



High-Impact Practices: How to Design Social and Behavior Change Communications for Countering Violent Extremism

A Cross-Sectoral Perspective

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Debora B. Freitas Lopez, Stacia George, Katy Gorentz, and Jenna Karp

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A. Purpose of This Document

Violent extremism's threat to democracy and citizens' security is growing and changing faster than domestic and international constituencies' ability to contain it. Countering violent extremism (CVE) experts (see box) are urgently searching for effective means both to prevent more people from embracing violent extremism and to prompt current violent extremists to abandon their efforts. Messaging and media are frequently cited as tools used to address CVE, but not much empirical evidence shows what type of messaging and media accomplish the behavioral and systemic changes needed for CVE. This document is a primer on the limited existing data on the application of social and behavior change communication (SBCC) interventions and CVE. The primer provides insight on how to design SBCC to address violent extremism based on CVE-related data and data from other disciplines (e.g., health, education, neuroscience, and youth programming).

B. What is SBCC for CVE?

SBCC is a research-based, consultative, participatory process that uses communication to facilitate behavior change and to support the social change required to improve specific outcomes, like CVE.

SBCC draws on evidence and target populations' perspectives and needs. An ecological theory that integrates changes at the individual level with changes at the group, environmental, and structural levels guides this participatory process. Recognizing that individuals and their immediate social relationships depend on larger environmental and structural systems and norms (e.g., gender, power, cultural, communal, organizational, political, and economic systems and norms), SBCC encompasses perspectives on social change that foster community dialogue and action. Working at multiple levels with diverse target populations, SBCC can effectively undertake different but interrelated interventions in addition to communications campaigns as part of a comprehensive change strategy.

SBCC consists of three key elements:

- Communication using channels, messages, materials, interventions, and themes that fit a target population's needs and preferences
- Behavior change through efforts to make specific actions easier, feasible, and closer to an ideal that will prevent or counter violent extremism
- Social change to achieve shifts in the definition of an issue — in this case, violent extremism — people's participation and engagement, policies, and gender norms and relations

SBCC draws heavily on neurocognitive and psychological drivers of human behavior. With extensive knowledge of these drivers, communications can effectively consider what makes people do what they do and, in the CVE context, what leads individuals to move toward violence rather than the pursuit of peace and community cohesion. Similar to the strategy the advertising world has adopted, the SBCC strategy is to change perceptions and, ultimately, human behaviors, so SBCC must be rooted in proven neuroscientific research.

C. Why Is SBCC Important for CVE?

In recent years, SBCC has started to play an increasing role in CVE programs. Given that SBCC draws heavily on neuroscientific considerations of what drives human behavior, these communications offer a promising approach to preventing, redirecting, or responding to participation in violent extremist activity. Disseminating extremist messaging through technology (e.g., social media, text messages, or websites) to radicalize individuals has become increasingly popular. SBCC broadens the scope of interventions that resonate with segmented target populations beyond technology to disseminate counter messaging without resorting to censorship while conducting person-to-person and community activities dedicated to

Violent Extremism

Advocating, engaging in, preparing, or otherwise supporting ideologically motivated or justified violence to further social, economic, and political objectives.

CVE

Proactive actions to counter efforts by violent extremists to radicalize, recruit, and mobilize followers to violence and to address specific factors that facilitate violent extremist recruitment and radicalization to violence.

—Department of State and
USAID

achieving long-term social and behavior changes.¹ Because SBCC has only recently begun to establish itself as an approach to CVE, data on its effectiveness is limited. Here, however, we provide a few examples of what SBCC for CVE can look like and what we know at this point about what works.

C1. SBCC Approaches to CVE

Efforts to change behaviors within the context of violent extremism have generally fallen into two categories: counter-messaging and narratives. Such counter-messaging and narratives often rely on mass media communications. As discussed above, an effective SBCC program requires integrating changes at the individual level and environmental and structural levels using various communication channels and interventions beyond mass media. Based on research findings, we put recommend incorporating the following activities and communications as part of an integrated SBCC approach to CVE. For more details, please see Section D4, Pair Communications with Concurrent Activities to Address the Enabling Environment.

1. *Counter-messaging.* Counter-messaging uses statistics and facts (e.g., the fact that more Muslim Pakistanis are killed by the Taliban than by U.S. drones) to dismantle assumptions that are not based on facts or measurement. Counter-messages, which are often but not only delivered through mass communications campaigns, may directly refute or deconstruct violent extremist claims. Within this framework, counter-messages and tools include the following.
 - a. Direct in-person or online discussions with potential recruits or current violent extremist group members to discuss specific violent extremist messages and offer direct counterpoints.
 - b. Counter-imaging, which involves de-romanticizing extremism by using images of what actually happens on the ground (e.g., the killing of civilians, women, and children).
 - c. Redirect method, which redirects viewers searching for jihadist material to different messages through online advertising that “nudges” those viewers to pursue other behavior.² Developed based on interviews with ISIS defectors, the redirect method targets those most susceptible to jihadist messaging and gives them credible content in English and Arabic on YouTube related to citizen testimonies and on-the-ground reports.³ Jigsaw, an initiative by Google, piloted the redirect method.
2. *Counter-narratives.* Counter-narratives are strategically constructed storylines communicated to target populations to shape how they feel about or understand events or issues and, ultimately, to guide those populations’ behavior.⁴ In the context of CVE, counter-narratives are created through activities and communications designed to change the stories that extremist groups use to influence local populations. CVE activities and communications may change such stories either by altering individuals’ real-life experiences or by reinforcing values that are incompatible with violent extremist groups’ values. Within this framework, counter-narratives can be conveyed either through mass media or in person, and they include:
 - a. Messages that focus on what individuals are “for” rather than what they are “against.” These messages rely on positive stories about social values, tolerance, openness, freedom, and democracy. Such messages target individuals who are at-risk or already radicalized as well as specific communities or even the general public.
 - b. Communications and activities that aim to illustrate an alternative reality to that proposed by the extremists.
 - c. Government strategic communications that undercut extremist narratives by explaining government policy and rationale and offer a different story of government activity and intentions. These communications refute misinformation and help develop relationships with key constituencies and audiences. The target audiences include local NGOs, community-based organizations, public services, and — to a lesser degree — at-risk individuals.⁵
3. *Interpersonal communications (IPC).* Effective SBCC programs integrate interventions conducted through various communications channels. Based on experiences in the health field, we know it is critical to incorporate IPC into SBCC, like one-on-one meetings, small group meetings, and small-group skills building programs to address other factors that entice people to violent extremism. As part of a comprehensive program, IPC would provide an intimate platform for individuals to discuss

openly and honestly their concerns and perspectives on violent extremism and to address the norms and barriers often linked to violent extremism. IPC would also help reaffirm the messaging or narrative-based campaign content and address the drivers of radicalization among local populations. Additionally, IPC might create opportunities to engage gatekeepers or influencers of the target populations to lead these sessions and to further reaffirm messages against radicalization.

4. *Community mobilization.* Experiences from the health field show that, like IPC, incorporating community-based interventions like community events, theater groups, school programs, and religious-based programs into SBCC can also address factors that entice people to violent extremism. Although not as intimate as IPC, as part of a comprehensive program, community-based interventions offer other opportunities to engage gatekeepers of target populations on a broader scale, reaffirming the SBCC messaging or narrative-based campaign content. Incorporating community-based interventions into SBCC also provides an opportunity to address norms and barriers often linked to radicalization.

C2. Examples of SBCC Interventions in Various Contexts

Although an abundance of research exists on how SBCC can be applied in the context of CVE, limited data exists on the actual application of SBCC interventions in conflict-affected environments. Desktop research shows that an array of recent CVE programs in East Africa, Europe, and the Middle East have incorporated SBCC activities, but these CVE programs have been unable to identify data that demonstrates that specific behavioral or environmental or systemic changes are attributable to these activities. Here, we provide examples of programs that offer promising initial research on including social media and mass communications campaigns as part of a comprehensive SBCC approach, along with other types of interventions. In addition, we identify examples of how SBCC-based health interventions have effectively changed human behavior in similarly complex, fast-paced environments and why these interventions have potential in CVE programming.

C2a. Case Study 1: Strengthening Community Resilience against Extremism (SCORE)

What. SCORE is a USAID/Kenya and USAID/East Africa capacity building activity that began in 2014. The activity aims to address the root causes of conflict and violent extremism and reduce the allure of potentially radicalizing messages in six counties in Kenya's coastal region. Act Change Transform (Act!), a leading Kenyan NGO, is implementing the activity. Centered around behavioral changes and communications (counter-messaging and counter-narratives) to youth and other members of at-risk populations, SCORE coordinates with activities at the government and community levels in partnership with local authorities, religious leaders, theater groups, radio stations, community-based organizations, and women's groups. Using messaging, local champions, and community-based events, SCORE guides individuals toward peaceful outlets (peacebuilding initiatives, early warning mechanisms, and linkages to economic opportunities) and enables them to reject, question, and mobilize against radicalizing messages or narratives. At the activity's beginning, SCORE conducted formative research through a baseline survey to identify the root causes of conflict, the primary drivers of violent extremism, and the primary grievances among at-risk groups, including perceptions of marginalization, lack of economic opportunity, gender stereotypes, and religious animosity. The findings from this initial research drive the activities that SCORE's 18 civil-society-based sub-awardees are undertaking.

Data. SCORE has collected qualitative and quantitative data that demonstrates changes in perception of and interest in extremist groups as well as changes in community members' willingness to resist the influence of radicalized messaging. The data also suggests an increased interest in positive outlets to voice grievances and in other means of pursuing social inclusion. SCORE has documented success stories of youth who left violent gangs and were integrated back into society as a direct result of organized community dialogues and training sessions on life and job skills. SCORE has gathered data suggesting that, through the activities of sub-awardee Likoni Development Programme, community members submitted more crime reports related to gender-based violence, drugs, and robberies than before the intervention. Through the efforts of sub-awardee Kwacha Africa, SCORE has designed theater programming with significant community participation that has increased the number of individuals who are less interested in joining extremist groups and share information on potential threats and terrorist members with police officers. Overall, Kwacha Africa's efforts have resulted in 86 new groups or initiatives dedicated to addressing the drivers of conflict and violent extremism in their communities.

Conclusions. SCORE offers an example of a CVE program that combines messaging through various channels, community-based activities, and government and security participation to target at-risk populations and, in turn, change behavior at the individual and social levels. SCORE's results demonstrate the importance of relying on formative research to identify the characteristics of a given region or community and of partnering with influential community-level actors to engage with vulnerable groups. SCORE, a promising implementation model, can be replicated in similarly complex environments.

C2b. Case Study 2: Rapid Information for Design: SBCC During the Ebola Epidemic⁶

What. During the Ebola epidemic's peak, the USAID-funded Health Communication Capacity Collaborative (HC3) project worked with the Liberian Ministry of Health and international and national NGOs to design and implement an SBCC program consisting of mass media messaging and community/social mobilization efforts to reach communities and influence their behaviors linked to long-standing cultural practices to combat the Ebola virus. This program was linked to medical interventions that were not stopping the outbreak alone. Communities needed timely, credible information. They also needed to demonstrate ownership of their responses to the crisis. The Ministry of Health had to convince communities that Ebola was deadly but that those who contracted it could survive if they sought help early. Due to the epidemic's nature and the need to attain key data on the public's knowledge of the virus, its modes of transmission, and what information communities needed to guide their responses to the epidemic and curb it, HC3 worked with GeoPoll to design and disseminate a survey that would produce a rapid assessment. HC3 combined this survey's findings with findings from other, more traditional, formative research to develop a multifaceted program consisting of various materials for community members, health providers, and others.

Data. HC3 and GeoPoll designed a high-tech, low-touch method for collecting data that kept door-to-door surveyors away from potential exposure to the virus and produced a rapid assessment. Within three days of the survey launch, 1,000 men and women over the age of 15 completed the cellular phone survey by replying to texts from GeoPoll. These results along with other demographic information and survey data gathered through more traditional methods assisted SBCC professionals with developing a communication response and strategy with little wait time.

Conclusions. Whether it is Influenza A (H1N1), Ebola, or the Zika virus, emerging pathogens challenge public health experts. Effectively responding to outbreaks of such emerging or re-emerging pathogens in real time always requires using SBCC in a fast-paced, dynamic setting while other solutions (like vaccines and treatments) are sought. In the case of Ebola, before significant international assistance arrived, a comprehensive SBCC program consisting of coordinated messages, materials, and community/social mobilization efforts were some of the only tools available to fight the virus and reduce its incidence. Village chiefs and community and religious leaders became engaged and talked to their communities about the disease, stigma, prevention, and treatment. Materials corrected misinformation and rumors and provided credible information. Although more than 11,000 died, SBCC played a crucial role in curtailing the disease's spread — which would have resulted in more deaths — by calming fears, dispelling rumors, providing answers, and coordinating a cohesive response effort. This multi-method, rapid, and local approach to responding to the very localized and quickly evolving threat of Ebola could also be easily applied to the localized and evolving threat of violent extremism.

C2c. Case Study 3: The Redirect Method Pilot Through Jigsaw

What. In 2015, Jigsaw ran an eight-week pilot of the redirect method in partnership with Moonshot CVE and Quantum Communications. The pilot identified the major narratives ISIS uses to draw in individuals, compiling YouTube content that alters or counters those narratives and launching a series of text, image, and video advertisements to redirect users. The pilot evaluated the data in terms of two metrics: reach and engagement. Reach was calculated by counting the number of individuals who clicked on the ads. Engagement was measured using the click-through rate (CTR), a commonly used online advertising metric that tracks how often people who see an ad click on it. The CTR was measured against a control group of advertisements that ran on similar search terms over the 12 months before the launch.⁷

Data. In total, the pilot campaign reached 320,906 users (57,905 users who accessed content in English and 263,001 users who accessed content in Arabic).⁸ The CTR for the redirect pilot was 76 percent

higher than the CTR for the control content in English and 79 percent higher than the CTR for the control content in Arabic.⁹ The highest rates of engagement with the ads came from users who sought out official ISIS content in both languages.

Conclusions. The redirect method pilot demonstrated small-scale success in terms of the CTR and offers an example of how to access target populations using effective mass communications campaigns for CVE. Although we cannot categorize this pilot as an SBCC intervention given its focus on messaging alone rather than the integration of changes at the individual, environmental, and structural levels, the pilot helpfully illustrates how to gather counter-messaging content. The pilot did not collect data on the effect the counter-messages had on viewers' beliefs or actions, but the pilot offers an interesting and potentially promising approach to designing the messaging component of an SBCC program using existing content that resonates with target populations

D. Key Principles for Programming

Although not much empirical data exists on what applications of SBCC interventions in conflict-affected environments work in terms of CVE, there is data from other fields that either demonstrates what will influence human behavior or what an effective SBCC effort in any field requires. Below, we describe the key themes and best practices evident in the data that exists.

D1. Effective SBCC for CVE Requires Strong Formative Research

“Formative research” is a general term for a set of investigations conducted to guide program design, planning, and adaptation. Such research is critical to developing or adapting program strategies, especially those involving approaches to facilitating behavior and social change to support CVE efforts. Formative research occurs before a program is designed and implemented or while a program is implemented to help “form” or modify the program. The results should be used to refine and improve program activities. Formative research methods may be quantitative or qualitative. Examples of formative research include literature review, participatory activities (e.g., social mapping, focus group discussions, and individual interviews), surveys, structured interviews, observation, and review of records or documents for numeric information. In designing and planning SBCC for CVE, the insights formative research provides (see box for examples) can help do the following:

- Narrow, describe, and segment target populations and their influencers.
- Select a specific behavior or set of behaviors for the target population to change.
- Identify the factors that influence the target population's behavior.
- Develop and ensure that the communications and activities or interventions that are part of the comprehensive SBCC program are targeted, tailored, feasible, and acceptable to the local population.
- Ensure messages and materials are designed to be most effective for change.

D2. Consider Designing SBCC Efforts Around the Four Areas of Influence

Equal Access uses neuroscience and psychology to present a framework for capturing what SBCC efforts should influence. Equal Access' framework outlines four drivers that attract individuals to violent extremist groups, factors we describe below. Formative research conducted to design an SBCC effort should capture information related to these four drivers and their influences on behavior:

1. *Critical significance.* Those who feel they play a crucial role in their family, community, region, country, or another defining group experience critical significance. Research shows that people are less likely to turn to violent extremist groups if they have critical significance. In a report by Beyond Conflict, multiple researchers affirm that individuals' need to feel critical significance is a major factor

Qualitative and Quantitative Formative Research Methods Provide Rich Insights

- What motivates or inhibits the optimal practice of the most critical (or least practiced) behaviors
- Skill levels
- Knowledge, awareness, attitudes, and perceptions about these practices
- Perceptions of available support mechanisms and services
- Perceived social norms and power relationships
- Self-efficacy and self-esteem
- Possible ways to facilitate new practices or improve current ones

that leads to radicalization. Alternative positive means of achieving critical significance can reduce radicalization (see box). For example, when youth engage with their communities or assume positions of leadership in them, those youth may be less susceptible to radicalization.¹⁰ Counter-messaging that highlights how violent extremist groups do not achieve what they propose to achieve might prevent potential recruits' radicalization if they are attracted to the possibility of obtaining critical significance through such groups.

But telling those who may not experience critical significance that they can make a difference is not enough. Programs that promote positive engagement and influence must ensure that participants can clearly see their own impact. For example, [Mercy Corps](#) found in Somalia that secondary education along with civic education and engagement reduced violent extremist tendencies compared to secondary education alone. Somalian students needed the opportunity to participate in civic engagement activities to address their grievances (see the second area of influence, Grievances, discussed below). These activities gave the students a means not just of addressing their grievances but of experiencing critical significance. In addition to equipping individuals with tools for self-agency, it is critical to lay groundwork so that individuals, communities, and governments are receptive to such tools. Such work is necessary because, as two researchers cited in an Equal Access report maintain, development programs are “often inadequate because they focus overwhelmingly on the problem and less on how to fix it. Instead, ... the focus of personal and social change work should be on what is possible and how to create it.”¹¹

Empowering individuals may not only deter some from succumbing to radicalization but also directly engage others who are radicalized, giving them positive alternative means to achieve critical significance. Messages of empowerment can leverage the tendencies of individuals who are radicalized by framing action in positive, inclusive tones that resonate psychologically with those individuals. In a report on radicalization and empowerment, Equal Access and Beyond Conflict note that empowerment strategies can leverage the radicalization process. CVE programs should move beyond approaches that rely only on preventing and countering violent extremism and push an asset-based positive youth development intervention to find creative ways to directly engage with radicalized individuals and, in turn, reorient them toward alternative pathways to achieving critical significance. For example, Equal Access designed radio programming that focused not on grievances but on what the participants aspired to achieve in their society and how they would do so.

2. *Grievances.* Grievances can drive individuals to radicalize as they try to express or address their grievances. There are a few principles to keep in mind when designing interventions related to grievances. First, as Equal Access found in its [study](#) titled “Assessing Conflict Drivers and Re-Framing Radicalization in Northern Nigeria,” CVE programs must validate all grievances, including those of insurgents. Recognizing all grievances is an important symbolic change that supports forgiveness and healing.

Second, SBCC interventions should demonstrate that joining violent extremist organizations will not address individuals' grievances by highlighting the organizations' “say-do” gaps and inconsistencies between the organizations' specific messages and body of messages over time.¹² SBCC messages designed to change perceptions of grievances against the government may be effective in discouraging violent extremism because some evidence shows a causal relationship between discontent with the government and violent extremism.

Third, Alliance for Peacebuilding found that communications that portray government and security institutions as more trustworthy and accountable are sometimes effective.¹³ Whether such communications are effective may depend on whether they reflect reality. They may be more effective

Radicalization

Radicalization is a cognitive and psychosocial process through which a person undergoes an alteration of beliefs, values, demands, and actions (possibly including the use of violence); gains agency and conviction; and gradually adopts a more hardline, activist, and counter-normative identity and ideology to bring about social change aligned with that ideology.

when paired with programming that improves government and security institutions' accountability or effectiveness. Qualitative metrics used to evaluate relevant communications confirm a causal relationship between adverse community relationships with government and security apparatuses and high levels of violent extremism. A large body of research indicates that abusive security and governance practices increase violent extremism. In addition, one case demonstrated that improvements in governments coincided with lower community support for armed groups. More evidence, however, is needed to prove that programming designed to improve the accountability and responsiveness of government and security bodies drives down levels of violent extremism.

3. *Identity threat.* It is a natural physiological response for someone to turn to extreme measures if that person feels physically or socially threatened.¹⁴ In its study titled "Assessing Conflict Drivers and Re-Framing Radicalization in Northern Nigeria," Equal Access shows that behavior change communications must focus on building tolerance, curiosity, and respect across identity groups to reduce the perception of threats to individuals' identities or social groups. The study demonstrates that such strategic communications can address the still-critical topic of identity and the "otherization" of specific religious and ethnic sub-groups. A growing evidence base suggests that radio and television drama that examines issues of identity, reconciliation, and tolerance has an impact on public attitudes and behavior. The most successful projects aim to facilitate conversation, encourage awareness, or dispel false information rather than to reshape the status quo comprehensively.¹⁵
4. *Social inclusion.* Social inclusion helps address perceptions of threats to identities and build social belonging, including through forgiveness programs. Several cases clearly indicate that social cohesion fosters resilience to violent extremism, but the cases examined do so by comparing pre-existing levels of social cohesion with current levels of violent extremism rather than by showing how peacebuilding programming has increased or created social cohesion to reduce violent extremism.

D3. Social Workers Deserve Special Attention in Addition to Other Influencers and Gatekeepers

SBCC is not just media messaging. It includes personal messaging, whether that messaging occurs in forums or via one-on-one exchanges. SBCC also considers interrelationships among the structures in which an individual is embedded. Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) Global found in its research on one-on-one engagement with potential or current violent extremists that professional counselors or social workers could deliver more conversations with individuals who were at risk of radicalization than former extremists and survivors of violence could.¹⁶ Interestingly, however, former extremists were the most likely to get an initial response from at-risk individuals. Social workers, trained to work with individuals and groups struggling with sensitive personal issues and beliefs, understand what messages and approaches might resonate with those individuals and groups or encourage them to change. Therefore, CVE programs should consider incorporating social workers into their SBCC efforts by:

- Engaging them in doing the work (although there may not be enough of them in country).
- Engaging them in the design of SBCC efforts.
- Teaching others the skills that social workers possess. For example, SBCC programs could support social workers in training parents on having appropriate conversations with their children or family members if they appear to be at risk of being recruited to violent extremist groups.

D4. Pair Communications with Concurrent Activities to Address the Enabling Environment

To achieve any significant impact, social behavior change messaging must be synchronized with offline activities that create an enabling environment for the desired behavior change. Without these concurrent activities, messaging will fail to address the factors that made violent extremism appeal to individuals in the first place.¹⁷ Interventions at the community or government levels can reaffirm the content of a communications campaign and address the concrete drivers of radicalization among local populations.¹⁸ In addition, implementing targeted activities with a mass communications campaign will help synchronize the messages and activities of one comprehensive SBCC program, thereby avoiding the "say-do gap" that terrorist organizations exhibit when they fail to achieve what they promise to achieve online or propagate inconsistent messages.

Identifying the most relevant concurrent activities will require drawing heavily on initial formative research on the beliefs, attitudes, and challenges of the local population. What are the biggest obstacles for at-risk

groups from an economic, social, or physical standpoint? How have extremist groups leveraged those grievances? Getting to the root of those grievances and then working to address them will essentially eliminate the legs that extremist groups stand on to recruit and maintain members. A service delivery intervention that involves developing a new program to combat youth unemployment is one example of an intervention that, synchronized with social behavior change messaging in CVE contexts, could help get at the root of a local population's grievances. Other examples of such interventions include a civic engagement program that connects local populations with government officials through town-hall meetings or debates before a local election or a school-based education program. These interventions improve perceptions of the government and debunk violent extremist messaging that vilifies local government institutions while empowering individuals through productive, positive channels.¹⁹

D5. Make Communications and Other Activities as Participatory as Possible

Participatory communication is “a dynamic, interactional, and transformative process of dialogue between people, groups, and institutions that enables people, both individually and collectively, to realize their full potential and be engaged in their own welfare”.²⁰ Participatory communication also values “each person’s perspective and voice” in an exchange, generating communicators that create “a stronger collective voice for change at many levels of society”.²¹ Participatory communication activities can spur discussion and engagement, empower individuals and groups, strengthen leadership and advocacy skills, identify salient problems and solutions, and promote alternatives to norms and practices that propagate violent extremism. More community-driven participatory communication initiatives tailored to local contexts and priorities are needed. Engaging community members in discussions can help identify concerns and solutions as well as the most appropriate, effective materials and modes of outreach. Research shows that higher levels of participation strengthen positive outcomes.

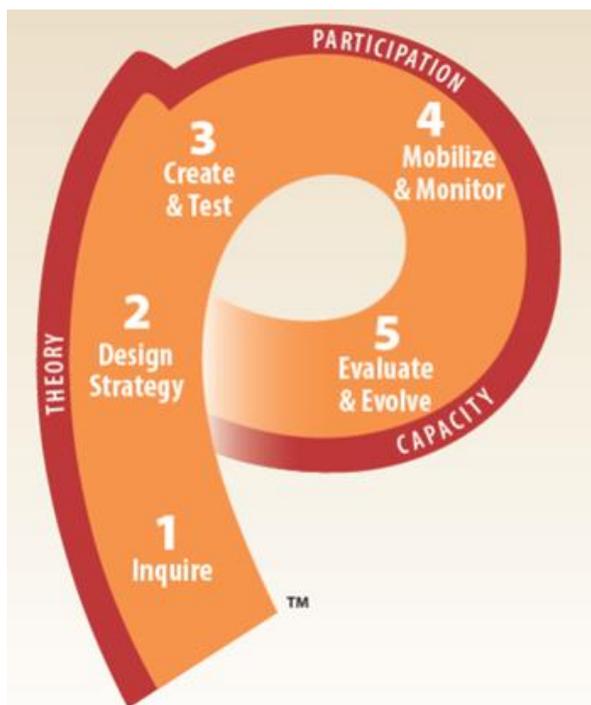
Locally appropriate modalities of interpersonal communication and the provision of adequate space and time for in-depth dialogue are central to and systematically incorporated into effective participatory communication initiatives, especially when they address culturally sensitive issues. A deliberate focus on building community members’ capacity and skills (e.g., interpersonal and technical) is also integral to effective participatory communication initiatives. These initiatives should include strengthening and mobilizing existing peer groups and networks as resources for positive change.

The participatory model entails working with community members to determine their needs and design programs that address locally identified priorities “rather than imposing an intervention from above.”²² Activities informed by the participatory model often combine media with interpersonal communication, like participatory radio, video, and community-based theater activities that engage community members in planning, implementation, and assessment. In CVE, this expectation must be balanced with the fast-paced reality of violent extremism and the need to quickly but thoughtfully address and prevent further violence. Human-centered design allows for the fast-paced collection of insights on how a program and its messages, products, and interventions should be designed while prioritizing evidence-based reasoning and interventions and remaining mindful of the target populations and their needs.

E. How to Design SBCC for CVE

Designing and implementing SBCC initiatives is complex. A step-by-step roadmap, like the P Process (see Exhibit 1), can effectively guide the development of a strategic and participatory program that is

Exhibit 1. P Process



grounded in theory and has measurable impact.²³ The P Process has five fundamental steps and three crosscutting concepts that should be used to guide the strategic process. The end of this brief lists additional resources that provide more detail on each step.

E1. Step 1: Inquire

One of the biggest mistakes when designing an SBCC strategy for CVE is hypothesizing why the target population behaves the way it does rather than verifying the target population's beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviors through formative research. Use evidence, not conjecture, first to identify and focus on behaviors and what influences them and then to design the comprehensive SBCC for CVE program. Continue using baseline and formative research findings and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) to check whether earlier decisions are still relevant to the program or adaptations must be made. In practice, formative research typically has three phases with multiple steps: 1) develop and plan formative research; 2) collect data; and 3) analyze, use, and report formative research. Exhibit 2 provides an overview of these phases and methods.

Exhibit 2. Formative Research Phases and Methods

Phase 1: Developing and planning formative research	
Review existing data and information and design the formative research	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Define the research problem(s) and purpose 2. Create a draft conceptual framework 3. Gather, review, and summarize relevant qualitative and quantitative research reports 4. Identify gaps in data and information 5. Develop research questions 6. Select and adapt research methods to answer the research questions
Design and plan the data collection	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Select the sample 8. Select and train the research team
Phase 2: Formative research data collection	
Collect data	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collect data on practices, problems, attitudes and beliefs, etc. 2. Collect advice on how to solve problems 3. Obtain opinions from target audience members and other key stakeholders
Phase 3: Analyzing, using, and reporting formative research	
Analyze data	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interpret the findings from individual sessions 2. Triangulate all qualitative findings with quantitative data (a baseline survey if one exists)
Use and report the results	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Integrate all the information collected and analyzed during Phases 1 and 2 into a document; share and discuss the document 4. Apply research results to program planning; develop the program strategy, SBCC strategy, and communications plan

E2. Step 2: Design the Strategy

Before beginning SBCC efforts, determine a clear strategy that identifies what drivers of violent extremism exist, what and whose behaviors will ideally influence the driver(s), what interventions would best influence those behaviors, who can influence the individuals or groups targeted for behavior change, and how those actor(s) will be engaged through the SBCC. An output from this step is a strategic plan that all partners can use to guide their activities and refer to for direction as the program unfolds. This strategic plan should include SBCC objectives, audience segmentation, program approaches, communication channel recommendations, a work plan, and an M&E plan.

1. *Identify what drivers exist.* Use formative research findings to inform this determination.
2. *Categorize what and whose behaviors are desired to influence each driver.* For each identified driver to change, a series of actions or behaviors must take place, and each of these actions and behaviors as well as the individuals and groups responsible should be identified. (For example, if the driver is grievances against the government for not providing services, the action that must take place may be

more government engagement with communities.) These behaviors will belong to two categories. The first category encompasses the behaviors of the individuals and groups targeted (e.g., if adopting a primary prevention strategy, communities writ large; if adopting a secondary prevention strategy, individuals who have the characteristics of being at risk for violent extremism; or, if adopting a tertiary prevention strategy, violent extremists or those in contact with violent extremists). The second category encompasses the behaviors of the individuals and groups capable of influencing the target population.

3. *Determine what interventions would encourage those behaviors.* Once the drivers of violent extremism and the behaviors (of individuals and groups) needed to influence those drivers are charted, it is necessary to identify the types of interventions that would encourage each of those behaviors. Interventions and related messaging should consider four levels — namely, the individual, relationship, community, and social levels. The Center for Disease Control uses this four-level social-ecological model to better understand violence and the effect of potential prevention strategies.²⁴

Interventions can be specific engagements and activities as well as traditional large-scale communications programs. Online and social media are useful in disseminating counter-narratives in multiple languages to reach a broad, geographically diverse audience. However, how appropriate a message's content is, who delivers it (or the credibility and trustworthiness of the individual, group, or institution delivering it), and how it is delivered to the intended audience will critically determine how effective the counter-narrative is (see Exhibit 3).²⁵ The same considerations must inform IPC and community mobilization interventions that inform a comprehensive SBCC CVE program.

Exhibit 3. Illustrative Framework for Intervention Design

Driver	Behavior and Actor	Target Population/ Influencer	Intervention
Grievance against government services	Government engages with the population more and in a positive manner	Influencer	Weekly town-hall meetings coupled with communication training sessions for government officials
Youth feel they have no critical significance	At-risk youth positively engage with their community	Target population	Youth civic-engagement activities to encourage positive participation in the community

4. *Engage key actors to support the SBCC approach.* It is necessary to analyze who is most likely to get the initial response needed from a potential or current extremist to change that person's behavior. The individual or groups engaged to conduct an SBCC intervention should have the credibility and skills needed to accomplish such change. Trusted individuals and leaders can play critical roles in starting the process of change. Formative research (described above) can help identify these actors at the individual, relationship, community, or society levels. The Alliance for Peacebuilding has found that if trusted community leaders are empowered to understand and mitigate the risks of violent extremism, they will exert their influence to resist violent extremist movements, and levels of violent extremism will go down. But being a trusted actor does not alone equip someone to accomplish lasting behavioral change (in fact, if not properly trained, even a trusted actor may ultimately exacerbate at-risk individuals' behaviors). Former extremists may effectively engage target populations, but as research demonstrates, former extremists must acquire a specific skillset to influence target populations in positive, lasting ways. ISD Global's research, as noted above, highlights that professional counselors and social workers have proven to be the most successful at engaging with potential recruits or current members of violent extremist organizations in a sustained manner. Using professional counselors or social workers to design efforts, engage at-risk individuals directly in concert with key influencers, or train key influencers on proper methods of intervention can ensure that communications are effective and received as intended. It is also worthwhile to look beyond the traditional actors and to leverage existing influential actors and networks from non-CVE

spaces with the skills to engage others. These actors or networks could be anchored in public, non-law enforcement governmental agencies (e.g., public health or education institutions),²⁶ and they might engage others in related fields — like crime or drug prevention, mental health, human trafficking, or child trauma. Such actors might also form dedicated national violence prevention networks.

5. *Construct the M&E system.* Once an SBCC strategy has been developed that clearly identifies the behaviors an intervention will influence and the individuals or groups the intervention will target, a methodology and related tools must be established to evaluate whether and how those behaviors change as a result of the intervention. M&E should not be considered the last step in program design; rather, the M&E framework's design should be integral to the whole program's design. Defining a clear theory of change, designing effective indicators, and setting baselines at the design stage better positions a program to make effective assessments and adapt throughout the intervention, as the later steps of this guide outline. Furthermore, well-constructed M&E systems provide an opportunity to address the aforementioned dearth of evidence on effective applications of SBCC interventions to CVE and, in turn, to enhance the CVE knowledge base.
 - a. *Articulate the theory of change.* A theory of change is the logical explanation of how an intervention's inputs, actions, and processes contribute to results. It provides an overarching logical bridge between the formative research conducted during the design of an intervention and its intended future outcomes. A thorough, well-articulated theory of change will also identify assumptions, demonstrate the intended causal pathway, and allow for testing of those assumptions and pathways to strengthen programming and the evidence base for similar interventions. A thorough understanding of the theory of change can help avoid potential issues like unrealistic or unclear program objectives.^{27, 28} Developing the theory of change is an excellent opportunity to involve stakeholders in the M&E system. Different stakeholder perspectives may identify critical components that are missing from the intervention, enhance understanding of key drivers, and illuminate the assumptions made in the intervention's design. A theory of change can also promote additional collaboration in support of program evaluation and a shared understanding of program goals.²⁹
 - b. *Design performance indicators.* It is important to design clear, SMART (specific, measurable, attainable, relevant, and time-bound) indicators that reflect the full spectrum of the theory of change, including initial outputs, intermediate results, and proxy impact indicators. Designing indicators in this way allows a program to track progress in relation to the theory of change and potentially validate that theory of change when paired with evaluation methodologies.^{30, 31} A number of established indicators that can inspire and inform the development of SMART indicators, although established indicators may not be useful or appropriate for all contexts. Top-down indicators, while useful for comparison across contexts, may not be applicable to a given context, may reflect inaccurate biases, or may not resonate with program participants. Indicators should be carefully examined and tailored to best reflect the context and interventions at hand.³²

One promising method for developing contextualized, sensitive indicators is participatory indicator development, which embraces the key principle of participatory communication covered in Section D5, above. Research that the Everyday Peace Indicators project has conducted demonstrates that localized perceptions of peace and conflict often differ from top-down narratives that inform most well-known measurements.³³ For example, a community may recognize peace not in an elaborate, top-down index or in the reach of a communications campaign but rather in the ability to drive or walk in different community areas or observe women moving freely in public spaces.³⁴ As a result, the project promotes the use of community-sourced indicator generation, which can result in indicators that are best poised to capture how beneficiaries experience the results of programming. Indicators created through these collaborative, community-based processes can be combined with other, more traditional methodologies to create a rich tapestry of indicators that capture results from multiple perspectives. Ideally, participatory indicator development is a component of participation more generally throughout the program — from program design to evaluation design, implementation, and communication of evaluation findings.^{35, 36, 37}

- c. *Set baselines early.* An inventory and review of USAID CVE and insurgency monitoring systems implemented by Management Systems International under a USAID contract in 2012 noted that “There is a considerable need for quality on control on CVE/I surveys – and a need to get baseline data in place much more quickly.”³⁸ Although this guide will eventually delve into evaluation methods, it is critical to plan for them and establish baselines early in the intervention. It can be difficult to demonstrate change without baseline data for comparison.

E3. Step 3: Create and Test

Developing and pretesting a strategy and its messages, materials, training sessions and courses, and processes are important because they enable us to learn early in the program what will be most effective with the intended audiences. Using pretest findings to adjust the original proposed approach will save time and money and help avoid going through the entire development process with an ineffective strategy or set of messages and materials. Positive results from pretesting can also secure early buy-in from stakeholders as well as the intended audiences and their influencers. After adjusting the approach, full implementation should begin, including laying the groundwork for strong M&E systems.

Pretest all messages and materials. Pretesting all messages and materials with the intended audience is crucial when that audience’s literacy level is low. Pretesting will elucidate whether the intended audience understands what is being communicated. Although working with advisory groups and gatekeepers can assist with collecting useful input for developing intended audience-appropriate messages and materials, only testing with members of the intended audience will reveal what their reactions might be. It is always better to conduct research with intended audience members than without them. When resources are an issue, use methods that cost less and money-saving strategies.

Pretesting preproduction draft materials allows for the identification of flaws before spending money on final production. Test these materials with members of the intended audience to accomplish the following:

- *Assess comprehensibility.* Does the intended audience understand the strategy, messages, and materials?
- *Identify strong and weak points.* What parts of the strategy, messages, and materials are doing their job best by, for example, attracting attention, informing the intended audience, or motivating the intended audience to act? What parts are not doing their jobs?
- *Determine personal relevance.* Does the intended audience identify with the strategy, messages, and materials?
- *Gauge confusing, sensitive, or controversial elements.* Does the treatment of particular topics make the intended audience uncomfortable?

A review process adds value. It is valuable to test a strategy and its messages and materials in rough form with the intended audience as well as with influencers and stakeholders. Asking stakeholders and influencers to review the strategy and its messages and materials provides the ability to gain insight from people close to the intended audience and increases the likelihood that the influencers will use the messages and materials with the audience. Although influencers’ feedback is important, the influencers’ review should not be used as a substitute for pretesting with members of the intended audience.

The review process may seem like a series of hurdles to the timely production of materials. Reviewers, however, may add value to the materials. Some experts’ reviews may be essential to producing accurate, accepted communication messages and materials. Reviewers will contribute to the creation of accurate documents for pretesting. After pretesting, reviewers can help synthesize the results and revise the document. The following tips will assist with structuring a value-added review process.

- Choose reviewers carefully to ensure that they have relevant knowledge to contribute and be conscientious enough not to delay the process.
- Guide reviewers so that they understand the purpose or the context of the messages and materials and know what they should achieve. Give them a list of questions to answer or other guidance.
- Never skip technical review by an expert, who may catch issues or inaccuracies others miss. Try to incorporate as many of the expert’s comments as possible. For example, the facts presented may be accurate but not reflect new information that only an expert would know.

- Allow sufficient time in the development process to deal with reviewers' comments, including giving reviewers enough time to do a thorough job and giving creative professionals enough time to make revisions thoughtfully and carefully.

Consider pretesting again. If major changes have been made to the strategy, messages, or materials on the original pretest conclusions, consider pretesting again. The program may have addressed the right problems, but without testing the intended audience, whether the new solutions will be effective will remain uncertain. The key is allowing time for this possibility in the initial schedule.

Make the best use of results. Pretesting findings can be used to solve problems, plan programs, develop materials, or refine materials or messages. It is important to avoid misuse of market research results. Perhaps the most common error is to overgeneralize.

E4. Step 4: Mobilize and Monitor

Monitoring the SBCC CVE program's progress based on the developed SBCC strategy is important to make sure that implementation proceeds as planned and potential problems are identified and addressed as quickly as possible. Once results show what is effective, SBCC and CVE practitioners must assess what that information tells them about what is and is not working in their interventions. Practitioners should be prepared to regularly review results from both indicators and larger assessments/evaluations and to adjust the approach to keep up with the changing environment. Hopefully, behaviors will change because of SBCC for CVE interventions; if they do change, strategies must be created to reflect the new reality.

In the context of programs that need to move quickly, building feedback loops into the intervention from an early stage can increase an activity's ability to adapt. Feedback loops provide space to identify shifting priorities and contexts, make timely adaptations, and ensure that learning processes are built in throughout the intervention timeline rather than just at the very end. Approaches like Collaborating, Learning, and Adapting and³⁹ Rapid Feedback Monitoring, Evaluation, Research, and Learning⁴⁰ in addition to the aforementioned lessons from participatory communication and human-centered design provide options for incorporating feedback loops and adaptation into the intervention strategy.

E5. Step 5: Evaluate and Evolve

There is a great need for evidence in terms of demonstrating what SBCC approaches for CVE work. Assessment and evaluation offer opportunities to contribute to that evidence base. However, conducting thoughtful evaluation of both CVE and SBCC programming can be challenging and complex. It is hard to change behaviors, and even if the behaviors do change, it can take considerable time to ensure long-term (versus short-term) change. Issues that are sensitive topics and illegal behaviors can make it difficult to monitor behaviors or get unbiased information on attitudes.^{41, 42} Furthermore, attribution has historically been a sticking point for many CVE and SBCC programs, as it is difficult to demonstrate whether results are attributable to the intervention without extensive and rigorous evaluation processes. Both SBCC and CVE programs face the problem of trying to prove that something did *not* happen *because of* an intervention. How can a program quantify the people who did *not* contract HIV or the people who did *not* join a violent extremist group because of the program's implementation? Evaluations must be carefully planned and timed to obtain the best, most informative data possible given the resources available and the context at hand.

Methodologies and approaches. Randomized controlled trials (RCTs) are considered the "gold standard" for determining causality.⁴³ But for the following reasons, RCTs are often not possible or sometimes even inappropriate for SBCC and CVE programs.

- RCTs can require substantial time, financial, and human resources, which may be unfeasible given the CVE programming's time-sensitive nature.
- SBCC interventions are susceptible to spillover or contamination of control groups. It is difficult to restrict who a large communications campaign reaches let alone to limit the spread of information from the treatment group to the control group.
- "Do no harm" is a critical ethical principle of health interventions, international development, humanitarian interventions, and human subjects research. This principle requires that we be mindful

of the risks our interventions and studies entail. When determining whether an RCT is appropriate, it is critical to consider whether withholding treatment from a control group would put that group in danger or whether the selection of a control group could be perceived as a political statement. These concerns may be even more pressing given the fragile settings where these interventions may occur.

The combined complexities of SBCC approaches and CVE contexts mean that RCTs may not be the right answer for assessing impact even if they are the “gold standard.” Instead, evaluators must be creative in applying methodologies that, when tied to a clear and thorough theory of change, can demonstrate program results in other ways. There are other methods of evaluation that can be more appropriate, ethical, and feasible. In some cases, it may be possible to construct a quasi-experimental approach that uses statistical techniques to construct a control group, which may mitigate some concerns related to implementing an RCT. Other promising evaluation alternatives include cross-historical comparisons, outcome mapping, developmental evaluation, most significant change, and outcome harvesting.^{44, 45, 46, 47} Each of these methodologies should be tailored to the specific intervention approach and context at hand.

Any methodology can be bolstered with a mixed-methods approach, which can help triangulate findings and afford a more nuanced understanding of those findings. As discussed above in relation to indicators, having multiple sources and perspectives is beneficial. Qualitative methods can be crucial to a mixed-method evaluation, providing nuanced information about programming’s intended and unintended impacts. Rather than incorporating ad hoc anecdotal information, it is important to formalize methods of collecting and analyzing qualitative data so that data is fully incorporated into the evaluation system.^{48, 49} Regardless of the methodology or set of methodologies chosen, the results and findings of a well-documented, thoughtfully constructed evaluation may critically inform the CVE evidence base.

Planning for common issues in SBCC and CVE evaluation. As noted above, an effective evaluation approach must overcome various challenges to provide high-quality information on the effectiveness of SBCC and CVE programming. Such an approach may, for example, entail taking the following actions.

- *Asking tough questions on tough issues.* Given the highly sensitive nature of these interventions, extreme care must be taken to design data collection instruments that are suitable, sensitive, and ethical. Poor instrument design can lead to bias in participant responses or even harm participants if information is inadequately protected. To do a good evaluation and uphold the “do no harm” principle, it is important to use formative research to adapt data collection tools and questions to the specific context. Using proxy indicators, carefully wording survey questions, and considering survey design as a whole can help address issues that are highly sensitive for participants. For example, using open-ended questions, qualitative techniques, or methodologies like list experiments can make it easier and more comfortable for participants to respond honestly.^{50, 51, 52} Just as communication materials should be pretested, assessment methods should be piloted to ensure context sensitivity; if it becomes clear that the context is changing or that the assessment is not accurately capturing reality, assessment methods may need to be updated over time. Third-party monitoring may also be a way to be sensitive to participants’ needs and perspectives.⁵³
- *Creatively responding to the prevention problem: How do you prove a negative?* If an RCT with an appropriate control group is impossible, it may be necessary to respond with some creativity when trying to demonstrate attribution or contribution. Sometimes, combining the methods noted above plus a clearly articulated theory of change may offer some justification for the intervention’s results. Given the earlier discussion of empowerment as a parallel path to radicalization, it may make sense in some cases to explore the *positive* impact of an intervention as indicative of decreases in negative outcomes. Participatory indicator development may illuminate some of the positive impacts that mirror decreases in negative behaviors.

However, there is also a need for CVE programs, program evaluators, donors, and other stakeholders to be realistic about what can be achieved by CVE programming and what can be tested.⁵⁴ It may not always be possible for an intervention to clearly demonstrate causality. Setting expectations for the M&E system early on with multiple stakeholders can help focus evaluation approaches on tangible, realistic goals. Even if there is no RCT, the results of other evaluation methods can still be shared or published to inform future interventions and evaluations.

- *Capturing diverse perspectives through the evaluation.* An evaluation that only reaches an exclusive part of the population does not speak the full truth of the intervention's impact. Program design and evaluation efforts should be inclusive of vulnerable populations. Careful design can promote the inclusion of diverse perspectives in evaluations by creating safe spaces for vulnerable participants to contribute. The previous recommendations regarding formative research, participatory approaches, and sensitive data collection design can also promote inclusion. CVE programs should incorporate gender-sensitive M&E that attends to the voices of women and girls in evaluations and addresses the impact of programming on women and girls.^{55, 56}

E6. Publish Results

Although not classified as a step in the P Process, the final step to designing SBCC for CVE is publishing the intervention's results. The body of knowledge of what works in terms of applying SBCC for CVE remains sparse, partly because data on existing or recent interventions does not appear to be publicly available for other practitioners. Those conducting an SBCC campaign should capture the data used to evaluate the campaign's results and publish the results in forums accessible to other practitioners so that those practitioners may effectively adapt their own programming. At this critical juncture, the threat of violent extremism is growing, but we still have much to learn. By learning rapidly from each other, we may find the means to slow this growing threat.

F. Additional Resources

There are many detailed guides on designing and implementing SBCC and CVE programs. Below, we share links to some of these resources.

- Georgetown University's Center for Strategic Studies' National Security Critical Issues Task Force's [Countering Violent Extremism: Applying the Public Health Model](#)
- Health Communication Capacity Collaborative's [Integrated Social and Behavior Change Communication Programs Implementation Kit](#)
- Institute for Strategic Dialogue's [Counter Conversations: A Model for Direct Engagement with Individuals Showing Signs of Radicalisation Online](#)
- Institute for Strategic Dialogue's [The Counter-Narrative Handbook](#)
- Institute for Strategic Dialogue's [The Counter-Narrative Monitoring & Evaluation Handbook](#)
- Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health Center for Communication Programs: [The P Process: Five Steps to Strategic Communication](#)
- The Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium: [Borrowing a Wheel: Applying Existing Design, Monitoring, and Evaluation Strategies to Emerging Programming Approaches to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism.](#)
- Radicalisation Awareness Network's [Preventing Radicalisation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism: Approaches and Practices](#)
- RAND: [Program Evaluation Toolkit for Countering Violent Extremism Program Evaluation Toolkit for Countering Violent Extremism](#)

Notes

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² <https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Countering-Terrorist-Narratives-Reed-Whittaker-Haroro-European-Parliament.pdf>

³ <https://redirectmethod.org/>

⁴ https://www.wodc.nl/binaries/2607_Summary_tcm28-286137.pdf

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⁶ <https://healthcommcapacity.org/sbcc-and-ebola/>

⁷ <https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Countering-Terrorist-Narratives-Reed-Whittaker-Haroro-European-Parliament.pdf>

- ⁸ <https://redirectmethod.org/pilot/#results>
- ⁹ Ibid.
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- ¹¹ <http://www.equalaccess.org/wp-content/uploads/EAI-YouthPower-Report-1-FINAL.pdf>
- ¹² Based on The International Center for Counterterrorism at the Hague's [report](#) that analyzes counter Islamic State messaging through "linkage-based" analysis. It draws on analyses of audio messages in 2017 by Islamic State spokesperson Abu Hasan al Muhajir.
- ¹³ <https://allianceforpeacebuilding.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CVE-SSR-1.pdf>
- ¹⁴ <http://www.equalaccess.org/wp-content/uploads/EAI-YouthPower-Report-1-FINAL.pdf>
- ¹⁵ <http://www.paccsresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Countering-Violent-Extremism-Through-Media-and-Communication-Strategies-.pdf>
- ¹⁶ Institute for Strategic Dialogue's [Counter Conversations: A Model for Direct Engagement with Individuals Showing Signs of Radicalisation Online](#)
- ¹⁷ <http://www.paccsresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Countering-Violent-Extremism-Through-Media-and-Communication-Strategies-.pdf>
- ¹⁸ <http://www.gsdr.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/HDQ1380.pdf>
- ¹⁹ <http://gsdr.org/publications/the-role-of-onlinesocial-media-in-countering-violent-extremism-in-east-africa/>
- ²⁰ Singhal, Arvind, Michael Cody, Everett Rogers, and Miguel Sabido (2003). *Entertainment-Education and Social Change: History, Research, and Practice*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Mahwah, New Jersey.
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- ²⁴ <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/overview/social-ecologicalmodel.html>
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- ²⁶ http://www.organizingagainstve.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Communities_First_December_2016.pdf
- ²⁷ OECD. *Evaluating Peacebuilding Activities in Settings of Conflict and Fragility*. 2012. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/conflict-fragility-resilience/publications/4312151e.pdf>
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- ²⁹ The Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium. *Borrowing a Wheel: Applying existing design, monitoring, and evaluation strategies to emerging programming approaches to prevent and counter violent extremism*. <http://cdacollaborative.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Applying-Existing-DME-Strategies-to-Emerging-PCVE-Approaches.pdf>
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³⁷ United States Institute of Peace. Measuring Peace and Violent Extremism. 2018.

<https://www.usip.org/publications/2018/03/measuring-peace-and-violent-extremism>

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³⁹ <https://usaidlearninglab.org/cla-toolkit>

⁴⁰ <https://www.usaid.gov/GlobalDevLab/MERLIN/RapidFeedbackMERL>

⁴¹ FHI 360. Monitoring and Evaluating Behavior Change Communication Programs.

[https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/Monitoring%20HIV-AIDS%20Programs%20\(Facilitator\)%20-%20Module%206.pdf](https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/Monitoring%20HIV-AIDS%20Programs%20(Facilitator)%20-%20Module%206.pdf)

⁴² The Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium. Borrowing a Wheel: Applying existing design, monitoring, and evaluation strategies to emerging programming approaches to prevent and counter violent extremism. <http://cdacollaborative.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Applying-Existing-DME-Strategies-to-Emerging-PCVE-Approaches.pdf>

⁴³ RUSI. Learning and Adapting: The Use of Monitoring and Evaluation in Countering Violent Extremism (a handbook for practitioners). https://rusi.org/sites/default/files/201406_bk_learning_and_adapting.pdf

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⁴⁵ OECD. Evaluating Peacebuilding Activities in Settings of Conflict and Fragility. 2012.

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⁴⁶ Search for Common Ground. Transforming Violent Extremism: A Peacebuilder's Guide.

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⁵⁰ RAND. Program Evaluation Toolkit for Countering Violent Extremism.

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