



Measuring Up

Evaluating the Impact of P/CVE Programs

Georgia Holmer and Peter Bauman
with Kateira Aryaeinejad



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE





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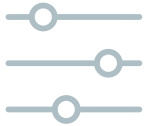
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About This Report

This report considers the various conceptual and practical challenges in measuring the impact and value of programs designed to prevent and counter violent extremism (P/CVE). It examines potential solutions and emphasizes the significance of efforts to assess changes in attitudes, behaviors, and relationships. The report was developed in tandem with “Taking Stock: Analytic Tools for Understanding and Designing P/CVE Programs” and seeks to help advance more rigor and sustainability in P/CVE programming.



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Key Findings

- ▶ There is no defined set of practices, methods, or approaches used to evaluate the impact of programs that have the goal of preventing or countering violent extremism (P/CVE), reflecting the nascent and diverse nature of the field. Yet, increasing efforts are being made to develop accessible guidelines for practitioners, as well as to develop new approaches that address some of the most significant challenges in measuring impact.
- ▶ Those challenges can be grouped into two categories: analytic challenges, such as establishing causality, addressing contextual variations, and developing valid indicators; and practical challenges, such as collecting relevant and reliable data.
- ▶ Attempts to establish causality in P/CVE programs run into two major obstacles: the impossibility of “measuring a negative,” or proving that violent activity or radicalization would have otherwise occurred had there not been an intervention; and accounting for the large number of variables that may have contributed to, enabled, or affected outcomes beyond the P/CVE intervention, especially in fragile or conflict-prone environments. These obstacles, however, do not preclude the possibility of rigorously evaluating P/CVE programs.



- ▶ Practitioners and academics have focused on tools to assess individual and collective attitudes, behaviors, and relationships as meaningful metrics for evaluating the impact of localized P/CVE interventions.
- ▶ Measures of attitudes generally assess changes in an individual’s sense of self, level of support for violent extremist groups or activity, or level of support for the use of violence generally. This is the most popular type of metric employed in P/CVE programs, but it is problematic in its assumption of a relationship between extremist beliefs and violent activity. Efforts to improve rigor in evaluation practice and circumvent some of the sensitivities unique to P/CVE programs include the use of random response, list, and endorsement experiments.
- ▶ Measuring behavioral change provides a more direct indication of impact but is harder to accomplish. Examples of this type of analysis are found mostly in the realm of online activity. “Lab-in-field” approaches can be useful in assessing change.
- ▶ Social relationships and networks are crucial factors in understanding and mitigating radicalization and violent extremism (VE), but they are difficult to measure. Most assessments of changing relationships take place in the online space. New research on sources of community-level resilience to VE will prove useful in informing more robust metrics for assessing the impact of P/CVE interventions.

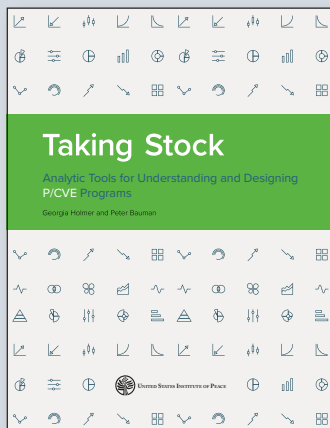
Introduction

A significant and increasingly diverse community of policymakers, practitioners, and academics is striving to better understand what causes and drives VE.

The emergence and spread of VE and the evolution of violent extremist organizations (VEOs) pose a complex global threat. A significant and increasingly diverse community of policymakers, practitioners, and academics is striving to better understand what causes and drives VE and to develop effective interventions to prevent and counter it.

As in the peacebuilding and development fields, designing effective P/CVE programs requires practitioners to learn from what has and has not worked in the past. However, the complexity and sensitivity both of VE as a phenomenon and of P/CVE programs (as well as the diversity of lexicons, levels of analysis, and theories of change that have proliferated in this evolving field) not only complicate the task of measuring impact and assessing risk but also limit the sharing of lessons. This report gives practitioners, policymakers, and researchers an overview of challenges in evaluating P/CVE interventions, explores some potential solutions, and highlights the significance and relevance of tools that assess impact by measuring changes in attitudes, behaviors, and relationships.

This study was developed in tandem with a report that examines analytic models and frameworks used for understanding VE and designing P/CVE programs and strategies. The 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 Definitions

This study is based on an extensive literature review and consultations with experts. Materials reviewed include publicly available P/CVE evaluations, articles, handbooks, and reports (many listed in the bibliography of this report). Consultations were conducted with experts from think tanks, government agencies, and nongovernmental organizations to further elucidate the current and emerging practices, methods, and tools used to evaluate P/CVE programs and to identify their challenges in application. An analysis of the research led to a focus on the particular value of measuring changes in attitudes, behaviors, and relationships in assessing the impact of P/CVE programs.

Monitoring and evaluation, or “M&E,” refers to the use of specific tools and methodologies to collect, analyze, and assess data throughout a project cycle or program in order to measure progress, outcomes, and impact. For the purposes of this report, key terms related to M&E are used as follows:

► *Monitoring* refers to the task of ensuring that activities are completed on time and within a prescribed budget and plan. It is the assessment of progress toward project implementation—the completion of key activities for intended beneficiaries, implementers, and partners—and the measurement of quantitative outputs such as the number of participants engaged in the activities.

- A related effort is *process evaluation*, which identifies changes, best practices, issues, or challenges in implementation that may have influenced how effective the intervention was or could have been.
- *Evaluation* refers to the assessment of whether project activities collectively achieved the objectives as intended or planned, and as articulated in a theory of change. Inherent to any effective evaluation effort is a clear understanding of the project objectives, the development of measurable and specific indicators, and access to reliable and relevant data.
- *Impact evaluation* is a high level of assessment that analyzes the larger cumulative and sustained change brought to bear by the implementation of a project or program (a set of projects), as well as unintended negative consequences.

Research suggests that M&E efforts in P/CVE programs often focus heavily on monitoring (i.e., tracking a project’s progress and outputs), not on assessing a project’s broader impact on trends toward radicalization or violent extremist activity. Several factors account for this emphasis on monitoring, not the least of which is the difficulty in effectively evaluating the impact of P/CVE programs. The following section outlines some of these challenges.



The Challenges of Measuring Impact in P/CVE Programs

There is no defined set of practices, methods, or approaches used to evaluate the impact of P/CVE programs. A number of “toolkits” have been issued in recent years² as P/CVE projects have been increasingly funded and implemented. These guidelines, while helpful in moving toward consensus around good practice, also underscore the nascent, diverse, and “borrowed” nature of the field. P/CVE programs reflect multiple approaches, theories of change, and levels of analysis, many of which draw from development and conflict prevention or peacebuilding practice.³ In addition, because of the nascent state of the field, there are few publicly available evaluation documents, which limits the sharing of learning and good practices on the subject. The lack of accessible evaluations combined with the diversity of programs that exist under the rubric of P/CVE make it difficult to understand which efforts to address VE do or do not work and what measures and methods have been effective in identifying impact.⁴

However, despite the limited data and complexity of the practice, it is possible to identify specific conceptual and practical challenges in evaluating the impact of P/CVE programs. Many of these challenges are well-known hurdles in the peacebuilding and conflict resolution fields, but some challenges are unique to P/CVE projects

and reflect their securitized and sensitive nature. These obstacles can be grouped into two categories: analytic challenges, such as establishing causality, addressing contextual variations, and developing valid indicators; and practical challenges, such as collecting relevant and reliable data.

ANALYTIC CHALLENGES

ESTABLISHING CAUSALITY AND INDICATOR VALIDITY

In the case of P/CVE, as in related fields, it is difficult to attribute change directly to programming efforts when evaluating projects. Efforts to establish causality run into two major obstacles: the impossibility of “measuring a negative,” or proving that violent activity or radicalization would have otherwise occurred had there not been an intervention; and accounting for the large number of variables that may have contributed to, enabled, or affected outcomes beyond the P/CVE intervention, especially in fragile or conflict-prone environments.

The indicators that are developed to measure impact and change must reflect local lexicons and realities.

Various methodologies have been proposed as a means by which to address the issues of causation and attribution in complex environments, including quasi-experimental research design and longitudinal studies. But these approaches are not always easily applied to P/CVE programs due to the dynamic and fluid nature of radicalization and VE groups and activity.

The use of control groups in quasi-experimental research designs and experimental randomized control trials (RCTs) has also been suggested as a way to reduce “noise,” or the impact of confounding variables, in evaluating P/CVE programs. RCTs allow for the direct observation and comparison of the impact of an intervention versus nonintervention in highly similar locations and communities. However, because of the very localized and contextual nature of the drivers of VE and radicalization, it is difficult to apply interventions and noninterventions evenly across multiple environments.

P/CVE programs are being implemented across a wide variety of cultural, social, and political contexts. Local definitions and understandings of concepts such as VE, violence, community, tolerance, and peace require contextually informed lexicons to develop meaningful programs and measure impact.⁵ Words such as

“radical” and “extremist,” in particular, are value-laden terms that will have different meanings to different people. Beyond the issue of language and definitions, the use of terms such as “CVE” and “PVE” by outside evaluators could be a liability in certain contexts, inhibiting understanding and learning. The indicators that are developed to measure impact and change must reflect local lexicons and realities; if they do not, the findings are at risk of being inaccurate or irrelevant in relation to the context.

The need for local indicators may limit the comparability of different approaches and programs across contexts, making it hard to draw conclusions about the applicability of certain P/CVE interventions to other populations or areas.⁶ However, the exercise of building a body of relevant, valid, and rigorous indicators for a specific local environment can jumpstart efforts to design indicators for other contexts and facilitate comparative analysis.

PRACTICAL CHALLENGES

DATA AVAILABILITY AND RELIABILITY AND LOCAL CAPACITY

Data availability and reliability are common challenges when evaluating the impact of P/CVE programs and other programs in fields that involve sensitive political issues and/or conflict. Local populations, government officials, and program staff may be reluctant to participate in surveys or divulge information. In areas where security concerns limit access to certain

Much is often lost in the translation and application of academic evaluation techniques to field-based programs.

locations or populations, bias resulting from oversampling of those living in more accessible areas may result. These challenges are significant but not unique to P/CVE interventions. However, the high political stakes associated with P/CVE interventions—and the rigid and short donor-funding cycles—can increase pressure on practitioners to show results and overstate the impact of their interventions, despite the paucity of evidence, in order to ensure sustained funding. Although third-party evaluations can help mitigate this concern, the resources they require may not always be available.

The sensitive and security-relevant nature of many questions asked in an effort to assess attitudes and support for VE can reduce the reliability of information gathered from local populations or officials who fear the potential consequences of providing frank information. Extra care and consideration are needed to ensure that information is not mishandled or inappropriately shared.

Although not unique to P/CVE programs, the lack of capacity, skills, and resources with which to develop and undertake rigorous evaluations is commonly cited

as an obstacle to assessing impact. Local practitioners may lack the time, resources, and understanding to apply certain methodologies and tools, impeding accurate assessments. Many of the newer, more rigorous tools associated with M&E for CVE have been developed in academia. If they are to use these tools, practitioners need training, but the opportunities for that are limited by the typically modest interaction that occurs between the academics who develop new tools and the practitioners who are meant to apply them. Much is often lost in the translation and application of academic evaluation techniques to field-based programs.

Many guides, publications, and frameworks have been published recently to promote more rigorous assessment of P/CVE interventions. These materials provide useful information on common measures, data collection tools, and methodologies for M&E in P/CVE and aim to address some of the challenges faced by practitioners in the field.⁷

Evaluating P/CVE Interventions

Measuring Attitudes, Behaviors, and Relationships

A critical question in evaluating programs designed to address VE is what, exactly, are we seeking to change? Broadly speaking, all P/CVE programs aim to prevent or reduce VE. However, there are many approaches and types of programs that fall under the rubric of P/CVE and that reflect different theories of change, objectives, levels of analysis, and ways of understanding the drivers and causes of VE. Some are concerned with the structural or enabling conditions that allow VE to flourish, such as weak governance or socioeconomic marginalization.

Other programs focus on the individual or micro level and seek to address circumstances, attitudes, and ideas that may influence individual pathways toward radicalization. Still other programs are concerned with addressing social dynamics and relationships that provide a source of resilience against the influence of VE, especially on the familial or community level.

Complicating the practice space, and in particular efforts to conduct evaluations, is the fact that many projects include multiple levels of analysis and factors. An evaluation may show positive results at the individual level but could fall short of capturing the broader impacts of the intervention; hence the importance of high-level impact evaluations that consider the larger context and compare results across projects.

Assessing the impact of any intervention on levels of VE activity is a difficult, long-term, and perhaps impossible exercise, as noted in the previous section. Practitioners and academics have instead focused on developing tools to assess individual and collective attitudes, behaviors, and relationships as better metrics for evaluating the impact of localized P/CVE interventions. Ultimately, all programs under the P/CVE label seek to elicit changes in individual and group attitudes, behaviors, and relationships by addressing the structural, individual, or social dynamics that drive or enable people to join and support VEOs or create the conditions necessary for VEOs to flourish and carry out violent activities. Thus, measuring these factors is a meaningful way to gauge impact of P/CVE programs, albeit one that has challenges and limitations.

This section presents an overview of some of the metrics used to assess impact in P/CVE interventions through measuring changes in attitudes, behaviors, and relationships. This section also outlines some of the ongoing challenges in application, as well as spotlighting new thinking about ways to increase rigor in practice.

MEASURING CHANGES IN

ATTITUDES

Many P/CVE interventions, as well as many of the impact evaluations reviewed for this report, measure changes in social, political, and ideological beliefs held by individuals targeted by an intervention, specifically, their attitudes toward the use of violence and their ideological leanings. Impact is commonly assessed by measuring an individual's knowledge of VE, as well as his or her perception of it.

As with all methods, this approach works best when coupled with a robust theory of change, rigorous research, and valid indicators. The weakness of this metric is the underlying assumption about the relationship between extremist beliefs and violent activity. Not all who hold radical beliefs will engage in—or even support—violence. Academic research has found that in some contexts, extremist ideologies and beliefs are sometimes secondary to decisions to join VEOs or are unrelated to participation in violent acts.⁸ Yet, extremist and intolerant mindsets, while not always a precursor to or a factor in individual radicalization, enable VEOs to flourish and, on a collective level, can speak to the receptivity of a community to extremist violence.

Other measures of perceptions and attitudes focus on aspects of self-identity that are correlated with intolerance or violence, such as self-esteem, narcissism, and ability to empathize. Again, like measures of ideological orientation or attitudes toward violence, such metrics are limited in terms of developing larger conclusions about levels of

VE but help identify sources of vulnerability or resilience to VE ideas and activity.

One new and sophisticated tool being used in P/CVE programming is the application of integrative complexity theory. It serves as both an intervention and a tool for evaluating impact of the intervention. Integrative complexity refers to an individual's ability to reason and think in a way that incorporates multiple, different perspectives. P/CVE programming that seeks to increase an individual's integrative capacity is intended to increase the individual's resilience to the appeal of VE narratives and worldviews, often through educational initiatives. Evaluation methods—including interviews, participant observation, role playing, content analysis, questionnaires, and specialized tests—are often used to measure changes in individual ways of thinking related to integrative complexity. The technique has been piloted in various countries, including the United Kingdom and Kenya.⁹ However, accurately applying integrative complexity in interventions and assessments requires a great deal of training, and the task of training implementers and enumerators demands significant resources and access to academics and practitioners experienced in the subject.

In addition to new ideas about what to measure in assessing change in attitudes and perceptions relevant to P/CVE, new approaches are being applied in this field that also help introduce more rigor into the data collection process and navigate some of the unique sensitivities inherent to P/CVE programs. The prospect of discussing sensitive topics in insecure environments, particularly those pertaining to or impacted by VE, can make respondents reluctant to

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participate in surveys or to provide accurate data to enumerators. Social desirability bias—a desire on the part of respondents to be viewed favorably by enumerators—can also limit the reliability of data collected in interviews and surveys.¹⁰ Recognizing this, recent evaluations have used survey methods that either ask indirect questions or seek to provide an additional layer of confidentiality to improve the validity of data collected.

An evaluation of programming in Somalia undertaken by Mercy Corps exemplifies this approach. Interviewers used a randomized device when asking questions around sensitive topics to enhance the confidentiality of responses.¹¹ Data collection techniques like this, known as random response experiments, employ various techniques so that respondents can answer a question without survey administrators knowing their responses. This method increases levels of candor by alleviating respondents' concerns about divulging sensitive and potentially dangerous information.¹²

List experiments have been employed to account for difficulties associated with assessing attitudes toward sensitive topics. In this method, participants are randomly assigned to one of two groups; both groups receive the same set of preselected, relatively neutral questions or lists of items for response. One of the groups, however, is given an additional question to answer that is more sensitive in nature (e.g., about armed opposition groups). The responses from both groups are compared, and the mean difference in the number of items chosen is used to assess support for the subject of the sensitive question.¹³ In a recent evaluation of programming in Afghanistan, Mercy Corps employed list experiments to gauge attitudes toward, and support for, political violence and the Taliban.¹⁴

Endorsement experiments, which are similar to list experiments, are also gaining traction. Endorsement experiments involve measuring support for policies in a control group and a treatment group. Members of the control group are asked about their support for the policies, while members of the treatment group are asked about their support for the same policies but are also told that certain policies are supported by militant groups or VEOs. A comparison of the results elucidates the extent to which knowledge of support by militant groups or VEOs for a policy altered or influenced responses, thus serving as an indirect measure of support for, or attitudes toward, VEOs.¹⁵

These new methods may prove more useful than traditional surveys in accurately assessing individual perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs, but carrying out the evaluations in ways that are accurate and suited to the environment requires capacity and expertise.

MEASURING CHANGES IN BEHAVIORS AND ACTIVITIES

A more direct measure of the impact of a P/CVE program on VE involves assessing changes in behaviors and activities. Efforts to assess relevant behaviors and activities include:

- ▶ Measures of changes in individual engagement with VE groups and activities (including consumption of VE propaganda and online participation)
- ▶ Measures of changes in participation in nonviolent acts or engagement with activities designed to promote tolerance or peace or to counter extremism

Although evaluations of P/CVE interventions have used these behavioral measures, they remain less commonly employed than measures of perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs. In some cases, measurements of perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs incorporate indirect measures of behavior through survey questions, interviews, or focus group discussions.

Behaviors can be measured by using a variety of surveys, interviews, case studies, and anecdotal evidence, as well as by collecting data on incidents of violence and violent offenders. Tracking recidivism rates (i.e., incidents of relapse into violent or criminal activity) of former offenders is a standard approach to assessing P/CVE interventions aimed at deradicalizing,

disengaging, and rehabilitating former violent extremists. However, this metric has less relevance to programs designed to prevent radicalization, especially when dealing with those who have no prior history of violent or criminal activity.

Tracking or observing individual engagement in VE groups or activity is not only difficult but also dangerous. Most work in this realm thus focuses on tracking online behavior, which assumes some connection between online and offline behavior. Measures of online behavior are especially relevant to assessing the impact of online counterradicalization interventions. In some programs, evaluators measure behaviors based on the amount of time individuals spend engaging with counternarrative material, the number of times individuals “like” or recommend online content to others, and the number of people who view these materials. However, unless one can track specific consumers of online P/CVE intervention materials, it is difficult to determine who is viewing the content, for what purpose, and whether or not changes in how often material is viewed or shared actually represent a change in behaviors of those engaged.

One innovative method of measuring behavioral change in P/CVE programs are lab-in-field experiments. Lab-in-field experiments are often used in commercial marketing and social science studies to assess the impact of certain actions, messages, and interventions on individual behavior.¹⁶ An example of a lab-in-field experiment is giving individuals money for completing a survey or task and then asking them if they would like to donate some of their earnings to a peace event or an organization that seeks to promote

Behaviors can be measured by using a variety of surveys, interviews, case studies, and anecdotal evidence, as well as by collecting data on incidents of violence and violent offenders

tolerance. A recent P/CVE experiment gave bracelets to intervention participants and used the bracelets as a visual behavioral marker by tracking whether or not participants were still wearing the bracelets hours later.¹⁷ These experiments can be useful in assessing individual behavior change as a result of exposure to P/CVE programming.

MEASURING CHANGES IN RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Although research underscores the importance of relationships and social ties in promoting and mitigating VE, assessment of social networks and relationships in P/CVE evaluations is limited.¹⁸ This may reflect ethical issues associated with tracking individual social connections (which can

involve an intrusive level of research) as well as the practical challenge of applying complex theories such as systems or social network analyses in programming context. Measures of relationships and social networks generally fall into two main categories:

- ▶ Measures that gauge individual relationships and ties to members outside and inside of an individual's community or to VEOs
- ▶ Measures that gauge levels of cohesion, integration, and engagement of individuals on a communal level

Most references to measuring change via assessments of individual relationships and social ties are restricted to evaluations of online P/CVE interventions or to interventions that use social media accounts and followers to trace group dynamics and connections. It has been suggested that evaluators conduct social network analysis offline using methods such as questionnaires to collect and collate data on an individual's social network, relationships, and attitudes toward other individuals.

The literature on measures of social cohesion and integration is limited, although developments such as the application of applied research on communal relations and sources of community-level resilience to VE will prove useful in informing more robust metrics for assessing the impact of P/CVE interventions.¹⁹



Conclusion

- ▶ Evaluating the impact of P/CVE interventions is crucial to understanding what does and does not work in efforts to address VE and to identifying and mitigating any potentially negative unintended consequences of programs. Donors and policymakers assume that evidence can be found to prove that interventions “work,” but those expectations need to be tempered by a more nuanced understanding of the complex, sensitive, and long-term nature of such programs, what “impact” entails, and what can and cannot be reliably assessed.
- ▶ With P/CVE programs, most evaluations focus on measuring changes in attitudes, behaviors, and relationships in order to assess impact. This is a significant level of analysis, for it is precisely attitudes, behaviors, and relationships that push and pull individuals toward and away from VE activity and that create enabling conditions for VEOs to flourish. However, these assessments stop short of establishing that an intervention prevented acts of violence. Rather, they determine that an intervention has led to a decreased level of vulnerability to the influence of VE among certain target populations or communities, an important value and goal of P/CVE programs.
- ▶ What is critical is an investment in impact evaluations that look across individual projects and consider the larger context in which projects are implemented. Such efforts will bring more clarity and rigor to the practice space and more insights on “what works,” and may also help in advancing coordination across stakeholders.



- ▶ This report highlights several newly adopted practices in P/CVE evaluations—including innovative methods such as list, endorsement, and lab-in-field experiments, and creative metrics such as integrative complexity—that have enhanced efforts to measure attitudinal and behavioral change.
- ▶ The report also underscores the importance of developing locally informed lexicons and indicators in P/CVE programs. The dynamics of radicalization and VE are profoundly local, and although one successful intervention can inform others, there are limits to transferring learning and practice across contexts. An important emerging area of analysis is the identification of factors of community cohesion and resilience to VE. Understanding the nature and types of relationships on a community level that inhibit the influence of VE is a critical direction for the field and could potentially enhance the effectiveness of P/CVE interventions and efforts to evaluate their impact.
- ▶ Finally, it is important to note that the rigor and quality of M&E for P/CVE interventions depend, in large part, on building the capacity and expertise of those implementing and evaluating programs internationally and locally. Connecting academics working on new tools with practitioners in the field will aid in the development of accessible and relevant approaches to evaluation and will improve the quality of data collection and analysis. This, in turn, will lead to more meaningful and accurate evaluations of P/CVE programs and help sustain and grow impactful programs.

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Notes

1. The other study, written by Georgia Holmer and Peter Bauman, is titled “Taking Stock: Analytic Tools for Understanding and Designing P/CVE Programs.” It is available at www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Preventing-Countering-Violent-Extremism-TakingStock.pdf.
2. Several of these are listed in the bibliography at the end of this report, including Todd C. Helmus, Miriam Matthews, Rajeev Ramchand, Sina Beaghley, David Stebbins, Amanda Kadlec, Michael A. Brown, Aaron Kofner, and Joie D. Acosta, *RAND Program Evaluation Toolkit for Countering Violent Extremism* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2017).
3. See Holmer and Bauman, “Taking Stock.”
4. Lillie Ris and Anita Ernstorfer, *Borrowing a Wheel: Applying Existing Design, Monitoring, and Evaluation Strategies to Emerging Programming Approaches to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism* (Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative, 2017).
5. To address this challenge, a number of efforts, including one by the United States Institute of Peace that focused on Afghanistan, have begun eliciting input to develop indicators that accurately reflect local realities and vernacular. See Belquis Ahmadi and Elizia Urwin, “Measuring Peace and Violent Extremism: Voices from the Afghan Village,” Peace Brief, (United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, March 18, 2018). www.usip.org/publications/2018/03/measuring-peace-and-violent-extremism. See also Eliza Urwin, “Everyday Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Indicators: A Case Study from Afghanistan,” in *Contemporary P/CVE Research and Practice*, ed. Lilah El Sayed and Jamal Barnes (Abu Dhabi: Hedayah; and Perth: Edith Cowan University, 2017), www.hedayahcenter.org/Admin/Content/File-222018131552.pdf.
6. Caitlin Mastroe, “Evaluating CVE: Understanding the Recent Changes to the United Kingdom’s Implementation of Prevent,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10, no. 2 (2016).
7. See, for instance, Ris and Ernstorfer, *Borrowing a Wheel*; James Khalil and Martine Zeuthen, *Countering Violent Extremism and Risk Reduction: A Guide to Programme Design and Evaluation*, Whitehall Report 2-16 (London: Royal United Services Institute, 2016), https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/20160608_cve_and_rr.combined.online4.pdf; and Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Peter Romaniuk, and Rafia Barakat, *Evaluating Countering Violent Extremism Programming, Practice, and Progress* (Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, 2013).
8. See Holmer and Bauman, “Taking Stock,” for further treatment of the research on radicalization processes.
9. Sara Savage, Anjum Khan, and Jose Liht, “Preventing Violent Extremism in Kenya through Value Complexity: Assessment of Being Kenyan Being Muslim,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 7, no. 3 (2014): 1–26; Sara Savage and Jose Liht, “Preventing Violent Extremism through Value Complexity: Being Muslim Being British,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 6 (2013): 44–66; Feriha Peracha, Rafia Raees Khan, and Sara Savage, “Sabaoon: Educational Methods Successfully PCVE,” in *Expanding Research on Countering Violent Extremism*, ed. Sara Zeiger (Abu Dhabi: Hedayah, 2016), 85–104; and Development & Training Services, Inc. (DtS), *CVE Evaluation: Introduction and Tips for CVE Practitioners* (DtS, 2015).
10. For additional discussion of the context of P/CVE interventions, see, for example, Khalil and Zeuthen, *Countering Violent Extremism and Risk Reduction*.
11. Beza Tesfaye, *Critical Choices: Assessing the Effects of Education and Civic Engagement on Somali Youths’ Propensity towards Violence* (Mercy Corps, 2016).
12. Ibid.
13. See, for example, Jon Kurtz, *Does Youth Employment Build Stability? Evidence from an Impact Evaluation of Vocational Training in Afghanistan* (Mercy Corps, 2015); and Graeme Blair, Kosuke Imai, and Jason Lyall, “Comparing and Combining List and Endorsement Experiments: Evidence from Afghanistan,” *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 4 (2014): 1043–63.
14. Kurtz, *Does Youth Employment Build Stability?*
15. For further reading, see Will Bullock, Kosuke Imai, and Jacob Shapiro, “Statistical Analysis of Endorsement Experiments: Measuring Support for Militant Groups in Pakistan,” *Political Analysis* 19, no. 4 (2011): 363–84.
16. For additional resources on lab-in-field experiments, see Marten Voors, Ty Turley, Andreas Kontoleon, Erwin Bulte, and John A. List, “Exploring Whether Behavior in Context-Free Experiments Is Predictive of Behavior in the Field: Evidence from Lab and Field Experiments in Rural Sierra Leone,” *Economics Letters* 114, no. 3 (2012): 308–11; and Steven D. Levitt and John A. List, “What Do Laboratory Experiments Measuring Social Preferences Reveal about the Real World?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 2 (2017): 153–74.

17. See Kunaal Sharma, "Experimental Methods for CVE: Countering Extremism via Elite Persuasion in India," in *Expanding Research on Countering Violent Extremism*, ed. Sara Zeiger (Abu Dhabi: Hedayah, 2016), 29–40.
18. For literature on the role of social dynamics and relationships, see, for example, 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).
19. See, for example, Lauren Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya*, Peaceworks no. 122 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2016); and Ami C. Carpenter, *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad* (New York: Springer, 2014).

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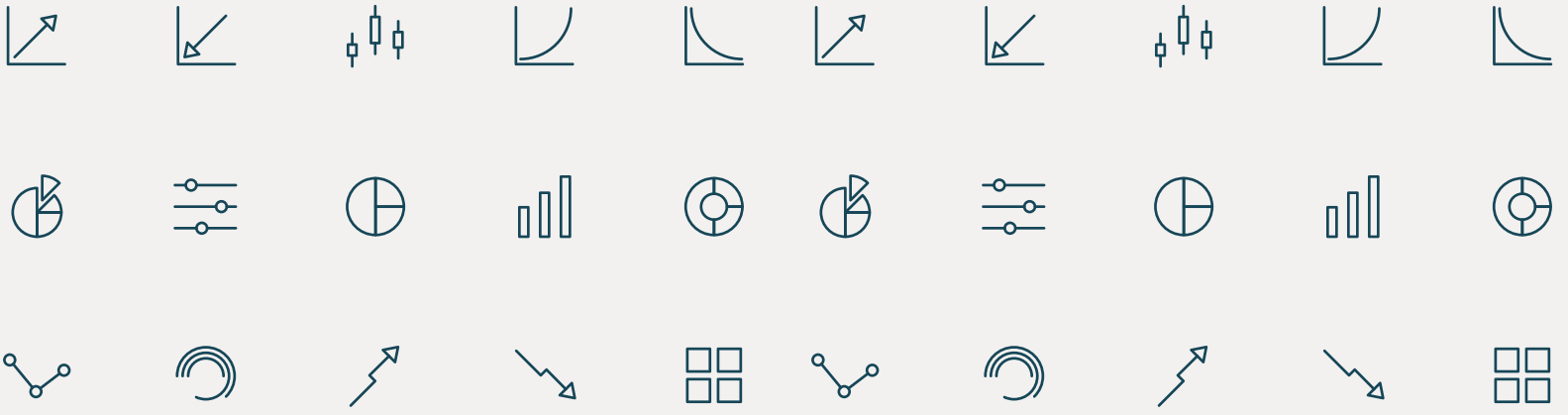
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