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ARTICLE



## Deradicalisation, disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremists in conflict-affected contexts: a systematic literature review

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### ABSTRACT

This article identifies, assesses and synthesises existing literature on deradicalisation, disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration (DDRR) in conflict-affected states through a systematic literature review. While existing research has methodological shortcomings and determining the outcomes of DDRR programmes is challenging, 12 common themes surfaced in the synthesis. According to the studies selected, varying experiences of the individuals in violent extremist organisations, including form of engagement, role in the organisation and experiences of insecurity and disillusion, may affect DDRR processes. Capacity and resource constrains may pose challenges to DDRR programming in conflict-affected contexts, but engaging former extremists, their families and communities at large mitigates the issues characteristic for conflict-affected contexts and contributes to wider peace-building objectives.

### KEYWORDS

Violent extremism; conflict; deradicalisation; disengagement; rehabilitation; reintegration

## Introduction

Violent extremism is not exclusive to any region, nationality or system of belief, but conflict-affected states suffer the most from violence caused by violent extremism and terrorism.<sup>1</sup> Violent extremism is often inherently part of non-state groups that are engaged in armed conflicts. Armed conflict may be a driver of extremism and terrorism is used as a tactic in conflicts. From this standpoint, there is a growing need for violent extremism prevention programmes that are embedded in the dynamics of conflict resolution and peace-building processes.

Policy-makers are acting on these notions. For example, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) has worked with rehabilitation of Al-Shabaab fighters while the European Union together with the UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) has built a Pilot Project on Countering Radicalization and Violent Extremism in the Sahel-Maghreb region. However, there appears to be little empirical knowledge contributing to the understanding, contextualisation or explanation of the design of such programmes or their results. Accordingly, there is a lack of scrutiny on the existing practices in countries

suffering the most from violent extremism. A large part of the research on individual-level deradicalisation, disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration (DDRR) processes has focused on non-conflict contexts. Currently, policies and programmes in these settings need to rely on information gained in environments often characterised by strong rule of law, functioning economies and a fair amount of resources that do not struggle with extensive organised violence.

A way to contribute to strengthening the knowledge-base on DDRR programmes is to compile and review individual studies that have been conducted across different times and conflict locations. So called systematic literature reviews are used in diverse disciplines to determine what practices or intervention designs have contributed to a set of targets. Recent years have seen a growing use of systematic literature reviews within the social sciences and the approach has become highly valued by policy-makers due to the prospects of providing solidity to debates over existing knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Systematic reviews allow synthesis of a large amount of information while mitigating bias and enhancing transparency in selecting studies for analysis. Systematic reviews are at times perceived as having limitations when dealing with qualitative work and arguably take a positivist view of the studies suitable for inclusion. However, previous research has noted that there is evidence of growing plurality in methods of systematic reviews to allow for more diverse forms of evidence and highlighted systematic reviews' potential to strengthen research also in political studies.<sup>3</sup> Our approach aims to take advantage of the systematic review method in accounting for the quality of existing research and building analysis on the findings of different studies, while at the same time being inclusive to different types of study designs and epistemologies. Combining quality and relevance assessments allows us to build our analysis on empirics and applicable practices.

This article compiles and reviews existing empirical studies on DDRR processes in conflict-affected states and identifies themes and practices that emerge in existing literature. Our study is a first step in developing an empirically-based theory for DDRR programmes in conflict-affected states. A systematic literature review is used to locate existing studies, select and evaluate contribution, and analyse the evidence, while the thematic analysis is used to identify themes surfacing in the collected data. Such methods are rare when it comes to peace-building or addressing violent extremism which underlines our contribution to the field. In addition to synthesising knowledge on DDRR approaches in conflict-affected contexts by assembling themes that are shared across individual empirical studies, this study identifies practices that have been proposed by the research. As previous research has illustrated that studies on terrorism or violent extremism often have methodological limitations, such as lack of primary data and a reliance on thought-pieces and anecdotal evidence,<sup>4</sup> assessing the quality of the literature and building the analysis on empirical evidence is considered vital, especially when it comes to practices.

Addressing violent extremism through DDRR takes a number of different forms. Our study focuses only on individual level DDRR processes. Moreover, we argue that a key issue is the treatment of those convicted of or arrested for terrorist offences. Previous studies have noted the importance of prisons in addressing violent extremism.<sup>5</sup> Although prison services may play an important role in fostering transformation and peaceful change, they have often been neglected in post-conflict processes.<sup>6</sup> Still, international interventions and capacity-building programmes in

prisons are emerging. For instance, the European Union supports the Nigerian Prison Service to implement a deradicalisation programme, and last year the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICTT) launched a project funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs that aims to improve rehabilitation and reintegration of Malian violent extremist offenders in and after prison. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has produced a Handbook on the Management of Violent Extremist Prisoners and the Prevention of Radicalization to Violence in Prisons, but the handbook is mainly based on knowledge from European countries and it directly acknowledges that it might not be applicable in post-conflict states.<sup>7</sup>

In short, this article aims to accumulate and synthesise research knowledge on individual-level DDRR in conflict-affected states focusing on the role that prisons and other related services may play in addressing violent extremism. However, individual-level DDRR processes outside prison environments in conflict-affected contexts are addressed as well.<sup>8</sup>

### **Violent extremism in conflict-affected contexts**

Armed conflicts severely harm social, political and economic institutions. Addressing violent extremism in the context or aftermath of armed conflict while ensuring human rights and the rule of law is exceptionally demanding. In these circumstances, militarised counter-terrorism responses that have performed poorly in offering durable solutions to violent extremism have been widely used to tackle extremist violence.

In conflict-affected contexts, addressing violent extremism often overlaps with collective disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes. Demobilising insurgent groups may correspond to individual disengagement, and reintegration processes including ex-combatants' families and other war-affected groups affect former extremists' prospects for integrating into society. In practice, DDR programmes are increasingly implemented in environments with violent extremist combatants.<sup>9</sup> Yet, little research bridges violent extremism prevention with the understanding of DDR and peace processes.

Previous research indicates that the approaches used in different geographical locations differ substantially. While, for instance, disengagement and deradicalisation attempts in South-East Asia and the Middle East revolve around theology and ideology, in Germany, Norway and Sweden, exit interventions focus less or not at all on ideology.<sup>10</sup> In Mali, Niger and Chad, one study found that radio programmes were an effective part of a strategy to counter violent extremism.<sup>11</sup> Yet, the strategy does not necessarily transfer to digitalised countries. This does not mean that all conflict-affected states are the same or that no evidence based on non-conflict settings holds relevance in conflict-affected contexts. The contextual and exemplified programming differences do mean, however, that the circumstances are sufficiently different to warrant a separate study; particularly given the dominant focus on non-conflict states in existing literature on violent extremism, often with an assumed possible 'cross-over' application to conflict-affected states. This review aims to identify variations or commonalities within the literature on conflict-affected states which can be used in future studies and practices for countering violent extremism in these contexts, as well as a point of comparison in future studies of non-conflict settings. However, this study does not evaluate or

compare individual programmes. Instead, our approach is based on the proposition that ‘proper understanding of the findings of a particular study lies in considering them alongside the results of similar studies’.<sup>12</sup> By studying DDDR from violent extremism in conflict and post-conflict environments this article also aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on preventing the resurgence of armed conflict and enhancing durable peace in contexts where violent extremist actors are present.

## **Methodology**

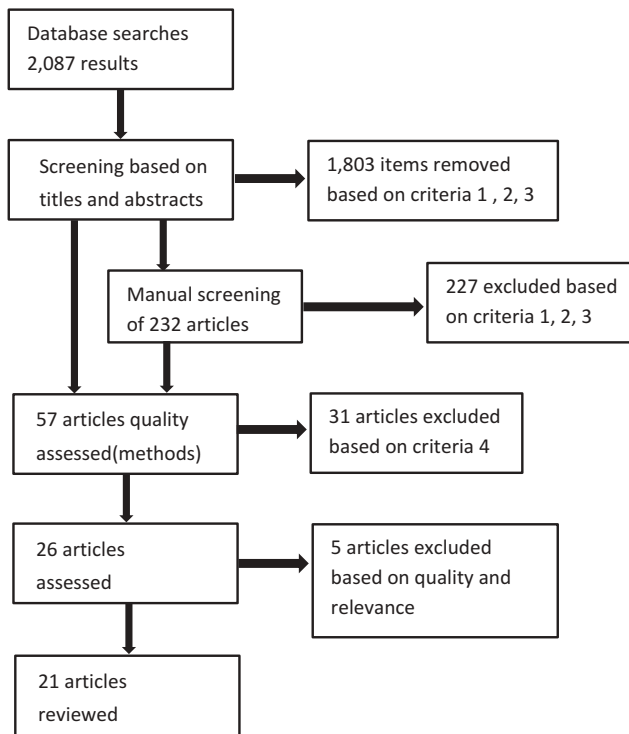
The purpose of this study is twofold: compiling research and synthesising knowledge. A systematic literature review method is used for searching and appraising research findings. The type of literature review conducted is often determined by the aim of the study, the research field and the literature available along with more practical considerations such as available time. As the aim of this article is to inform practices, we focus on empirical contributions. A recent review based on 2,552 articles on terrorism published between 2007 and 2016 found that qualitative studies continue to dominate research on terrorism: 78.1 per cent of the articles studied by Schuurman did not use any statistical analyses and only two articles of the sample (0.08 per cent) were based on clinical assessment.<sup>13</sup> We expected a similar outcome – along with considerable style and content variations – in reviewing the literature on DDDR in conflict-affected states. A literature review method designed for homogeneous quantitative studies or medicine<sup>14</sup> was therefore not deemed appropriate for our study. Instead, this article uses a systematic inclusion process with a qualitative synthesis of the literature.

The search strategy of a systematic review aims to be exhaustive and comprehensive and quality assessment determines inclusion or exclusion.<sup>15</sup> Because we are interested in practices, the articles were selected based on their relevance and applicability in informing policy as well as on research quality. To synthesise knowledge, the study applied the approach typical for qualitative systematic reviews by looking for themes that are shared across the included individual studies. Instead of being aggregative, the goal of thematic synthesis is interpretative to broaden understanding of DDDR in conflict-affected contexts.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, this study analyses qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods studies drawing on both systematic review and qualitative review methodology.

### ***Literature search strategy***

The authors searched articles in Academic Search Premier, Taylor & Francis Online and Google Scholar databases. Inclusion criteria were (1) full-text English language articles published in peer-reviewed journals with open publication date (no editorial or opinion pieces), (2) related to deradicalisation, disengagement, rehabilitation or reintegration in (3) a conflict or post-conflict setting with (4) a research method. The title and abstract were screened to assess whether inclusion criteria one, two and three were met (See [Figure 1](#)).

Both narrow search terms focusing on addressing violent extremism in prison environments and broader DDDR wordings were used. Since the terms conflict and



**Figure 1.** Flow chart, selection of articles.

postconflict/post-conflict generated few results, it was necessary to broaden searches to deradicalisation, disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration without specification of location and to screen articles manually.<sup>17</sup> For this manual screening, the authors compiled a list of countries and territories for inclusion. Defining conflict or post-conflict contexts is complex, but the countries included were: Afghanistan, Colombia, Egypt, Israel/Palestine, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan and South Sudan, Syria, Uganda and Yemen. These countries have been affected by conflict with a significant presence of violent extremism on their territories.<sup>18</sup>

After manual screening of the database searches, 284 articles remained. The articles that were not obviously meeting inclusion criteria one, two and three were full-text screened manually ( $n = 232$ ). The initial searches confirmed that previous research on DDRR from terrorism and violent extremism have primary been conducted in non-conflict or non-post-conflict settings despite the fact that conflict settings carry the burden of the majority of deaths caused by violent extremism.<sup>19</sup> Based on the low number of highly relevant studies found through database searches and reference list searches, the authors decided to include highly relevant books and grey literature generated by Google Scholar.<sup>20</sup>

After the relevance screening, 57 articles in total remained. In the subsequent step, the researchers started the screening of articles for methods according to criterion four. Articles which did not refer to a method, or where a research method was in other ways

not detectable to the authors, were excluded.<sup>21</sup> Research methods are understood here as enabling the drawing of informed inferences to answer various research questions. Research methods are far from limited to logical positivism, and could be qualitative, quantitative or interpretative depending on the question that one seeks to answer, combined with one's ontological and epistemological standpoints. In our view, scientific inquiries could seek to generate meaning or understanding, not just explanation.<sup>22</sup> More than half of the remaining articles, 31 articles in total, were excluded due to lack of a detectable research method with regard to either data collection or analysis. The final selection thus comprised 26 articles. While one of the purposes of the article is the conceptual contribution of the literature, which does not require a formal quality assessment, this article is also interested in identifying any best practices in the field. Thus, a further quality and relevance assessment of the 26 remaining articles was conducted.

### ***Assessment of relevance and quality***

Without including a process of quality assessment, there is a risk that the existence of studies rather than their intrinsic quality will be used as the basis for conclusions. As a consequence, their findings cannot be used to identify best practices.<sup>23</sup> However, relevance is also highly important and necessary to ensure applicability.<sup>24</sup> A standard that combines relevance with quality criteria enables synthesis to be presented with a greater degree of confidence.<sup>25</sup> Contrary to some assumptions, it is possible for systematic reviews to include a variety of study designs and methodologies.<sup>26</sup> Appraising the quality of studies with different methods is nonetheless challenging. In order not to rank specific methods as superior or inferior, the quality assessment was based on three general criteria: the use of an empirical analysis, a detectable method and transparency in the research process.

Relevance and quality of the articles were assessed by the authors and rated 2–15. The relevance was assessed based on how close the focus of the article came to the topic of the literature review: DRRR of violent extremists in prison environments in conflict-affected states (1–3 points), and how applicable the article under review was to this topic (0–3 points). The quality was assessed based on: method including its motivations and limitations (1–3 points); the use of primary data collected by the author (0–2 points); level of transparency on how the study was conducted (0–2 points);<sup>27</sup> and the extent and quality of the study's discussion about its results (0–2 points).

The lowest grade for methodology and relevance was one whereas for the others the lowest grade was zero, as all of the articles selected for this round had already been established to have a minimum level of relevance to the topic and a detectable method. The articles with the highest relevance and quality were chosen for analysis, since the aim was to identify and analyse articles of the highest relevance and quality. Articles with a score lower than seven were excluded. The combined scoring system meant that articles ranking high in either relevance or quality but low in the other would still be included in the analysis. This approach was chosen in order to be inclusive and to not miss valuable contributions in the literature. After the assessment, 21 articles remained. The articles had variations in both relevance and quality with a combined score between seven and 15. A

summary of the 21 articles included in the thematic analysis is provided in [Table A2](#) in the Appendix.

## Results overview and gap analysis

The systematic literature searches and subsequent screening processes before the relevance and quality assessment generated 26 articles. Wider results are presented based on the sample of 26 articles in order to provide some notions about the research field.

The sample of the 26 articles was heterogeneous, with a mix of qualitative and quantitative studies across 12 countries ([Table 1](#)). The literature is dominated by single-country case studies, with two articles attempting to be generic.<sup>28</sup> Each remaining article was categorised according to country and whether a qualitative or quantitative method, or both, was used to provide the reader with an overview of dominant approaches in the existing literature.

Earlier review studies from the field of terrorism research have found an over-representation of qualitative research. Qualitative methods also dominate research on managing violent extremism in conflict-affected states, the ratio for our sample was close to 2:1 in terms of primary method. The lack of quantitative studies has previously been explained by a general reliance on open-source data, which is often faulty and gives rise to multiple issues of reliability and validity, often stemming from missing information.<sup>29</sup>

Clearly, accessing data on violent extremism in states affected by armed conflict is a significant challenge. Not surprisingly, then, is the finding that most of the existing research has been conducted in states of former conflict. Of the countries covered, Northern Ireland is by far the most studied, appearing in 27 per cent of the articles, including six single-case studies plus one multiple-country study. Additionally, no studies focused on Iraq or Syria and only one study focused indirectly on Afghanistan, even though these three countries have been among the most conflict-affected countries in terms of fatalities between 1989 and 2016.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, it appears that some authors producing high-quality research in the field focus on specific countries, which further affects accumulation of the studies in specific countries.

The review also found that even though violent extremism is not a new phenomenon, DDRR are emerging research fields. Despite having an open publication date in the databases searches, all articles meeting the inclusion criteria were published in the period 2003–2018, with a sharp increase since 2013 ([Figure 2](#)). Due to the policy interest in the topic, the knowledge-base can be expected to continue growing in the future.

**Table 1.** Literature overview.

State	AF	CO	EG	IL/PS	IQ	LK	LY	ML	NG	NI	PH	PK	SA	SD	SO	SSD	SY	UG	YE	VA	Total
QL	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	15
QT	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7
Mixed	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total	1	2	1	2	0	3	1	0	2	6	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	26

QL = qualitative method; QT = quantitative method

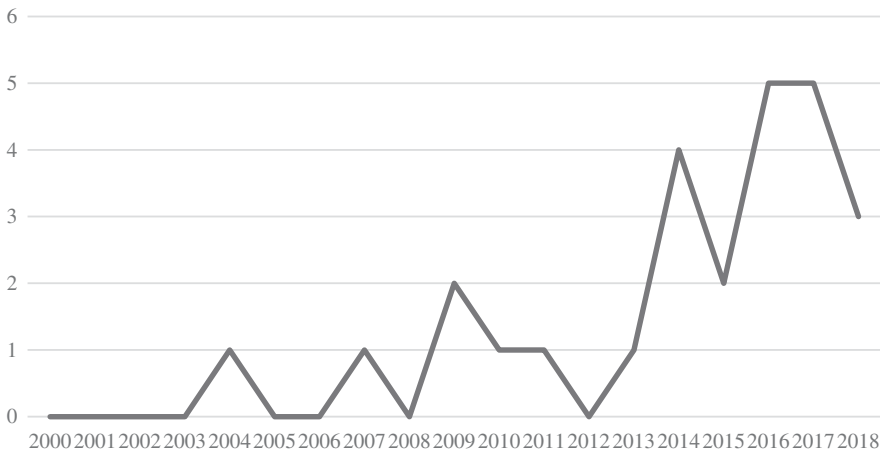
IQ = Iraq, SY = Syria, YE = Yemen, LY = Libya, ML = Mali

AF = Afghanistan, SO = Somalia, NG = Nigeria, SD = Sudan, SSD = South Sudan, CO = Colombia, IL/PS = Israel/Palestine

EG = Egypt, PH = Philippines, PK = Pakistan, SA = Saudi Arabia

NI = Northern Ireland, LK = Sri Lanka, UG = Uganda, VA = Various Countries/Generic





**Figure 2.** Dates and numbers of selected publications.

### Thematic analysis and suggested practices

After compiling, screening and quality assessing the articles, the researchers conducted a thematic qualitative synthesis based on the 21 remaining articles. Twelve themes emerged from the synthesis: Degree of voluntarism; Level of embeddedness; Unmet expectations and insecurity experienced during engagement; Risk assessments; Ideological convictions; Education and vocational training; Role of communities; Importance of family and friends for disengagement and rehabilitation; Economic opportunities and employment; Alcohol, addiction and mental health; Fear of reprisals; and Violence and recidivism. The articles included in this review are all specific to a particular context, time and group of participants. We have sought to preserve context by providing a reference to the nature of the study, the country and type of extremist group, where information has been provided.

In addition to a thematic synthesis, systematic reviews typically seek to organise results in the form of a ‘best evidence synthesis’.<sup>31</sup> The literature included in this systematic review does not meet sufficient standards of quality to inform evidence-based designs in DDRR programmes in conflict-affected states. Yet, a number of suggested practices have been identified in the existing literature. The suggested practices have been identified based on limited samples and on studies in specific contexts, so their transferability to other groups in other contexts may be limited. Nonetheless, they are practices with promising results and none of the reviewed articles found contradictory results which would undermine their value.

#### *Degree of voluntarism*

Previous research indicates that the recruitment process and nature of engagement in violent groups affect DDRR. The literature on DDRR in conflict-affected states distinguishes between voluntary and involuntary membership in extremist groups. Involuntary entry may mean that the members initially lacked any ideological commitment to the group’s cause, or to violence, and that they were themselves victims of

violence. Thus, the process and needs of reintegrating and rehabilitating returnees will be different depending on whether recruitment was voluntary or involuntary.<sup>32</sup> The degree of voluntarism in engaging with violent extremist organisations in conflict-affected states may differ between men and women. One survey of 63 female and 56 male former members of Boko Haram found that 17 per cent of the women and five per cent of the men had been recruited by force.<sup>33</sup>

There are also significant variations within ‘voluntary membership’. Although considered a more voluntary form of engagement when compared to abduction, engagement purely motivated by severe poverty can also be seen as a form of not fully voluntary engagement. The study above surveying 119 former members of Boko Haram showed that 15 per cent of Boko Haram respondents indicated that they had joined the organisation because of poverty and the need to be paid a salary, and six per cent of former members referred to the employment opportunities offered by the group as being a motivating factor.<sup>34</sup>

The concept of level of voluntarism also encapsulates the decision to disengage. Involuntary disengagement from an extremist group for an individual member could be, for example, imprisonment or when the leadership of the group decides to disengage from violence. One quantitative study of former extremists in Colombia proposes that whether disengagement was voluntary or imposed by the leadership as collective action may affect the risk of the individual reoffending after disengagement if individuals opposed the collective agreements.<sup>35</sup>

### ***Suggested practices***

DDRR programmes may benefit from taking different forms depending on the degree of voluntary engagement and disengagement. Someone who was forcefully recruited may, for example, need more assistance in terms of psychological support or in ensuring physical safety rather than in changing extremist attitudes or behaviour.<sup>36</sup> Those forcefully recruited are presumably less likely to radicalise others.

### ***Level of embeddedness***

The level of embeddedness in the extremist organisation by the individual member was understood in terms of the time spent and roles held in the organisation. In the interview studies analysed, interviewees’ time in the organisation varied widely. The role held in the organisation may be linked to the engagement time, although the survey study conducted by Annan et al. in Uganda showed that this is not necessarily the case.<sup>37</sup> Other factors, especially gender, may affect one’s role in the organisation. The survey of former Boko Haram members found that women outnumbered their male counterparts as recruiters, intelligence operators and in domestic services.<sup>38</sup>

One’s role in the organisation may affect the support an individual receives from the group in prison and after release. Yehoshua’s interview study of 18 extremist leaders in Israeli prisons illustrates that detained leaders, compared to low-ranking members, have a much stronger support structure provided by the extremist organisation inside and outside prison. A detained leader is still very much considered part of the organisation and to be at ‘the frontline of the struggle’, which gives them considerable status and opportunities while imprisoned and following release.<sup>39</sup> When it comes to

deradicalisation, the survey by Kruglanski et al. of 1,906 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) members engaged in rehabilitation programmes found that more embedded members did not deradicalise any less than less embedded members during the time of the programme; instead, the reverse appears true.<sup>40</sup>

One study of 87 biographies of former extremists from various countries found that members holding active roles in the group in general had a large ideological commitment to the group and that strong ideological conviction may moderate one's susceptibility to so-called 'pull factors' like amnesty, financial support and family pressure.<sup>41</sup> A study in Colombia found that 'strong personal motives' for initially joining an armed group and the time spent in an armed group significantly impacted the risk of recidivism into any crime after disengagement, not just politically motivated crimes. The authors suggest that the role and time spent in the organisation might influence the feeling of loss of status and power after disengagement.<sup>42</sup> Lack of special provisions in reintegrating mid-level commanders might also explain the tendency by this category of members to re-engage in violence after reintegration.<sup>43</sup>

### ***Suggested practices***

Designing individual DDRR programmes may be influenced by what type of role the offender held, and how long he or she was active in the violent extremist group.<sup>44</sup> Some previous reintegration programmes in conflict settings have overlooked mid-level commanders, rather than acknowledging their important contact networks within the organisation or their loss of power after disengagement, particularly when combined with involuntary disengagement such as imprisonment.<sup>45</sup>

### ***Unmet expectations and insecurity experienced during engagement***

Experiences of fear and insecurity during engagement with an extremist group can be a motivating factor for leaving a group, according to several of the studies. The impact of burnout due to pressures from engagement, including violence, was also found to be a motivating factor for disengagement in a study interviewing 11 former extremists detained in Northern Ireland.<sup>46</sup> The experience of unmet expectations, often referred to as 'disillusionment' in the general literature on violent extremism, was also highlighted in the articles on conflict contexts. A study on extremists' autobiographies found that the most frequently cited reasons for voluntary disengagement from violent extremist groups were: disillusionment with the strategy or actions of the group, disillusionment with leaders and members and disillusionment with one's tasks or role within the group.<sup>47</sup> Former members of Boko Haram have also indicated disillusionment and referred to big differences between the messages preached by the Boko Haram leadership and the reality in the group.<sup>48</sup> Violence and suffering in the group may not only be a cause for disillusionment but also a factor of personal insecurity, including a significant risk of being killed. While initially preventing disengagement, the insecurity in the group may accumulate over time and reach a point where individual members have little to lose by attempting to disengage.<sup>49</sup>

### ***Suggested practices***

Unmet expectations and insecurity during engagement can incentivise voluntarily leaving a violent group, allowing for a focus on those experiences in rehabilitation

programmes.<sup>50</sup> The importance of disillusionment for disengagement may indicate that outreach and increasing understanding of the realities in violent extremist organisations may facilitate disengagement and deradicalisation or even have preventive effects.

### ***Fear of reprisals***

The fear of violence and reprisals either by the extremist group or by the community has been found to impede disengagement and reintegration. Furthermore, the risk of reprisals appears to be linked to whether engagement was forced or voluntary and the role held in the organisation. One study of former involuntary members of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) found a high degree of fear of reprisals among the respondents.<sup>51</sup> Another survey study of former members of the LRA (voluntary and involuntary) found that 41 per cent of the respondents feared that they would be killed when they left the group.<sup>52</sup> Former members of Boko Haram have also been found to fear reprisals by Boko Haram.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to perceived and experienced insecurity due to reprisals by their former groups, ex-combatants may fear other types of violence in conflict-affected contexts. A study of former extremist prisoners in Northern Ireland noted recurring feelings of fear and worry about one's physical safety upon release and concurrent perceived limitations on movement outside one's own district.<sup>54</sup> A study on reintegration of former combatants in Colombia showed a significantly higher risk of violence targeting combatants in regions with high levels of organised crime. Former combatants reported feeling more unsafe compared to civilians in the same region. Police data also showed that ex-combatants face a disproportionately high risk of being killed. The study's authors saw this increased risk as a consequence of the former combatants' involvement in organised criminal gangs after reintegration.<sup>55</sup> The feeling of insecurity and fear of reprisals may also explain why some former combatants themselves engage in violence and other crimes after disengagement.

### ***Suggested practices***

While several of the studies identified fear of reprisals among former violent extremists and found that this might act as a hindrance to leaving the group, no best practices for how to address this issue surfaced in the review. However, the findings imply that DDDR programmes need to acknowledge participants' feelings of fear and apply measures to manage security risks associated with disengagement and reintegration.

### ***Risk assessments***

Risk assessments on violent extremism aim to determine the nature and degree of risk a given individual may pose, typically based on a set of risk-aggravating and risk-mitigating factors so that appropriate interventions can be designed to mitigate that risk.<sup>56</sup> The studies involving surveys or interviews with extremists have more often targeted low-risk individuals, probably because access to these individuals is easier to arrange.<sup>57</sup> One exception is the study by Yehoshua who interviewed 18 leaders from various extremist organisations detained in Israeli prisons.<sup>58</sup> Palestinians convicted for terrorist crimes are known as 'security prisoners' in Israel. The classification is

determined by the prison governor, is an administrative label rather than legal outcome and may have an impact on, for example, the inmates' external contacts and early release.<sup>59</sup>

In Somalia, the process of risk assessment reportedly lacks transparency, known assessment method or criteria, or coding applied.<sup>60</sup> The classification has far reaching implications since the first category of extremists faces military court and the risk of the death penalty and the second group receives amnesty and rehabilitation.<sup>61</sup> Also in Sri Lanka, assessments have aimed at distinguishing high-risk from low-risk individuals with the purpose of determining appropriate sanctions. In Sri Lanka, risk assessments were carried out on all detained former LTTE members and were based on the depth and length of individuals' involvement in the LTTE and the extremity of the activities they engaged in as members.<sup>62</sup>

In the Philippines, terrorists are rarely convicted of terrorist offences but are usually convicted of serious crimes such as murder, kidnappings and extortions due to the extreme penalties that could be imposed on the arresting officer in the event that the suspect is wrongfully detained on terrorism charges. It is therefore very difficult to know which inmates are associated with terrorism and thus need to be targeted by deradicalisation and disengagement programmes.<sup>63</sup> A small study of 29 inmates in a Philipino jail, who were surveyed on two occasions two years apart, found that prisoners who were younger, unmarried, less educated and childless showed the greatest increase in radicalisation across time, suggesting that risk assessments on radicalisation may benefit from evaluating social relations.<sup>64</sup>

### *Suggested practices*

None of the risk assessments in conflict or post-conflict states appear to have included any clinical or psychological assessments. Capacity constraints in terms of lack of both access and resources hinder the use of assessments developed in wealthier non-conflict states.<sup>65</sup> As data records and existing registers for information on, for example, criminal and health history may not be available, more emphasis needs to be placed on interviews, not only with the detainee but also with his or her family and community members. Qualitative interviews have been conducted with families, friends, teachers and community members for research purposes to allow for a rich description of adaptation and reintegration<sup>66</sup> and could inform risk assessment processes. Structural assessments based on a standardised set of questions are desirable in situations where a wide range of actors in multiple locations will conduct the interviews and few of them are trained psychologists.<sup>67</sup>

Several studies have suggested that radicalised ideas and attitudes shown in, for example, a reluctance to participate in rehabilitation activities, may make reintegration more difficult and increase the risk of reengaging in violence.<sup>68</sup> Webber et al. found that detainees' initial ratings of programme satisfaction and participation in activities influenced their level of extremist views one year later. Thus, measuring attitudes and engagement in rehabilitation programmes to determine risk may be useful and efforts could be targeted towards those reporting less positive attitudes toward rehabilitation.<sup>69</sup> Although the two studies conducted in Colombia did not refer to risk assessments per se, Kaplan and Nussio indicated that individuals with weak family ties, past inclinations toward violence, anti-social personality traits, strong motives for having

joined the group, or experiences of loss of status or prestige may merit special attention from targeted programmes.<sup>70</sup>

### ***Ideological convictions***

A large proportion of the reviewed literature makes a distinction between deradicalisation and disengagement, where deradicalisation is understood as a change in attitudes or beliefs and disengagement means a change in behaviour. Most studies also agree that deradicalisation is not a necessary condition for successful disengagement from violent extremism<sup>71</sup> but the majority of the studies reviewed here did focus on disengagement and not on deradicalisation.

In Israel, for example, a majority of the terrorist leaders interviewed stated that prison had transformed their views on military engagement but not their political convictions.<sup>72</sup> According to one high quality study in Sri Lanka surveying 500 participants in a comprehensive rehabilitation programme and 100 low-risk LTTE members that had participated in a more limited rehabilitation programme showed that providing extremists with alternative routes to significance greatly reduced radicalised attitudes among participants after one year.<sup>73</sup>

Deradicalisation programmes need to address the factors causing radicalisation and (re)engagement in violent extremist groups; however, identifying the motivating factors is challenging. One survey study in Nigeria found large discrepancies between the perceptions of root causes to radicalisation held by civil society workers working to prevent radicalisation and the answers given by former low-level members of Boko Haram.<sup>74</sup> The majority of civil society workers thought that Boko Haram members were motivated by religion while less than 10 per cent of the former members saw religion as a reason for joining Boko Haram.<sup>75</sup> The civil society respondents' perceptions are in line with Boko Haram's public image, but there may also be a discrepancy between a movement's public image and the beliefs of the supporters. A content analysis of Boko Haram's publications 2009–2012 found that Boko Haram has a strong Islamist public narrative.<sup>76</sup> However, according to the survey study, a sample of Nigerians outside Boko Haram were not motivated by religion in their support or disavowal of the group. Instead, external support for the movement appears to be determined by factors unconnected to religiosity – including household prosperity and perceptions of the Nigerian state.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Suggested Practices***

Existing research underlines understanding the reasons for radicalisation of the inmates in order to tailor programmes. For example, if the main driver is marginalisation and absent income, less focus needs to be placed on transforming ideological convictions.<sup>78</sup> It needs to be noted that there may be discrepancies between public perceptions on the motivations of extremists and their experiences.

In terms of activities, deradicalisation programmes could include prison education, counsel and dialogue with a focus on non-violent alternatives, as well as vocational training in order to restore a sense of meaning to individuals who are imprisoned for terrorist activities.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the Webber et al. study found that

maintaining a social connection to members of the LTTE had a negative impact on deradicalisation.<sup>80</sup>

### ***Education and vocational training***

The theme of education was approached differently in the literature. A low level of education of extremists was considered as a factor contributing to radicalisation or engagement and as an obstacle to DDDR. For youths, time spent with the extremist group often equals missed education and former extremists may have very low levels of education. As one example, in a study of Boko Haram members, the majority of the respondents did not finish secondary school, while 10 per cent did not receive any form of education at all.<sup>81</sup> For returned abductees in Uganda, the lack of educational opportunities meant poor skills needed for employment and livelihood, little distraction from negative or intrusive memories and difficulties finding a meaningful role or identity other than that of a returned rebel.<sup>82</sup>

Kaplan and Nussio's study on Colombia found that 90 per cent of their sample of former combatants had not graduated from high school, while 19 per cent of the returnees finished high school as part of the reintegration programme. Those obtaining a diploma after disengagement were 44 per cent less likely to reoffend after the reintegration phase compared to those who did not obtain a diploma. Basic education was also the aspect of the reintegration programme most appreciated by the former combatants and the opportunity to continue studying was a recurring motivation for disengagement.<sup>83</sup> By providing an opportunity to take part in income-generating activities while in prison vocational education can help inmates support their families on the outside and reduce the dependence on terrorist groups for economic support.<sup>84</sup>

Providing education and vocational training to convicted terrorists during an ongoing conflict was a recurring theme. In Israel, so-called security prisoners are offered high school and university courses and of the 18 political leaders interviewed in one study, four acquired university degrees while in prison.<sup>85</sup> Another small interview study from Israel alluded to prison educational programmes as particularly sensitive and to the necessity of a high level of professionalism on the teachers for carrying out such services. The study sought to capture the perception of Israeli university teachers teaching detained Palestinian terrorists and found that the teachers' decisions to engage relied on the teachers' belief that education has transformative powers. Teachers without such beliefs had instead declined prison-teaching offers.<sup>86</sup>

### ***Suggested practices***

Education was raised as a best practice to facilitate reintegration and prevent recidivism. In-prison education may focus on formal education and attaining a degree, vocational training and non-violent forms of political participation providing a space to think and develop ideas and reflect on the conflict.<sup>87</sup> Educational or vocational training may enable participation in meaningful activities and assist former extremists' reintegration into society.<sup>88</sup> The study of Webber et al. suggests that activities facilitating alternative lifestyles may be even more effective compared to family visitations during participation in a deradicalisation programme.

Jones and Morales highlighted the benefits of enabling inmates convicted of terrorism to participate with other inmates in the same rehabilitation programmes – for example, in vocational training and education for inmates convicted of other crimes serving long-term sentences – as a step towards building an alternative livelihood while reconstituting identities.<sup>89</sup> It may be necessary to embed in-prison education in conflict-affected states into wider processes, such as community sensitisation. An interview study on the perceptions of eight female Israeli teachers showed the need for a strictly professional approach toward the convicts, viewing them as students rather than terrorists, which underlines the need of sensitisation, dialogue and reconciliation.<sup>90</sup>

### **Role of communities**

Several studies from diverse geographical areas alluded to the importance of the role of the community, especially after disengagement, to facilitate reintegration and prevent re-engagement. Aspects of the community theme highlighted both the potential conflicts with community members upon return and the transformative process former extremists may engage in after their return to the community.

Former extremists may have important roles in the community and social networks that remain politically active after disengagement.<sup>91</sup> Disengagement into community activism has been studied in Northern Ireland, where former detained extremists participated in community-based activities such as educational initiatives and restorative justice projects, many of which sought to prevent radicalisation among youth.<sup>92</sup> These studies found that former extremists can be engaged in inter-group dialogues, which may work as a resource for conflict transformation. Furthermore, engaging former extremists reinforces the identities of former extremists as peacemakers. Holding such roles also appears valuable for fully integrating former prisoners into their communities and transforming their community role from a violent to civic one.<sup>93</sup> In Northern Ireland engaging former extremists in community-building activities has been contingent on community support for such actions.<sup>94</sup>

The relations between former combatants and victims, families of victims or communities at large are also important aspects in conflict and post-conflict societies. In one study in Uganda, the most commonly stated reason for being insulted or harassed by the community as a returnee was that parents of other children who had not returned from the LRA were upset by the presence of those who returned from the extremist group, however, their experience was that this eased over time.<sup>95</sup> Reconciliation between perpetrators of violence and their victims has been argued to be closely linked to demobilisation and reintegration processes.<sup>96</sup> Although the relation between victims and perpetrators is often complex and controversial, Brewer and Hayes' study of victims' perceptions in Northern Ireland found that victims were considerably less supportive of a punitive approach towards the treatment of former extremist prisoners than non-victims. Thus, victims can be a positive and unifying force in terms of the treatment and rehabilitation of ex-combatants.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the authors suggest that especially the past or ongoing engagement of former combatants in conflict transformation within their own communities may explain less retributive stances of victims towards former extremist prisoners.<sup>98</sup>



### *Suggested practices*

There is strong support in the literature for viewing reintegration as a dynamic process involving the individual, family and community.<sup>99</sup> The importance of embedding rehabilitation programmes within the local community was stressed in several studies.<sup>100</sup> For instance, Somalia's rehabilitation centres for low-risk Al-Shabaab defectors allows for community involvement and the programme is partly based on broader experiences from conflict resolution. While it is not possible to evaluate the Somali programme based on existing literature, at its outset, the programme appears to meet the criteria for designing rehabilitation programmes encompassing individual detainees, family and community. The centres involve local decision-making structures to a large degree, especially the Xeer-council, elders and the community in, for example, determining when an individual is ready to exit the rehabilitation programme.<sup>101</sup>

The study by Botha and Abdile in Nigeria found that religious institutions are largely untapped resources that could be utilised for bringing community members together; left unengaged the institutions had previously been used as recruitment venues for Boko Haram.<sup>102</sup> However, Community Councils have been helpful for settling a few disputes related to returnees in Northern Uganda.<sup>103</sup> In Somalia, Community Trauma Healing, where the perpetrator meets his or her victims is used as a part of DDRR.<sup>104</sup> The role of victims has also been underlined in other studies.<sup>105</sup> The study by Annan et al. suggests that finding ways to address the grief and loss of community members as a whole is important for improving their relations with the returning ex-combatants.<sup>106</sup> Post-release programmes can benefit from being administrated by civil society or other actors not associated with prison or security services in order to, for example, reduce stigma around such programmes.<sup>107</sup>

Dialogue and reconstruction of discourses in communities may also have a direct positive impact on disengagement. Community sensitisation has been applied in Northern Uganda where spreading a discourse of innocence has been used to aid the reintegration of youth that were forcefully recruited by the LRA.<sup>108</sup> The need for sensitisation is also strongly supported by the findings, according to which there are inconsistencies in perceptions on the engagement processes of Boko Haram members.<sup>109</sup> A study analysing the discursive strategies employed by Al Qaeda to build a persuasive collective youth identity suggests that counter-narrative interventions may be useful in addressing violent extremism. By using inconsistencies in violent extremist discourse counter-narrative strategies may facilitate deconstructing a jihadist youth identity.<sup>110</sup>

Studies from Northern Ireland suggest that former extremists may play a constructive role in the community and in preventing, for example, at-risk youth from engaging in extremist groups or radicalising. Engaging former extremists may also provide important access to radicalised parts of the community that other actors may find difficult to engage with.<sup>111</sup> This may facilitate, for example, early-warning functions. Engaging former extremists may thus be important for continued support for peace processes, removal of spoilers and support of the younger generation searching for meaning in a post-conflict environment.<sup>112</sup>

### **Importance of family and friends**

Alongside the role of community at large, many studies have emphasised the importance of family for successful rehabilitation and reintegration.<sup>113</sup> Kaplan and Nussio used a dataset of 1,485 disengaged combatants in Colombia and matched this with police records. The authors found that those who had children were 40 per cent less likely to reoffend and those who reported being accepted by their families were 47 per cent less likely to reoffend.<sup>114</sup> The reaction of the family to reintegration may be linked to the level of violence experienced or perpetrated by the extremist and whether recruitment was forced or self-initiated.<sup>115</sup> Another argument for intensively engaging detainees' families in deradicalisation programmes is that inmates may pass on their radicalised views to their children if the family is excluded from rehabilitation attempts.<sup>116</sup>

The need for post-release support targeting families was raised in relation to this theme. Studies from Northern Ireland found that the period after release from prison often causes a lot of distress for the families. For example, divorce among couples including at least one former extremist prisoner was 17 per cent higher than for other couples in Belfast.<sup>117</sup> Friends may provide distraction from difficult memories and current stressors as well as aid in norm-learning.<sup>118</sup> Annan et al.'s study of former LRA members in Uganda found that having the ability to remain in contact with other former members might aid rehabilitation.<sup>119</sup> Kaplan and Nussio's study of former combatants in Colombia did not find that associating with other ex-combatants placed an individual at greater risk of recidivism.<sup>120</sup>

### **Suggested practices**

The importance of access to one's family to those participating in rehabilitation and disengagement programmes was highlighted by several studies, either through the detainee being able to spend time at home or by the facilitation of family visits at the prison or rehabilitation centre.<sup>121</sup> Family visits allow the inmate to confirm that his or her family is taken care of, which reduces anxiety.<sup>122</sup> Having family ties and romantic relationships seem to encourage deradicalisation and disengagement.<sup>123</sup> Due to the importance of supportive close relationships, exploring interventions to increase social support to returnees is vital for those who do not have family or friends to fill this role.<sup>124</sup>

Post-release support is important for reintegration back into the communities and the post-release support ought to be directed to the families as well.<sup>125</sup> The former prisoner and family might also be more receptive to post-release assistance as it is often after coming home that the former prisoner realises the full extent of the emotional and financial hardships of their families.<sup>126</sup> Programmes may benefit from strengthening families as a key mechanism of restraining re-engagement for instance by facilitating the return of some ex-combatants to live near their families, so they can rejoin their past social networks.<sup>127</sup>

### **Economic opportunities and employment**

Economic opportunities and employment were raised in several of the articles as important elements for full reintegration into society, as well as for improving the well-being of the returnees, avoiding re-engagement and improving family relations.<sup>128</sup>

Lack of economic opportunities and employment were also underlined as general issues in conflict and post-conflict societies and not specific to former violent extremists in such settings.<sup>129</sup> The conflict and post-conflict settings also mean that physical movements are likely to be limited, restricting the possibility of engaging in productive activities.<sup>130</sup>

There are, however, some additional challenges for former extremists. As stated earlier, released prisoners may have poorer educational and professional skills, impacting what type of work they can carry out. In northern Uganda, for example, there was no significant difference in number of days worked between the returnees, but members of the LRA, however, were less likely to be involved in skilled work.<sup>131</sup> Physical injuries from the time of engagement are likely to have a greater negative impact in many conflict and post-conflict states where the majority of work involves manual labour. Abduction may further increase the risk of serious injuries.<sup>132</sup>

Even in wealthier states, former terrorists may face both legal and social barriers to employment due to their past engagement with extremist organisations, which aligns with the findings of research undertaken in Northern Ireland.<sup>133</sup> Lack of economic opportunities, negative stereotypes and legislation undermining opportunities to, for example, take on paid employment (e.g. being excluded from certain jobs because of a criminal record) are perceived as being larger obstacles to reintegration for former terrorist prisoners in Northern Ireland than enduring extremist views.<sup>134</sup> Long-term unemployment and social and economic deprivation have been widespread among former extremist prisoners in Northern Ireland and these factors are believed to work as hindrances to full engagement in communities by former extremist prisoners.<sup>135</sup>

### ***Suggested practices***

Although a few studies found that ‘push factors’, such as disillusionment with the group, one’s role in the group or the fear of reprisals surpassed any incentive offered by the community or other actors, there was still evidence that incentives like vocational training, education and micro-financing for small businesses might be critical to an individual’s disengagement – as well as crucial for preventing former members from re-engaging.<sup>136</sup> Paid employment is perceived as important for reintegration and changing one’s role in the family and the broader community.<sup>137</sup> However, due to the limited options for paid employment in conflict-affected states, investments in education for prisoners and former extremists are unlikely to lead to a stable income. Even programmes with targeted international funding may not overcome the structural barriers. Starting a small business might be the most viable option for former extremists. This typically requires capital and social support and is difficult for those without such support.<sup>138</sup> There is an option for external partners to provide seed-funding or microloans to facilitate small-scale businesses, which does not, however, mitigate possible social barriers.

### ***Alcohol, addiction and mental health***

A combined survey and interview study in Northern Ireland found poor physical, mental and emotional health among many former extremist prisoners. Such former prisoners may also have concerns for their personal security and are frequently confronted by social exclusion upon their release.<sup>139</sup> The same study also found indicators for high levels of post-

traumatic stress disorder among former imprisoned extremists, which likely reflects the psychological outcome of conflict experiences, including being involved in or witnessing acts of violence, as an extremist.<sup>140</sup> The study also found alcohol abuse to be a defining factor in the presence of ill health among detained former extremists.<sup>141</sup> The use of alcohol was also found to further exacerbate existing problems between returnees and community members in northern Uganda.<sup>142</sup> Nightmares were the most frequently reported psychological symptom in a survey targeting former LRA members upon return to their communities. However, the same study also found that fear and isolation were common in the group and interpreted this finding as common post-traumatic symptoms.<sup>143</sup> A survey of former members of Boko Haram found that psychological support was needed but was neither offered to those abducted nor to those who voluntarily engaged on return to their communities.<sup>144</sup>

### *Suggested practices*

The findings from Nigeria, Northern Ireland and Uganda indicate various forms of mental health issues among former violent extremists. While psychological support as part of rehabilitation did not emerge as a best practice in the study, this might have been due to the lack of resources to offer such services. Psychosocial screening and counselling may help some ex-combatants come to terms with their new situations or loss of status or violent pasts.<sup>145</sup>

### *Violence and recidivism*

Whether former extremists themselves engage in violence and other crimes after disengagement was explored in depth by two studies in Colombia and one study in Uganda. The latter, a quantitative survey, found little difference in self-reported hostility or aggression between youths who had been involuntary members of the LRA and youths who had never been part of the organisation. Interviews conducted with community leaders reported no problems with abducted youths upon their return.<sup>146</sup> Two studies of former combatants in Colombia found high levels of recidivism into crime, but low levels of recidivism into politically motivated crimes, indicating that the former extremists' engagement in violence might transform rather than end after reintegration, partly as a result of the collapse of the parallel protection systems and the presence of criminal gangs.<sup>147</sup> The most common crimes after reintegration were illegal arms possession and trafficking, drug possession and trafficking, homicide and organised crime – all crimes associated with gang criminality in Colombia.<sup>148</sup> Ex-combatants have also been involved in petty crime in Colombia. One study found that between 2005 and 2010, 769 ex-combatants were arrested in the Colombian region Córdoba, corresponding to about 20 per cent of all ex-combatants living in the region.<sup>149</sup>

### *Suggested practices*

There is little in terms of systematic follow-up with regard to released extremist prisoners, including those who have participated in deradicalisation and disengagement programmes. States and other actors may consider monitoring programmes to survey the same ex-combatants over several waves. Extended periods of study will help provide greater insight into ex-combatants' long-term prospects for either recidivism or reintegration.<sup>150</sup> Some systems of post-release monitoring based on, for example, electronic surveillance are unlikely to be available for many conflict and post-conflict

states due to lack of capacity and resources.<sup>151</sup> However, post-release programmes and monitoring based on engaging former inmates, their families and communities may be possible to establish and implement.

Programme evaluations will need to consider that data on recidivism is likely to be missing in many conflict-affected states. Rehabilitation and reintegration programmes in conflict-affected states can benefit from considering different dimensions of violence and crime in the local context rather than solely targeting disengagement from violent extremism.<sup>152</sup>

## Discussion

According to our study, there are a relatively large number of academic journal articles focusing on addressing violent extremism, but the focus of previous research has been on non-conflict contexts. Even in the studies that have focused on conflict or post-conflict countries covered in this article, Western contexts are over-represented. Furthermore, most of the studies have taken the form of single-country studies based on small interview or survey samples. In the field of DDR, it has been argued that ‘a comparative approach should be central to future research’<sup>153</sup> and this article proposes that comparisons between countries and a more extensive approach would be useful in the field of violent extremism as well. However, we have noted that the knowledge-base can be expected to grow; hopefully in parallel with a broader use of high-quality research methods in versatile contexts.

The nature of past research means that there is a low level of transferability of existing knowledge. Suggested practices have been generated by local or national initiatives for specific groups in specific contexts. A relatively large proportion of the research on conflict-affected settings is of low quality: 39 out of 57 articles considered relevant by the authors lacked a method description (31 articles) or scored low in a formal quality assessment (eight articles). A large part of the literature on conflict-affected states is primarily of a purely descriptive or argumentative nature.

In addition to providing a general picture of the research field, this article has sought to synthesise knowledge about addressing violent extremism in conflict-affected states. Twelve themes emerged from the synthesis of 21 studies. In general, the themes reflected individual and meso-level factors situated between the individual, family and the community. Rather than primarily studying extremists in the structural context of conflict-affected states, the studies analysed in this article more often placed the former extremists in an intimate context of family and local communities. While the importance of family members in rehabilitation and reintegration of former violent extremists has been highlighted in studies also in non-conflict settings,<sup>154</sup> it is possible that families play even more important roles in facilitating disengagement and reintegration in conflict settings, where state and institutional support are comparatively weak. Furthermore, the approach underlining the relations between the individual, family and of communities sheds light on the heterogenic experiences within these groups;

groups that are seldom referred to as terrorists or extremists, but rebels, combatants, political prisoners, fighters or even victims. Here lies one of the distinctions between approaches to violent extremism in conflict and non-conflict contexts: in the latter a clear distinction between the state structures and extreme violence and in the former often a blurring of the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate, extreme and authorised violence. Different experiences of violence may have implications for programming, and inclusive community-based approaches, for instance, may look different in conflict contexts compared to non-conflict contexts. Building relations between victims and ex-combatants by engaging ex-combatants in peace-building may be especially important in conflict contexts where the violence has often been more comprehensive and where the needs and rights of victims may play a key role in preventing the recurrence of violent conflict. However, transforming community roles of former extremists have been underlined as an important element of exit-programmes for extremists also in non-conflict settings.<sup>155</sup>

The examined studies confirm that the form of recruitment and nature of engagement in violent groups affect DDR processes. The degree of voluntarism, motivations for joining extremist groups (including ideological beliefs) and role and time spent in the organisation are suggested to have an impact on disengagement and reintegration processes. The role and time spent in the organisation might for instance influence the feeling of loss of status and power after disengagement from a violent extremist group and similar results have been found in regard to ex-combatants in DDR processes more generally.<sup>156</sup> DDR literature suggests that in reintegration processes special attention must be given to middle- and high-ranking officers and has found that those with past participation in an abusive military faction may have more difficulties in achieving social reintegration.<sup>157</sup> This is also applicable to addressing violent extremism. When building rehabilitation and reintegration practices that take into account the level and experiences of engagement it may be generally more useful to draw on the disarmament and demobilisation literature instead of lessons learned from non-conflict countries. Especially involuntary engagement with violent extremist groups may be more common in conflict-affected states compared to other contexts and, according to existing literature, affects the former extremists' reintegration and rehabilitation.

On one hand, feelings and experiences of fear and insecurity during engagement with an extremist group can be a motivating factor for leaving a violent extremist group, but on the other hand, the fear of violence and reprisals has also been found to hamper disengagement and reintegration. These findings underline the importance of examining context-specific dynamics when addressing violent extremism but also highlight the role of DDR processes as a part of broader conflict resolution and violence reduction efforts. Isolated cases from Uganda showed positive results from using community councils for solving disputes in the community after reintegration, but none of the studies gave examples of extended protection against reprisals by security forces or the extremist organisation in question. In the DDR literature, one suggested way to alleviate fears of the ex-combatants regarding their and their families' physical security is to incorporate armed groups, or parts of them, into the national armed

forces.<sup>158</sup> The possibilities to apply this to individual extremists after rehabilitation could be further examined.

While some of the themes that surfaced in the studies are not substantially different from what we know from non-conflict contexts, there are themes that are specific to conflict-affected states. In addition to the already highlighted differences when it comes to the nature of violence, insecurity, coercion and importance of communities there are two more examples; the opportunities that former extremists have upon their return into society in terms of alternative livelihoods and the support structures. In conflict-affected contexts public social support may be non-existent, and unemployment more common than employment, which put more pressure on families to provide for their members. Yet, when vocational training, education and support to small start-ups have been enabled, the results have been positive both in terms of disengagement and deradicalisation. Moreover, capacity constraints hinder some other programming approaches in conflict contexts as well. For instance, the use of risk assessments developed in wealthier non-conflict states cannot necessarily be adapted to conflict environments due to a more general lack of registered data, access to psychologists and clinical resources.

Although the included studies focused on addressing violent extremism, only a few concentrated on ideological commitments and deradicalisation processes. Furthermore, most of the studies targeted low-risk individuals, probably because access to these individuals is easier to arrange. These two tendencies may be closely related and linked to social movement theories framing violent extremist groups as made up of a politically motivated core with supporters largely responding to non-ideological drivers.<sup>159</sup> If stronger ideological commitments are more closely linked to an organisation's leadership, it could explain why existing studies have not only focused on disengagement but also not found a link between ideology and recruitment or membership, given that existing studies are predominantly based on foot soldiers. This limitation should be taken into account by future research.

There are also limitations regarding the approach applied in this article that may affect the results. The deficiencies of the analysed articles strongly affect the possibility of making inferences based on this synthesis. One of the issues that needs to be highlighted is the lack of transparency in various studies, which is characteristic for research that involves interviews with terrorist and violent extremist respondents.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, as many studies rely on interviews, there are concerns associated with the truthfulness and reliability of the responses and the sampling technique.<sup>161</sup> This affects, among others, the possibility to assess the quality of the studies' results. Additionally, while systematic, the research strategy could have been more comprehensive by, for example, including additional databases. The search strategy did not include a comprehensive search of published books on the subject.

The connections between addressing violent extremism and building peace in conflict-affected states were almost non-existent in the studies analysed, even though existing research has highlighted that in order to be successful, disengagement and reintegration efforts should be part of broader development initiatives in conflict and post-conflict settings. The only related themes underlined were dialogue and reconstruction of discourses, usage of community councils and the vital role of former extremists in community-based initiatives, early warning functions and preventing

violence. Engaging former extremists is important in conflict-affected contexts when it comes to continued support for the peace process, prevention of spoilers and support of the younger generation searching for meaning in a post-conflict environment.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, little emphasis was put on the role of prisons in conflict and post-conflict contexts and on the role that prisons may play in addressing violent extremism. Accordingly, there is scope for future research to build bridges between DDRR, conflict resolution or peace-building, and the role prisons may play in these processes.

## Notes

1. Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2017*, 4. Violent extremism and terrorism are separate phenomena, but the concepts are closely interlinked and used interchangeably in this article. Both of the concepts are context specific and often lack clear definitions but, in this article, violent extremism refers to the beliefs and actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological or religious goals, while terrorism refers to the actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological or religious goals.
2. Dacombe, 'Systematic Reviews in Political Science'.
3. Dacombe, 'Systematic Reviews in Political Science'; and Dixon-Woods et al., 'How Can Systematic Reviews Incorporate Qualitative Research?'.
4. Lum et al., *Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism*; and Schuurman, 'Research on Terrorism, 2007–2016'.
5. See e.g. Silke, *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism*.
6. Detzner, 'Modern Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform', 122.
7. UNODC, 'Handbook on the Management of Violent Extremist Prisoners', 1.
8. Group-level deradicalisation or disengagement are not included in this analysis.
9. See e.g. Cockayne and O'Neil, *UN DDR in an Era of Violent Extremism*.
10. Dalgaard-Nielsen, 'Promoting Exit from Violent Extremism'.
11. Aldrich, 'Radio as the Voice of God'.
12. Dacombe, 'Systematic Reviews in Political Science', 150.
13. Ibid.
14. Such as those conducted through the Cochrane Collaboration.
15. Grant and Booth, 'A Typology of Reviews', 94–95.
16. Ibid., 99.
17. See Table 1 in Appendix for search terms and results.
18. The manual screening however allowed the authors the possibility to expand the list of conflict-affected states, should articles about relevant countries, which had not first been considered, appear.
19. All reference lists of the articles that were considered highly relevant, meaning that they focus on DDRR of violent extremists in prison environments in conflict-affected states, were checked for possible additional articles that were not identified through the database searches. The reference list searches resulted in two articles.
20. Highly relevant refers to articles that focus on DDRR of violent extremists in prison environments in conflict-affected states.
21. As an example, very few articles have a methods section. Instead the researchers were reading the articles to detect if e.g. a document analysis or interviews had been carried out.
22. Furlong and Marsh, 'A Skin Not a Sweater', 184.
23. Grant and Booth, 'A Typology of Reviews', 101.
24. Ibid., 104.
25. Dacombe, 'Systematic Reviews in Political Science', 5.
26. Petticrew and Roberts, *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences*, 57.



27. By 'transparency' we mean the extent to which details about the research process are provided in the manuscript.
28. The generic articles are Altier et al., 'Why They Leave'; and Richards, 'High Risk or Low Risk'.
29. Safer-Lichtenstein et al., 'Studying Terrorism Empirically', 273.
30. Allansson et al., 'Organized Violence', 577.
31. Grant and Booth, 'A Typology of Reviews', 102.
32. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'
33. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 22.
34. Ibid., 10–18.
35. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 79–81.
36. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'
37. Ibid., 645.
38. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 6.
39. Yehoshua, 'The Israeli Experience', 145–146.
40. Kruglanski et al., 'De-Radicalising the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)', 188–190.
41. Altier et al., 'Why They Leave', 330.
42. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 82.
43. Nussio and Howe, 'When Protection Collapses', 858.
44. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'; and Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists'.
45. Nussio and Howe, 'When Protection Collapses', 858.
46. Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 8.
47. Altier et al., 'Why They Leave', 320, 330.
48. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 23.
49. Riley et al., 'Escaping the LRA', 88–89.
50. Altier et al., 'Why They Leave', 320, 330.
51. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 655–656.
52. Riley et al., 'Escaping the LRA', 92.
53. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 23.
54. McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'.
55. Nussio and Howe, 'When Protection Collapses', 857–858.
56. Richards, 'High Risk or Low Risk', 3, 5.
57. Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists'.
58. Yehoshua, 'The Israeli Experience', 145–146.
59. Ibid., 144.
60. Parrin, 'Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia'.
61. Ibid.
62. Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists', 4.
63. Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation', 213.
64. Kruglanski et al., 'What a Difference Two Years Make', 26, 28.
65. Main instruments are Violent Extremist Risk Assessment (VERA); VERA-2; Extremist Risk Guidelines 22 + .
66. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 644.
67. Richards, 'High Risk or Low Risk', 12.
68. Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists'; Altier et al., 'Why They Leave', 330; and Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 79.
69. Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists', 14.
70. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 87.
71. e.g. Altier et al., 'Why They Leave'; and Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism'.
72. Yehoshua, 'The Israeli Experience', 152–153.
73. Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists'.
74. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception'.
75. Ibid., 7.

76. Deckard et al., 'Religiosity and Rebellion in Nigeria'.
77. Ibid.
78. Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation'.
79. Yehoshua, 'The Israeli Experience'; Kruglanski et al., 'De-Radicalising the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)'.
80. Ibid., 13.
81. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 10.
82. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 646.
83. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 84.
84. Ibid.
85. Yehoshua, 'The Israeli Experience', 148.
86. Ben-Tsur, 'Political Conflict Confronted Through Prison Education'.
87. Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 9.
88. Webber et al., 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists', 5.
89. Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation'.
90. Ben-Tsur, 'Political Conflict Confronted Through Prison Education'.
91. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'; Clubb, "From Terrorists to Peacekeepers", 843; Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism'; and Joyce and Lynch, "Doing Peace".
92. Clubb, "From Terrorists to Peacekeepers"; Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 12; and Joyce and Lynch, "Doing Peace".
93. Brewer and Hayes, 'Victimisation and Attitudes'; Joyce and Lynch, "Doing Peace"; and McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'.
94. Clubb, "From Terrorists to Peacekeepers", 855–856.
95. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 652.
96. Nilsson, *Reintegrating Ex-Combatants*, 55.
97. Brewer and Hayes, 'Victimisation and Attitudes'.
98. Ibid.
99. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 663.
100. e.g. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'; Brewer and Hayes, 'Victimisation and Attitudes'; and Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception'.
101. Parrin, 'Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia'.
102. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 22–24.
103. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 655.
104. Parrin, 'Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia'.
105. Brewer and Hayes, 'Victimisation and Attitudes'.
106. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 663.
107. Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 17.
108. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 643.
109. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception'.
110. Cheong and Halverson, 'Youths in Violent Extremist Discourse'.
111. e.g. Joyce and Lynch, "Doing Peace".
112. Ibid.
113. Parrin, 'Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia'; Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation', 215; McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'; Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'; Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism'; and Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 8.
114. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 72, 81. In Kaplan and Nussio's study, recidivism refers to all crimes.
115. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 651–652.
116. Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation', 216.
117. McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion', 657.
118. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 658.
119. Ibid., 663.
120. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 83.

121. Parrin, 'Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia'.
122. Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation', 215.
123. Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 17.
124. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 663.
125. McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'; and Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation'.
126. McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion', 657.
127. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 87.
128. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 647–648; McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'; and Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation'.
129. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 646.
130. Ibid., 649.
131. Ibid., 646.
132. Ibid.
133. McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion', 654–656, 660.
134. Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 15.
135. McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion', 660.
136. Altier et al., 'Why They Leave', 320, 322; and Riley et al., 'Escaping the LRA'.
137. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'; and McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'.
138. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'
139. Parrin, 'Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia'; Jones and Morales, 'Integration versus Segregation', 215; McEvoy et al., 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion'; Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"'; Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism'; and Ferguson, 'Disengaging from Terrorism', 8.
140. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 655.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid., 653.
143. Ibid., 660.
144. Botha and Abdile, 'Reality Versus Perception', 23.
145. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 87.
146. Annan et al., 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee"', 653.
147. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism'; and Nussio and Howe, 'When Protection Collapses'.
148. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 74–75.
149. Nussio and Howe, 'When Protection Collapses', 856.
150. Kaplan and Nussio, 'Explaining Recidivism', 87.
151. Richards, 'High Risk or Low Risk', 12.
152. Nussio and Howe, 'When Protection Collapses'.
153. Schulhofer-Wohl and Sambanis, 'Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Programmes', 42.
154. Gielen, 'Countering Violent Extremism', 13.
155. Dalgaard-Nielsen, 'Promoting Exit from Violent Extremism', 109.
156. Deckard et al., 'Religiosity and Rebellion in Nigeria', 511.
157. Nilsson, *Reintegrating Ex-Combatants*.
158. Ibid.
159. Deckard et al., 'Religiosity and Rebellion in Nigeria', 511.
160. Khalil, 'A Guide to Interviewing Terrorists'.
161. Ibid.
162. Joyce and Lynch, "'Doing Peace"'

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## Appendices

**Table A1.** The search terms and results.

Term	AND	OR	AND	AND	No. of results
terroris*		extremis*	conflict	disengagement	23
reintegration	terroris*	extremis*			17
extremist or radical or terrorist *	disengage*		prison/ correction*		423
rehabilitation	prison	extremism	terrorism		20
terror*	prison				315
extrem*	disengage*				76
violent extrem*	disengage*				185
violent extrem*	conflict				230
deradicalisation/ deradicalisation	prison	correction			97
pve	prison		postconflict		0
pve	prison				23
disengage*	extremism		postconflict		17
deradicali*	postconflict				1
disengage*	violent extremism				185
deradicali*	violent extremism				88
de-radicalization		prison	post-conflict		154
reintegration	prison		extremism		233

**Table A2.** The 21 studies selected for analysis.

Study	Method	Size and Type of Data	Country
1. Altier, Mary Beth, Emma Leonard Boyle, Neil D. Shortland and John G. Horgan, 2017. 'Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement Events from Eighty-Seven Autobiographical Accounts'. <i>Security Studies</i> 26(2), 305–332.	Quantitative	87 autobiographies published between the years 1912 and 2011, which represent the lives of 85 unique terrorists.	Various
2. Annan, Jeannie, Moriah Brier, and Filder Aryemo, 2009. 'From "Rebel" to "Returnee": Daily Life and Reintegration for Young Soldiers in Northern Uganda'. <i>Journal of Adolescent Research</i> 24(6), 639–667.	Qualitative	Interviews with 23 abducted male youth and 30 friends, family members and teachers of the youth.	Uganda
3. Ben-Tsur, Dalia, 2007. 'Political Conflict Confronted Through Prison Education: A Case Study of Israeli Teachers Working with Palestinian Prisoners'. <i>Journal of Correctional Education; Lanham</i> 58(2), 108–128.	Qualitative	Interviews with 8 female Jewish teachers who worked with Palestinian prisoners or had declined an offer to teach,	Israel/ Palestine
5. Botha, Anneli and Mahdi Abdile, 2017. 'Reality Versus Perception: Toward Understanding Boko Haram in Nigeria'. <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> , 1–27.	Mixed Method	A survey of 119 and 10 qualitative interviews with former Boko Haram fighters. 50 quantitative and 10 qualitative interviews with 'peace-builders' based in areas affected by Boko Haram.	Nigeria
4. Brewer, John D. and Bernadette C. Hayes, 2015. 'Victimisation and Attitudes Towards Former Political Prisoners in Northern Ireland'. <i>Terrorism and Political Violence</i> 27(4), 741–761.	Quantitative	2011 Northern Ireland Social and Political Attitudes Survey based on a multistage stratified random sample. Involved 1,500 respondents aged 18 years or older.	Northern Ireland
6. Cheong, Pauline Hope and Jeffrey R. Halverson, 2010. 'Youths in Violent Extremist Discourse: Mediated Identifications and Interventions'. <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> 33(12), 1104–1123.	Qualitative	46 texts disseminated by Al Qaeda.	Afghanistan
7. Clubb, Gordon, 2014. "From Terrorists to Peacekeepers": The IRA's Disengagement and the Role of Community Networks'. <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> 37(10), 842–861.	Qualitative	Unclear number of interviews with former IRA members, Loyalists and community workers.	Northern Ireland
8. Deckard, Delia Natalie, Atta Barkindo, and David Jacobson, 2015. 'Religiosity and Rebellion in Nigeria: Considering Boko Haram in the Radical Tradition'. <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> 38, no. 7, 510–28.	Mixed Method	Survey data completed with 10,482 Nigerian residents and 48 Boko Haram publications.	Nigeria
9. Ferguson, Neil, 2016. 'Disengaging from Terrorism: A Northern Irish Experience'. <i>Journal for Deradicalisation</i> 6, 1–23.	Qualitative	Interviews with 11 former members or members of Northern Irish loyalist paramilitaries, 9 of whom were former prisoners.	Northern Ireland
10. Jones, Clarke R. and Resurrecion S. Morales, 2012. 'Integration versus Segregation: A Preliminary Examination of Philippine Correctional Facilities for De-Radicalization'. <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> 35(3), 211–228.	Qualitative	Descriptive. Measure the process of inmate 'prisonisation'. Measure the inmate's record of participation in activities, such as vocational and educational programmes, and study their history of prison violations.	Philippines

*(Continued)*

**Table A2.** (Continued).

Study	Method	Size and Type of Data	Country
11. Joyce, Carmel, and Orla Lynch, 2017. '“Doing Peace”: The Role of Ex-Political Prisoners in Violence Prevention Initiatives in Northern Ireland'. <i>Studies in Conflict &amp; Terrorism</i> 40(12), 1072–1090.	Qualitative	Interviews with 25 self-identified Republican and 27 Loyalist ex-prisoners who are members of ex-prisoner support organisations.	Northern Ireland
12. Kaplan, Oliver and Enzo Nussio, 2018. 'Explaining Recidivism of Ex-Combatants in Colombia'. <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 62(1), 64–93.	Mixed Method	Survey of 1,226 individuals who were arrested by the police or captured during military operations through 30 June 2012. Interviews with 98 ex-combatants.	Colombia
13. Kruglanski, Arie W., Michele J. Gelfand, Anna Sheveland, Maxim Babush, Malkanthi Hetiarachchi, Michele Ng Bonto and Rohan Gunaratna, 2016. 'What a Difference Two Years Make: Patterns of Radicalization in a Philippine Jail'. <i>Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict</i> 9 (1–3), 13–36.	Quantitative	29 alleged members of the Abu Sayyaf Group incarcerated in the Bicutan prison facility.	Philippines
14. Kruglanski, Arie W., Rohan Gunaratna, Michele J. Gelfand, Jocelyn J. Belanger and Malkanthi Hetiarachchi, 2014. 'De-Radicalising the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): Some Preliminary Findings'. In <i>Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform</i> , ed. Andrew Silke. Routledge, Abingdon, 183–196.	Quantitative	Survey of (?) 1906 of LTTE members engaged in rehabilitation programmes.	Sri Lanka
15. McEvoy, Kieran, Peter Shirlow and Karen McElrath, 2004. 'Resistance, Transition and Exclusion: Politically Motivated Ex-Prisoners and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland'. <i>Terrorism and Political Violence</i> 16(3), 646–670.	Mixed Method	Survey of 100 ex-prisoners and 40 relatives of ex-prisoners. 50 interviews among the surveyed individuals.	Northern Ireland
16. Nussio, Enzo and Kimberly Howe, 2016. 'When Protection Collapses: Post-Demobilization Trajectories of Violence'. <i>Terrorism and Political Violence</i> 28(5), 848–867.	Qualitative	Unclear but at least 80 interviews with ex-combatants, community leaders, local authorities, police, military and judiciary police, representatives of NGOs, officials of international organisations, priests, journalists, local scholars, high school employees, internally displaced people, and landowners. Including at least 19 ex-combatants.	Colombia
17. Parrin, Anjli, 2016. 'Creating a Legal Framework for Terrorism Defectors and Detainees in Somalia Notes'. <i>Columbia Journal of Transnational Law</i> 55, 228–276.	Qualitative	14 interviews with individuals involved in the administration, design, and oversight of the DDR programs, as well as broader experts on counter-terrorism and deradicalisation.	Somalia
18. Richards, Joanne, 2018. 'High Risk or Low Risk: Screening for Violent Extremists in DDR Programmes'. <i>International Peacekeeping</i> 25(3), 373–393.	Qualitative	Description of risk assessment instruments.	Various
19. Riley, John, Kristin Pearson, Mary Kate Schneider and Lindsey Stimeling, 2017. 'Escaping the LRA: Examining the Decision to Disengage from Militarized Dissident Groups'. <i>African Security</i> 10(2), 80–102.	Quantitative	A survey of 125 DR Congolese and Ugandans. 85 of respondents were former LRA members.	Uganda

(Continued)



**Table A2.** (Continued).

Study	Method	Size and Type of Data	Country
20. Webber, David, Chernikova Cher, Kruglanski Arie W, Gelfand Michele J, Hettiarachchi Malkanthi, Gunaratna Rohan, Lafreniere Marc-Andre and Belanger Jocelyn J., 2017. 'Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists'. <i>Political Psychology</i> , 1–18.	Quantitative	Survey of 601 former LTTE members in a rehabilitation programme.	Sri Lanka
21. Yehoshua, Sagit, 2014. 'The Israeli Experience of Terrorist Leaders in Prison'. In <i>Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform</i> , ed. Andrew Silke. Routledge, Abingdon, 144–156.	Qualitative	18 extremist leaders in Israeli prisons.	Israel