The need for a national deradicalisation program in Afghanistan

By: Johnnie Auld[1]

Introduction

The lack of deradicalisation programs in Afghanistan has potential to prolong the violence and turmoil in the country for decades. With years of conflict, multiple forms of government, high unemployment, high levels of poverty, and a constant influx of Western cultural norms and media fighting against the traditionalist Afghan culture strongly embedded in a conservative reading of Islam, Afghanistan is a breeding ground for radicalism. Youth are susceptible to an environment that causes radicalism and nurtures it, and with the ever-present national conflict, this radicalisation has an outlet in the form of insurgency and terrorism. Groups like the Taliban have easily recruited and radicalised individuals using religion as a justification for their violence. Deradicalisation in Afghanistan is an under researched topic and an underfunded pursuit. With no national deradicalisation strategy it is left to international actors and local organisations to engage in these programs. More must be done to engage with those who have become radicalised and those in high-risk zones in order to help secure the long-term future of Afghanistan.

I will discuss how Afghanistan is a breeding ground for radicalisation of individuals due to Afghanistan's violent, hostile environment with high rates of poverty, high unemployment and distrust toward the authorities. I will then discuss how religion is used a justification by extremist groups for individuals to commit violent acts and how the increasingly precarious security situation in the country means a sound national deradicalisation program is

---

[1] Johnnie Auld has experience conducting in-depth research in Afghanistan and other conflict zones. His main areas of focus are ethnic conflict, the notion of identity, conflict prevention and radicalisation.

essential. I conclude that any deradicalisation efforts undertaken by the Afghan government so far are piecemeal and inadequate to deal with the on-going problems present in the country and that lessons must be learnt from programs in other Islamic countries that have successfully deradicalised violent extremist groups.

Regional insecurity

The security situation, since the NATO drawdown at the end of 2014, has become considerably worse throughout Afghanistan. There is a genuine concern amongst Afghans now that the situation will only decrease further over time. Large segments of Afghan society remain frustrated by physical insecurity, government corruption, poverty and growing social inequality. These frustrations are easily manipulated by radical groups and make many Afghans susceptible to recruitment and radicalisation, particularly when their discontent is aggravated by mistrust of the government or the international community (Ruttig, 2015). However, empirical evidence indicates that individuals will not necessarily choose one side over another, someone may hold grievances against the government for its failings, this does not mean that they will support or join the Taliban, though grievances against the government does remain a contributing factor in recruitment to the Taliban. A 2014 perception survey carried out by ATR Consulting in Afghanistan recorded that only 12.8% of Afghan men and 1.6% of Afghan women want the Taliban to govern the country. Overall, only 7.2% of the Afghan population would like to see the Taliban assume control completely, returning to the pre-2001 scenario (ATR, 2014). Military raids, especially at night, are often flagged as a major grievance from the people toward the security apparatus and are believed to add to the Taliban's recruitment pool. Therefore, a desire to return of Taliban role may be low, but if the contributing factors toward radicalisation are insurmountable for an individual, then membership of an extremist group is their channel whereby they can relieve their frustrations. This is discussed in detail below.

Enabling environment

The potential for the radicalisation of youth in Afghanistan is very high compared to many other countries. 68% of the population of Afghanistan are under the age of 25. With a high birth rate and the absence of a strong state, young Afghans' prospects and quality of life are blighted by lack of security, poverty, drug dependency, lack of educational opportunities, and unemployment. This has created fertile ground for radicalisation to occur in Afghanistan (Akbar, 2015). Radicalisation also happens at an extremely young age, with children coerced into joining fighting groups, it is not just adults who become radicalised (Horgan, 2015). The process of modern day radicalisation in Afghanistan did not suddenly appear post 2001 as an anti-Western sentiment. Various decades of outside influence has shaped the psyche of a population caught between Western modernity, traditional Islamic beliefs and culturally inherent Afghan customs. *"Unfortunately, life has lost its meaning for many Afghans. They have been taught to believe that this life is temporary and one must invest in life after death and jihad is the fastest way to lead one to eternal life in paradise"* (Ahmadi, 2015).

Afghanistan is an unstable breeding ground for the radicalisation of huge numbers of people. The central government in Kabul is unable to control large swathes of land, making the residents susceptible to influence from external forces and coercive elements (Taspinar, 2009). In the vacuum left by the lack of a strong government, people rely increasingly on support of grass roots groups, they tend to be Islamic and opposed to the democratic system. The most obvious direct influence from groups would come in terms of land controlled by the Taliban; the northern province of Kunduz for example is all but controlled by the Taliban. In Kunduz the Taliban have free reign to deal out their own style of justice, with roaming courts and have developed a large network of informants, suppliers and sympathisers willing to shelter and support them. This means that individuals and families

view them as the ultimate arbiter for major communal and familial decisions, they are often more just and fair than the government institutions as they tend to not ask for bribes and decisions are made in a short time, unlike the official system (Ali, 2015). This means that they have direct access to large groups of young susceptible minds that can easily be influenced by extremist rhetoric, or indeed be directly recruited into the Taliban ranks. Therefore, with the persistent state of violence in so many provinces in Afghanistan there is a constant recruitment pool for extremist groups to choose from. The environment that currently exists enables radicalisation and provides them with a violent outlet for their perceived injustices. Individuals have many more options than just joining the Taliban; namely the more extreme Daesh pose another potentially long-term threat to the country, especially if they and others are not part of any negotiations with the Afghan government (Osman, 2015).

Diversification of radicalising factors

Despite the enabling environment created through socioeconomic conditions, violence within a community is not in and of itself enough to radicalise an individual. The problem of radicalisation is attributed to many complex causal factors, one factor alone does not radicalise an individual (Khan et al, 2012). Poverty and unemployment are often held as the key contributing factors of a radicalised youth; joining a violent radical group just to escape social deprivation due receiving a salary and support for their family. However, a variety of factors play a role in what is a phased process to radicalisation. The low levels of education in Afghanistan make youth more susceptible to radical views, especially due to the high influence of Mullahs. However, it should not be presumed that those with a higher level of education are pro-democracy and support the Afghan state. As in the West, those influenced to undertake Jihad are often from sound socioeconomic backgrounds. Not all those who are well educated and have access to Western media content are pro-democracy,

as the Western governments who have spent billions of dollars to help develop the state would hope (Osman, 2014). Scepticism towards the democratic system is largely born out of experiences in the post 2001 era, though the multiple forms of government Afghanistan has experienced in its recent history: monarchy (overthrown in 1973), a Taliban run government (overthrown in 2001), and now democracy, have culminated in distrust toward any form of central government for many Afghans. Afghanistan remains a largely rural country with a harsh environment, difficult to govern with people highly reliant on the family and clan unit. Areas not controlled by the government or Taliban are controlled by warlords who are currently aligned with the Kabul based government, however, allegiances could change if they saw better options elsewhere. Indeed the actions of the post 2001 democratic government have led many to be untrustworthy towards it; corruption, nepotism and political manipulation led to dissatisfaction with what is seen as a Western form of governance. This helps create an enabling environment for radicalisation. It enhances the opportunities to advance an Islamic identity based on social movement and effectively creates a radicalised youth for potentially militant causes (Haque, 2014).

In traditional radicalisation literature there has been the basic belief that poverty and unemployment are the drivers to violent extremism, that memberships of an extremist group are basically jobs to end poverty for oneself and their family. However, this reasoning has been questioned by various studies that claim that injustice is the main reason behind radicalisation. A Mercy Corps study on youth carried out in Afghanistan and elsewhere stated that assumptions that more jobs make youth less likely to become radicalised is too a large extent not true, it is merely a contributing factor. "Principal drivers of political violence are rooted not in poverty, but in experiences of injustice: discrimination, corruption and abuse by security forces" (Mercy Corps, 2015). Empirical evidence would indicate that it is the sense of injustice dealt out toward individuals and groups results in their

radicalisation, anger over poverty. "The fact is that empirical research has not been able to establish a direct link between collective or individual poverty and terrorism. In other words, this is a myth or at best a half-truth" (Schmid, 2013).

Local traditions

Many of the radicalised groups in Afghanistan are from a Pashtu background, most notably the Taliban. In Afghanistan the Pashtu culture places high societal expectations on young men who are expected to provide for their immediate and extended families and abide by strict social norms. In rural areas, young men must abide by their community's code of conduct, which often varies depending on family status, tribal standing, and geographic background. One of the principles of the code is to protect one's land and family honour with all means and at any cost. Frustration over real and perceived injustice, impunity and corruption (which is identified as a huge recruitment tool for the Taliban, see Karimi and Ebrahimi, 2015), and a lack of basic infrastructure and community support facilities is widespread, especially among young men. These factors make it impossible for them to uphold their responsibilities, yet they are still blamed for undermining the family status. This results in an almost obvious choice for so many individuals, to take up arms to fight against these frustrations to regain honour for themselves, their family, and their culture.

Education

It is estimated that 90% of madrasas in Afghanistan are unregistered, which is of great concern to the government (Khetab, 2015) with research estimating that the number of unregistered madrasas is set to rise dramatically (Arian, 2015). Mullahs and Imams are central players in the daily lives and beliefs of their congregation, representing not just religious but also moral and social guidance. There have been various attempts by the Afghan government to bring madrasas in the country under a unified system, as the Saudi

government has successfully done, though it has largely failed. Indeed, the Afghan government is restricted in its ability to counter the role played by Pakistani madrasas given Afghanistan's weak government run religious education system and the well-developed and locally respected madrasa system in neighbouring Pakistan, where large segments of Afghans attend school. Here many students become radicalised with teachings of conservative Deobandi Islam, they then return to their home communities with often conservative and a times extremist views (Roy, 2002). A massive contributing factor to students being sent there is due to the current Afghan school system. The public school system in Afghanistan is grossly overcrowded; those who do attend class are often neglected due to lack of capacity of teachers to accommodate such high numbers of students. Classes are large and the school day is short meaning that children have a great deal of unsupervised time. Madrasas are often considered to be the centre of radicalising youth in Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, there has been a lack of focus into the public schooling system and how it may be a radicaliser of youth. As in madrasas, most public school teachers have full autonomy on what and how they teach. In most cases, school and madrasa teachers rely on the most conservative interpretation of religious books that are easily accessible and available in markets, most are inaccurate and poorly formatted despite the millions of dollars spent on book printing. Therefore, a person does not need to be a student of a madrasa run by extremists or member of a radical group to be exposed to radical and violent ideologies. Not all those who have grievances or are curious about such ideologies become violent extremists, but those who are unable to find nonviolent ways to express their frustrations are most likely to take up violent extremism (Ahmadi, 2015). Again, radicalisation is a phased process that occurs over time.

Religion as a tool

The culmination of these frustrations has in turn created an opportunity for religious extremist movements to exploit, mobilise and radicalise Afghan youth. Along with ethnicity, religion has long been a key instrument for violent and non-violent political mobilisation in Afghanistan. Furthermore, decades of conflict and divisive domestic politics have left Afghan society polarised and ethnically fractured. Aforementioned grievances exacerbate these problems of factionalised politics and provide the basis for further entrenchment of ethnic and political divisions within Afghan civil society (Porges, 2012). Political groups with overt religious agendas are hard at work influencing and mobilising young educated women and men. Besides the Taliban there are various groups fighting to win over youth to their way of thinking. Hizb ut-Tahrir, Hezb-e Islami, Jamiat- Eslah, and the Salafist movement are some of the more prominent groups vying for support from youth. They differ in beliefs, strategy and ultimate goal, indeed some adhere to non-violence, but they all maintain an anti-democratic sentiment and are therefore opposed to the current Afghan state and have often offered an Islamic state based on sharia law as the alternative (Osman, 2015). They have been gaining a great deal of success in recruitment at schools and universities throughout Afghanistan. They are growing within the educational and governmental systems. The one thing all these groups have in common is their traditional conservative interpretation of the Quran and a desire for rule by Sharia law (ibid).

Despite there being a wide array of reasons given for someone to commit violent extremist acts, religion is the narrative that gives it all meaning, it is the justification that frames the struggle. "As a result, religious rhetoric is critically important to the radicalisation process" (Porges, 2012). It is central to the Taliban's recruitment messages; they utilise religion as a tool by which individuals can focus their anger at the infidel invaders and their puppet government in Kabul. It justifies killing and allows recruits to channel their aforementioned

frustrations at a target, while at the same time providing for their family and regaining their honour. As mentioned above, religion is not seen as the main cause of radicalisation, however it must be viewed as a defining and activating feature of radicalised individuals in Afghanistan (Aggarwal, 2015). Regardless of whether religion is a facilitator or merely another contributing factor, religious leaders and religious institutions remain essential elements of the radicalisation process in Afghanistan. Radicalisation of an individual often takes place at a young age with many Afghan youth having attended madrasas in the conservative heartland of Pakistan, Peshawar and Swat Valley. Despite that these madrasas are seen as recruitment centres for the Taliban, it does not mean all attendees will join violent extremist groups. However, when an individual returns to Afghanistan suffers the fate of many: unemployment, unable to support himself or his family, being harassed by Afghan and foreign security forces, and witnessing violence on a regular basis, then they can become radicalised and take the path of violent extremism. What is taught to them in the most extreme of madrasas can then be viewed as a parasite that can manifest when a phased process occurs (i.e. a combination of factors that cause grievances) resulting in them committing violent extremist acts.

Deradicalisation in Afghanistan

To date the only program launched by the Afghan government has been the UNDP backed Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Programme (APRP) that has sought to reintegrate combatants back into society by "combining political, security and development dimensions of peace building" (UNDP, 2013). This project has ultimately sought to reintegrate individuals by providing jobs and money. It is a water-downed version of others countries deradicalisation programs as it does not seek to deprogram individuals who have become radicalised and is based on the premise that poverty is the main driver to radicalisation. It has failed to address the main drivers of conflict: it ignores the problem of frustration and

grievances caused by an untrusted central government and security forces that commit widespread abuses. It also ignores the facilitation religion has in allowing a justification for violence (Derksen, 2011).

Additionally, deradicalisation efforts could become increasingly important with the spread of Daesh within the country. Although it is highly unlikely the group will unseat the Taliban as the major insurgency force or overthrow the government due to their geographical distance from the main Daesh force in Iraq and Syria, they are a concern due to their highly coercive tendencies and ability to recruit extremists en mass (Sainsbury et al 2015). There are been various cited instances of fighting between Daesh and the Taliban, and of cases of Taliban defecting to join Daesh due to the longevity of their cause with as yet an unsuitable outcome for them (Iqbal, 2015). Many combatants view Daesh as a better option than the Taliban due to frustration of years of fighting with no real gains and since they are against any agreement with the Kabul government; Taliban hardliners view any agreement as selling out their cause. However, despite Daesh not being able to gain an immediate foothold in Afghanistan as they did elsewhere, it is evident of the importance in an increase in deradicalisation programs to stop individuals just moving between combatant groups. Additionally, the death of Taliban leader, the main uniting presence of the group, Mullah Omar, splintered the Taliban into several groups, of which some joined Daesh. More pressing though is the current increase in violence by the rivalling Taliban factions and the potential knock on effect this has in further creating a radicalised environment nationwide. The peace process initiated by the National Unity Government is slow and no one can predict when a cease-fire will be agreed to (Ahmad, 2015). With the NATO drawdown, the economic opportunities that existed and now largely dissolved and unemployment is at an all-time high, a driver of radicalisation to violent extremism. With the convergence of the above-mentioned factors it is vital that the government, international

actors and local organisations work together to tackle the inevitable fallout and continued issues of radicalisation and the process toward radicalisation. Priority should be placed on stemming these drivers of radicalisation; countering the influence they have on the Afghan people.

Current and past efforts in other countries seeking to deradicalise individuals also focus on incentives such as vocational training, small interest free business loans and some sort of job development training. However, their scope is much greater than only focusing on economic initiatives, with emphasis on rehabilitation, physiological support, and deprogramming of extremist beliefs. In Indonesia and Saudi Arabia, which includes many fighters returning from Afghanistan, the deradicalisation programs employ a process of neutralising the ideological aspects of conditioning that the individual underwent (Porges & Stern 2010). This is achieved in combination with financial support, with the hope that through this soft power approach, radicals will then view the authorities as more trustworthy and willing to help. This is followed by aftercare programs that seek to ensure there is no recidivism (Schuzle, 2008 and Porges, 2010). Though modelling itself on the Saudi model, Yemen's attempt at deradicalisation however was seen as a failure with high rates of recidivism (detailed analysis: Rabasa et al, 2010). There are various other examples of deradicalisation programs worldwide, all of which have had varying degrees of success and some claims made by certain governments would require further independent analysis to be sure of the numbers, especially Saudi Arabia who claim to have a 100% success rate with no recidivism whatsoever (Porges, 2010). Learning best practices and failures from these examples and working to develop and tailor them to the Afghan context could provide positive outcomes. *"The best-designed plans leverage local cultural patterns to achieve their objectives. One implication of this observation is that deradicalisation programs cannot simply be transplanted from one country to another, even within the same region. They have*

to develop organically in a specific country and culture" (Rabasa et al, 2010). Therefore any programs must adhere to the unique Afghan situation, not just follow a piecemeal approach that has reportedly worked elsewhere.

The lack of normal state functions culminating in poverty, unemployment, and low education combined with injustice through military attacks and foreign influence has resulted in violence that the state has countered with hard security measures. There is no national deradicalisation strategy in place; it has been co-opted by different international actors who believe it is a vital strategy to the long-term security of Afghanistan and elsewhere. Yet even so it remains under researched, underfunded and lacking in significant clarity as to its future. Understanding of the pressing issues has become more apparent with the NATO military drawdown. The security vacuum which was created has allowed for violent extremist expansion throughout the country, previously secure provinces have become overrun with violent groups who have a freehand to administer their own form of justice, education, and provide amenities. They are able to convince the people, not necessarily through coercion or propaganda, but through service provision, that they can support the populace more so than the corrupt government in Kabul.

In such a hostile environment where youth are susceptible to so many different radicalising factors why are there so few programs? In 14 years after the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan why have the international community not invested more time into deradicalisation programs to tackle these problems? Why does the government not do more to counter the root causes of these problems to develop an enabling environment that includes higher levels of education, social and economic equality, and a peaceful society? They have spent most of their resources on hard security measures and are now invested more in attempts to reproach with the Taliban than tackling root causes of problems. Indeed many Taliban

fighters and those from other groups are not Afghan, they will most likely become more radicalised and trained to kill when they reach Afghanistan. Knowing nothing but violence they may try to return home, therefore any deradicalisation program that can catch and assist these individuals before they leave should be promoted. Moreover, it would benefit the international community anti-terrorism strategy if there were a more targeted engagement of potential recruits to dissuade them from this path. Indeed, deradicalisation programs take time to work, there is no quick fix, so the fact that programs are either non-existent or in their infancy is problematic (Horgan, 2015). Neighbour Pakistan has engaged in various deradicalisation programs over the years with youth and prisoners, those who have potential to be radicalised and those who have already committed violent extremist acts. Pakistan has undertaken a holistic approach that encompasses the security apparatus, political, social and educational systems (Khan, 2015). Specific examples include two camps set up and run by the Pakistan military: Mishal for adults and Sabaoon for children who were indoctrinated by the Pakistani Taliban (Ahmad, 2015). They provide inmates with psychological counselling to deal with war trauma, moderate education from Imams to counter their extremist beliefs, and vocational training to make them economically independent. They undertake steps to publicise and support alternative dialogue and diversity. They promote inter-provincial, national, religious interaction. As in Afghanistan, individuals often identity themselves first as Muslim before a national identity, therefore placing moderate Islam at the centre of the strategy can help elicit positive responses from individuals. This structure needs to be replicated and more national and international NGOs need to be incorporated to reach the grassroots and cater to as many victims as possible (Khan, 2015).

Best practices from these examples offer a multi-pronged approach that consider a range of interventions including religious guidance, vocational-training, psychological support, and

protection measures for individual and relatives. These efforts can harness good outcomes for youth who have grown up in a conflict environment (Burke, 2013). Approaches need to address the sources of violence, not the symptoms. Academics, governments and program heads espouse using community-level nongovernmental organisations and civil society organisations to bring together actors such as: victims of violence, mothers of fighters, reformed extremists, local elders, and Mullahs. These actors and could then work with the organisations to help deradicalise individuals through focusing on shared historic and cultural values, unity, nonviolent civil resistance, and the advantages of peace. However, in the Afghan context this is plagued with difficulties. It is rare to find those willing to cooperate with such programs when insecurity is so prevalent; the successful programs tend to take place in countries not currently going through a huge insurgency. Additionally asking an individual who was a member of an extremist organisation and was recently deradicalised to return to their community and not only inform others that they no longer follow previously held beliefs, but to dissuade others from the same path, would take a great deal of courage. Recidivism seems a more realistic option.

It is critical to identify the primary target audiences of these efforts, especially youth, former fighters, refugees, and prisoners who are most vulnerable to recruitment and radicalisation. Many young disenfranchised Afghans are highly susceptible to the grievance-oriented rhetoric espoused by radical Mullahs who can easily exploit societal unease with the government. Refugee camps near the border with Pakistan are also significant sites for insurgent radicalisation and continue to supply fighters to the battlefield (Roehrs, 2015). Afghan prisoners are likewise a vulnerable group, especially in prisons like Polecharki and Bagram where Taliban leaders have maintained influence throughout the past decade. The Afghanistan prison system makes no concerted effort to segregate prisoners, thus enabling an environment in which criminals can be influenced and radicalised. Within these prisons

the Taliban manage to run their daily operations through their extensive prison network having easy access to mobile telephones and outside informants, often by females who remain unsearched due to Afghan custom. Understanding the more precarious situations of these particular populations helps clarify how radicalisation occurs in the Afghan context while also highlighting pragmatic options for targeted deradicalisation efforts. However, it is extremely difficult for organisations to complete research within the country in order to identify those who are most at risk (preventive measures) and getting through to those who can be rehabilitated (deradicalised). For the latter, the major difficultly is not finding them, but getting through to them, allowing program staff to build trust, work with them, and ultimately make sure recidivism does not happen.

Targets the Afghan government set must remain realistic. The immediate need in Afghanistan is to tackle the mechanisms for radicalisation and supporting groups most vulnerable to radicalisation. Afghanistan's first step should be to adopt a nationwide deradicalisation program. The Kabul government could learn lessons from Saudi Arabia, Indonesia and elsewhere and target the entire political and social landscape. A comprehensive deradicalisation strategy should continue to address core, widespread grievances such as insecurity and corruption, with the Afghan government taking the lead with the international community in a supporting role. Programs that offer a range of interventions such as vocational training, psychosocial support, and individual and family protection measures can help rehabilitate youth. Programs must explicitly and systematically address drivers of violence. If successful, the on-going peace talks with the Taliban may allow for greater scope to reach individuals who want to put down their weapons and return to normality. Indeed it may even allow access to those who have been disbanding from the Taliban to Daesh if they see an alternative that could yield long-term success.

Conclusion

A lack of any coherent government run national deradicalisation strategy should be of concern to Afghans and international community. The pool of potential recruits to join the Taliban and other extremist groups is rife due to Afghanistan's violent, hostile environment with high rates of poverty, high unemployment and low levels of education. If unchecked this will expand to increase instability in the country and the region. Religion is used a justification by extremist groups for individuals to commit violent acts in a country that is extremely conservatively religious. The weak school system and high number of unregistered madrasas increases the likelihood of radicalisation. The decrease in security and general distrust toward the government will only exacerbate the problem and allow for more individuals to radicalise. Despite 14 years and billions of dollars spent by foreign countries, it is strange that no programs exist to deradicalise extremists at a time when soft power approaches are being increasingly implemented worldwide. The Afghan government needs to work with international donors to create a strong deradicalisation program that will enable combatants to reintegrate into their communities and permanently desist from violence. This is not a quick fix and will take years to accomplish, however learning from lessons, both successes and failures from other states, Afghanistan can implement nationwide programs to help tackle the radicalisation problem.

References

Aggarwal, N. (2015) Knowledge and Practice in War on Terror Deradicalization Programs. In Mental Health in the War on Terror: Culture, Science, and Statecraft. Columbia University Press: pp. 133-156.

Ahmad, J. (2015). Afghan Taliban name a new leader, but peace talks delayed. Reuters [online], available: http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/07/30/us-afghanistan-taliban-pakistan-idUSKCN0Q41EX20150730 [accessed 19 September 2015].

Ahmad, M. (2015) Deradicalization in Pakistan. Chicago Journal [online], available: http://chicagojournalfp.com/?p=49 [accessed 20 September 2015].

Ahmadi, B. (2015) Afghan Youth and Extremists. USIP [online], available: http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PB188-Afghan-Youth-and-Extremists.pdf [accessed 9 September 2015].

Akbar, S. (2015) Young and fragile Time in Afghanistan. PRIO [online], available: http://blogs.prio.org/2015/03/a-young-and-fragile-time-in-afghanistan/ [accessed 9 September 2015].

Ali, O. (2015) The 2015 Insurgency in the North case studies from Kunduz and Sar-e-Pul Provinces. Afghan Analysts Network [online], available: https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-2015-insurgency-in-the-north-case-studies-from-kunduz-and-sar-e-pul-provinces/ [accessed 13 September 2015].

Arian, A, W. (2015) Number of Unregistered Madrasas set to rise Dramatically. Tolo News [online], available: http://www.tolonews.com/en/afghanistan/21498-number-of-unregistered-madrasas-set-to-rise-dramatically-research [accessed 21 September 2015].

ATR Consulting. (2014) Afghan Citizen Perception Survey [online], available: http://atr-consulting.com/?research_ps=afghan-citizen-perception-survey [accessed 15 September 2015].

Burke, J. (2013) Fighting terrorism: Do 'deradicalisation' camps really work? The Guardian [online], available: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/09/terrorism-do-deradicalisation-camps-work [accessed 12 September 2015].

Derksen, D. (2011) Impact or Illusion? Reintegration under the Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program. USIP [online], available: http://www.usip.org/sites /default/files/PB 106.pdf [accessed 16 September 2015].

Haque, R. (2014) Youth Radicalization in Pakistan. USIP [online], available: http://www.us ip.org/publications/youth-radicalisation-in-pakistan [accessed 9 September 2015].

Horgan, John G. (2015) Terrorist Deradicalization. LA Times http://www.latimes.com /opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0215-horgan-terrorist-deradicalization-20150215-story.html [accessed 21 September 2015].

Iqbal, A. (2015) IS fighting Taliban in Afghanistan, says US commander. Dawn [online], available: http://www.dawn.com/news/1200933 [accessed 19 September 2015].

Karimi, H., Ebrahimi, G. (2015) Corruption Mapping in Afghanistan. Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies [online], available: http://www.aiss.af/images/pdf/ Corruption Mapping in Afghanistan. English.pdf [accessed 21 September 2015].

Khan, A. (2015) Deradicalization Programming in Pakistan. USIP [online], available: http://www.usip.org/publications/2015/09/14/deradicalization-programming-in-pakistan [accessed 13 September 2015].

Khan, R. K., & Khan, S., & Aziz, R., & Rehmat, U. S. (2012) Causes and Impact of Radicalization on Young People Inside and Outside Pakistan. The Rand Corporation [online], available: http://www.ejb ss.com/Data/Sites/1/mydata/ejbss-12-1124-causesandimpactofradicalization.pdf [accessed 11 September 2015].

Khetab, M, H. (2015) Osmani promises mainstreaming unregistered mosques. Pajhwok Network [online], available: http://archive.pajhwok.com/en/2015/01/21/osmani-promises-mainstreaming-unregistered-mosque [accessed 21 September 2015].

Mercy Corps, (2015) Youth and Consequences : Unemployment, Injustice and Violence. Mercy Corps [online], available: https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Mer cyCorps_YouthConsequencesReport_2015.pdf [accessed 9 September 2015].

Johnnie Auld: The need for a national deradicalisation program in Afghanistan

Osman, B. (2014) Afghan Youth for Democracy? Not all of them. Afghan Analysts Network [online], available: https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/afghan-youth-for-democracy-not-all-of-them/ [accessed 9 September 2015].

Osman, B. (2015) Beyond Jihad and Traditionalism Afghanistan's new generation of Islamic activists. Afghan Analysts Network. Thematic Report 01/2015 [online], available: https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/publication/aan-papers/between-jihad-and-traditionalism-afghanistans-new-generation-of-islamic-activists/ [accessed 10 September 2015].

Porges, M, Stern, J. (2010) Getting Deradicalization Right. Foreign Affairs [online], available: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/persian-gulf/2010-05-01/getting-deradicalization-right [accessed 13 September 2015].

Osman, B. (2015) The Shadows of 'Islamic State' in Afghanistan: What threat does it hold? Afghan Analyst Network [online], available: https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-shadows-of-islamic-state-in-afghanistan-what-threat-does-it-hold/ [accessed 13 September 2015].

Porges, M. (2012) Radicalization Process in Afghanistan. Combating Terrorism Center [online], available: https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/radicalization-processes-in-afghanistan [accessed 9 September 2015].

Porges, M. L. (2010) The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment. Council on Foreign Relations [online], available: http://www.cfr.org/radicalization-and-extremism/saudi-deradicalization-experiment/p21292 [accessed 9 September 2015].

Rabasa, A., Pettyjohn, S., Ghez, J., Boueck, C. (2010) Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists. The Rand Corporation [online], available: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf [accessed 14 September 2015].

Roehrs, C. (2015) The Refugee Dilemma: Afghans in Pakistan between expulsion and failing aid schemes. Afghan Analysts Network [online], available: https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-refugee-dilemma-afghans-in-pakistan-between-expulsion-and-failing-aid-schemes/ [accessed 19 September 2015].

Roy, O. (2002) Islamic Radicalism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. UNHCR [online], available:

Johnnie Auld: The need for a national deradicalisation program in Afghanistan

http://www.academia.edu/1453553/Islamic_Radicalism_in_Afghanistan_and_Pakistan [accessed 16 September 2015].

Ruttig, T. (2015) ANSF Wrong Footed: The Taleban Offensive in Kunduz. Afghan Analysts Network [online], available: https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/ansf-wrong-footed-the-taleban-offensive-in-kunduz/ [accessed 16 September 2015].

Sainsbury, L., Yousafzai, I. (2015) Growth of Islamic state in Afghanistan. LPD Afghanistan.

Schmid, A. P. (2013) Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review. International Centre for Counter-Terrorism. March 2013.

Schulze, K. (2008) Indonesia's Approach to Jihadist Deradicalization. Combating Terrorism Center [online], available: https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/indonesia%E2%80%99s-approach-to-jihadist-deradicalization. [accessed 15 September 2015].

Taspinar, O. (2009) Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined. The Brookings Institute [online], available: http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/articles/2009/9/summerfallradicalismtaspinar/summer_fall_radicalism_taspinar.pdf [accessed 11 September 2015].

UNDP (2013) Afghanistan Peace and Reintgration Program: 2013 Annual Project Progress Report [online], available: http://www.af.undp.org/content/dam/afghanistan/docs/cr isisprev/APRP/APRP-APR-2013.pdf [accessed 20 September 2015].