *The views expressed in the article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the OSCE and its participating States.*

Peter Bauman, founder and CEO of Bauman Global, has conducted extensive field research and designed and evaluated numerous peacebuilding and CVE programs globally. He has also trained and advised a range of public and private stakeholders on peacebuilding, stabilization, and CVE-related policies and programs.

Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful for the substantive input and review provided by Alan Schwartz, Lynn Carter, Anita Ernstorfer, Rebecca Frerichs, David Hunsicker, Casey Johnson, Sarah McLaughlin, Sara Reckless, Eliza Urwin, Michael Zanchelli, and Martine Zeuthen. The authors also thank Kateira Aryaeinejad, Leanne Erdberg, Krista Moore, and Nigel Quinney for their support in finalizing this study.

About the Institute

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan institution established and funded by Congress. Its goals are to help prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote postconflict peacebuilding, and increase conflict-management tools, capacity, and intellectual capital worldwide. The Institute does this by empowering others with knowledge, skills, and resources, as well as by its direct involvement in conflict zones around the globe.

See www.usip.org for more information.

Board of Directors

Stephen J. Hadley (Chair), Principal, RiceHadleyGates, LLC, *Washington, DC*

George E. Moose (Vice Chair), Adjunct Professor of Practice, The George Washington University, *Washington, DC*

Judy Ansley, Former Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor under George W. Bush, *Washington, DC*

Eric Edelman, Hertog Distinguished Practitioner in Residence, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, *Washington, DC*

Joseph Eldridge, University Chaplain and Senior Adjunct Professorial Lecturer, School of International Service, American University, *Washington, DC*

Kerry Kennedy, President, Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights, *Washington, DC*

Ikram U. Khan, President, Quality Care Consultants, LLC, *Las Vegas, NV*

Stephen D. Krasner, Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations, Stanford University, *Palo Alto, CA*

John A. Lancaster, Former Executive Director, International Council on Independent Living, *Potsdam, NY*

Jeremy A. Rabkin, Professor of Law, George Mason University, *Fairfax, VA*

Robinson West, Chairman, PFC Energy, *Washington, DC*

Nancy Zirkin, Executive Vice President, Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, *Washington, DC*

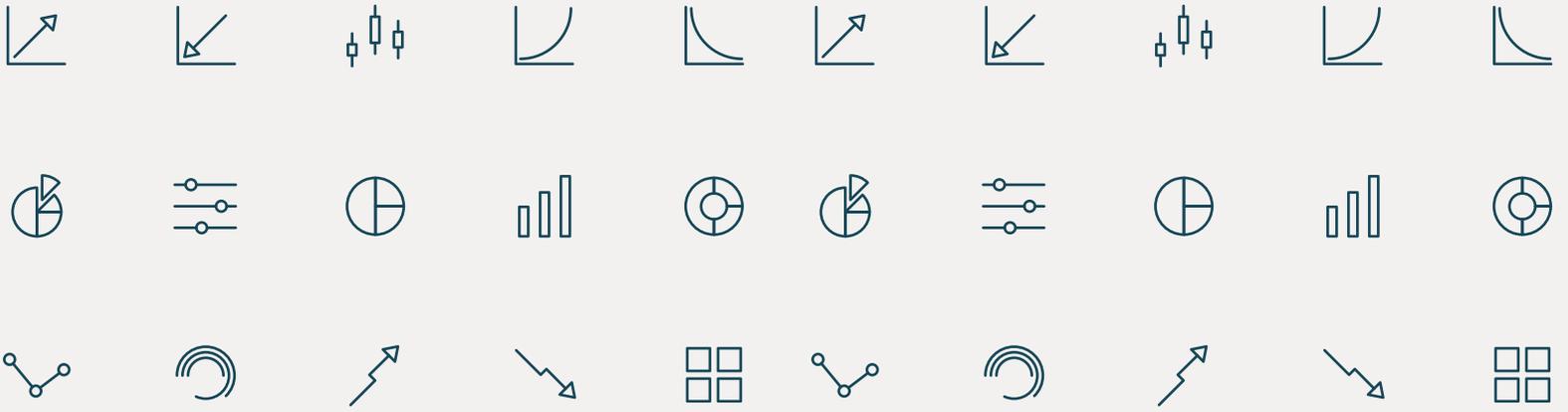
Members Ex Officio

Mike Pompeo, Secretary of State

James Mattis, Secretary of Defense

Frederick J. Roegge, Vice Admiral, US Navy; President, National Defense University

Nancy Lindborg, President, United States Institute of Peace (nonvoting)



**UNITED STATES
INSTITUTE OF PEACE**
Making Peace Possible

United States Institute of Peace
2301 Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20037, USA
Tel: +1.202.457.1700
www.usip.org
www.facebook.com/usinstituteofpeace
www.instagram.com/usipeace/
www.linkedin.com/company/united-states-institute-of-peace
twitter.com/USIP
www.youtube.com/user/usinstituteofpeace

