ADDRESSING VIOLENT EXTREMISM: CREATING SPACES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT

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The Civil Society Network for Human Security

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Overview
This report shares key themes and recommendations of the Civil Society Network for Human Security from its June 26, 2012 forum, “Addressing Violent Extremism: Creating Spaces for Civil Society Engagement” on the occasion of the UN General Assembly third biennial review of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism strategy (A/RES/60/288). The event brought together over seventy representatives from civil society, UN Permanent Missions, UN agencies, and other international organizations and foundations. Civil society representatives from West Africa & the Sahel, the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and Central America, and South and Central Asia shared regional experiences of both terrorism and counterterrorism measures and made recommendations to the UN community to protect civil society space.

Executive Summary
Civil society actors are essential partners in addressing violent extremism. Civil society work directly supports the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy’s pillars I and IV, focused on reducing conditions conducive to terrorism and upholding human rights in the struggle against violent extremism, respectively. Civil society is uniquely placed to bridge gaps between global policy and local realities, including efforts to prevent violent extremism. Local civil society actors hold unique local knowledge, the trust of local actors, and an understanding of root causes of conflict that drive extremism. Over the past ten years, counterterrorism policies have put civil society groups under increasing pressure and constraints. In the name of countering terrorism, some governments have targeted nonviolent opposition groups and human rights defenders. Overly militarized counterterrorism policies based on isolating and destroying terrorist groups have harmed civilians and undermine the essential work of human rights defenders, conflict prevention practitioners, and humanitarian aid workers. A focus on national security rather than human security has trapped civilians and civil society in the middle of violent conflict between states and terrorist groups. Without adequate respect for human security and human rights, counterterrorism measures are counterproductive and provoke further radicalization. Effective counterterrorism policies must prioritize human security and respect human rights and human dignity. The UN must take more steps to recognize civil society as a partner in addressing violent extremism, support civil society conflict resolution, human rights, and prevention programming, and protect civil society space from being closed down in the name of counterterrorism policy.

A HUMAN SECURITY APPROACH TO COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM
A human security framework asserts that the ultimate goal and measure of security policy should be the safety, freedom, and dignity of individuals and communities. It emphasizes protection from all violence, terrorist- or state-sponsored, and from nonviolent threats such as disease, lack of
education, lack of economic opportunity, and the denial of human rights. Its holistic focus on human well-being offers a framework that integrates peacebuilding, development, human rights, international law, humanitarian aid, and governance agendas. An integrated framework is particularly appropriate to address the complex issue of violent extremism. As the UN Strategy reflects, preventing extremism requires conflict resolution, inclusive development, respect for human rights, dialogue, and governance reform. By re-focusing policymaking on individual and community well-being, human security holds governments accountable to citizens, the international system, and human rights obligations. Human security prioritizes keeping individuals and communities safe not only from terrorism but also from intended or unintended harmful effects of counterterrorism measures. It evaluates security policy on the basis of protection of individuals rather than number of terrorists killed or apprehended.

Conflict prevention and transformation are central to human security. As the UN Strategy recognizes, both are key to combatting extremism: “the peaceful resolution of [unresolved] conflicts would contribute to strengthening the global fight against terrorism.” Civil society actors are key allies in conflict mitigation, yet find themselves hamstrung by listing procedures that prohibit productive engagement with armed groups. Indiscriminate official labelling of armed groups as terrorists, whether they are secessionists, insurgents, or guerrillas, obscures important differences in grievances and objectives that must be understood to develop effective long term solutions.

Secretary General Ban Ki Moon has advocated for greater emphasis on engagement strategies, saying: “Not engaging and adopting an exclusively repressive approach to non-state armed groups, such as dealing with them through the lens of counterterrorism and placing them on terrorist lists […] risks further radicalizing such groups.”

Supporting and empowering victims is important for a human security approach. Civil society groups such as the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague support victims’ healing and give them a platform to tell their stories and advocate for nonviolence. Sharing survivors’ stories in areas at risk for radicalization promotes prevention of terrorist tactics by putting a human face on the suffering inflicted by terrorist actions. Victims of counterterrorism measures are often ignored or overlooked, yet they bear the human cost of failed counterterrorism policy. Victims of counterterrorism measures have put themselves on the frontlines of civil society efforts to stop violence. In Colombia, 40,000 survivors of violent conflict recently marched to the capital to advocate for a negotiated end to the war. In Northeast India widows of those killed by extrajudicial executions have come together across ethnic lines, forming civic organizations that demand accountability from local and national governments and armed groups.
Excerpts from Keynote Speech by Francisco de Roux

The governments claim that we owe to the state our safety. It is not the case with our dignity, which is the basis for human security. We do not get our dignity from the state. We do not have to pay anybody for our human dignity. We don’t receive our dignity from society, not from the family, not from religion. We have human dignity just because we are human beings. Human dignity is absolute because you don’t increase your dignity when you become officials of the United Nations or guerrillas of the army or a leader of a university or a bishop or president. You don’t have more dignity because you have the citizenship of the United States. You don’t have more dignity because your country is protected by thousands of missiles. We have the same absolute dignity with poor people of Africa, South Pacific, India, or Latin America.

War is the collapse of human dignity - terrorist war and counterterrorist war. Because war destroys everything it touches. War destroys rural communities, war destroys civil and political institutions, war destroys the churches and the people who launched the war and produced and traded the weapons.

Kant, the philosopher, tried to put a foundation to the absolute value of human dignity when he said ‘you cannot use another person as a means to get a result because every human person is an end in himself or herself.’ In the Jewish, Christian, and Islam traditions we see that every person exists because she or he has been called to existence by a mystery of love, to a personal love project that lasts forever, in an absolute relationship that takes each person as a unique value. We know that talking about human dignity we have to take into consideration the diversity of cultures. Every nation has its own way of expressing dignity, celebrating dignity, sharing dignity, protecting dignity, communicating dignity, and because of this communities and nations keep their traditions, and narratives, their glories and their victims and look for a way of life coherent with their dignity.

We are to go to the people who are trapped in their conflict to enter with them in a personal, respectful conversation consistent with human dignity and dignity of the victims. I insist in this urgency of human personal contact with people trapped in the war because I know the effect it produces. Instead of spreading mistrust and suspicion, let’s try intensified trust and confidence among people and we will get human security.

Video Keynote speech: https://vimeo.com/45528015
REGIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY PERSPECTIVES
Civil society panellists from across four regions shared unique regional perspectives on challenges posed by violent extremism and international counterterrorism policies to address it.

Videos opening session:
Welcoming by: Lia van Broekhoven, Facilitator, Jennifer Chapman, Mallika Joseph

Preventing Radicalization in the Middle East and North Africa, Central Asia, and South Pacific
Addressing conditions conducive to terrorism is the first pillar of the four pillars of UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. In Muslim majority societies, civil society is an essential partner in preventing radicalization.

Youth Empowerment
Youth are a key constituency at risk for radicalization. Forty per cent of the world’s population is under 24. Youth often are not engaged in local or national politics and do not feel that established channels are responsive to their situation.

Civil society facilitates youth groups to address conditions conducive to extremist violence. In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the South Pacific, civil society organizations such as Search for Common Ground and the Permanent Peace Movement in Lebanon have developed innovative youth programs that promote nonviolent political empowerment. Some initiatives in Tunisia, Morocco, Yemen, and Lebanon connect polarized youth and train them in advocacy skills to become politically active through legitimate, nonviolent channels. Through youth councils, civil society groups train future leaders to bring community concerns to local municipal governments, and teach young people to be active democratic citizens. Youth councils develop positions and share these at national assemblies to bring youth voices into the political discourse. In Indonesia, civil society has developed youth programs that enable young people to participate in local government programs on issues of political reform, which promote tolerance and ‘unity in diversity’.

The MENA region has one of the highest circulations of small arms. Civil society groups raise awareness amongst youth of the importance of arms control and train young people in advocacy for legal reforms and the promotion of a Nuclear Arms Free Zone. Civil society works to connect armed youth with leaders in their communities who have renounced violence. These leaders are able to share their own experiences with violence and give the message that armed violence is not acceptable and does not work.

“Acceptance of violence + available arms + youth vulnerability = armed conflict. To address violence, you can’t just say ‘no’. You have to give alternatives.”

– Fadi Abi Allam, Director of the Permanent Peace Movement
Through peer-to-peer work, civil society groups provide spaces of dialogue and opportunities for bridge-building among previously polarized groups, including conservative Islamist communities and secularists. By raising awareness of nonviolent conflict resolution skills and developing opportunities for diverse youth to work together for common purposes, civil society programs help lay the groundwork for more tolerant societies and future leaders. Civil society organizations also create innovative media programming that introduces youth role models and promotes coexistence between ethnic groups to thousands of viewers.

**Prevention Religious Radicalism**

Civil society groups such as the Foundation for Tolerance International in Kyrgyzstan work to build constructive relationships between religious leaders at risk for radicalization and local police. Such work is especially important in post-Communist states, where the weakness of orthodox Islam and a long history of religious repression make local populations potentially vulnerable to radical Islam. However, civil society groups can come under suspicion for working with religious leaders. Central Asian Governments use the threat of terrorism to restrict civil liberties and repress opposition movements. Recent research done by civil society groups found that local populations view the police as a greater threat to their security than terrorists, and that many believe government repression fuels extremism.

Civil society should also reach out to dialogue and work with violent, hard-line groups, as that is where the biggest impact on preventing violence can be achieved. Governments should support civil society organizations in reaching out to the most difficult groups.

**Video Panel en MENA Region, Indonesia and Central Asia**

Part one: Saji Prelis & Abou El Mahassine
Part two: Fadi Abi Allam
Part three: Amany Lubis
Part four: Raya Kadyrova

**West Africa: Challenges to conflict prevention and resolution**

Instability and extremism in Mali is quickly becoming a focus of regional and global concern. Following the military coup in March 2012, rebels have taken over much of the northern part of the country and imposed an extremist version of *sharia* law. Reports claim that international jihadists are arriving in the region. Mali’s location as a gateway between North and Sub-Saharan Africa makes it a likely and dangerous hub for terrorist and narcotic networks.

Over the past decade, the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) in partnership with government and regional bodies has developed a regional conflict prevention and response infrastructure with the purpose of building a culture of peaceful democratic transitions in the region. West African NGOs have helped develop a regional legal regime, processes to assess root drivers and mitigators of conflict, and an early warning and response network to respond to emerging crises. Official mechanisms integrate civil society voices into regional
policymaking and give NGOs a platform to engage the African Union on peacebuilding. Successful collaboration has created a conflict resolution infrastructure that was used successfully to persuade the president of the Ivory Coast to respect election results and step down from power. Peacebuilding groups such as WANEP stress the importance of addressing root causes and regional sources of the conflict in Mali so that instability does not spill over into neighbouring fragile states such as Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone. UN intervention is needed to shore up the Malian government so that it can engage in dialogue without ceding further territory. A military response, however, would further destabilize the region.

West Africa’s conflict resolution infrastructure is being confronted by counterterrorism policies that focus on isolating extremists and criminalize engagement with designated terrorist groups. Regional experience has shown that dialogue with armed groups, understanding and addressing root causes, and acting regionally have been essential principles for effective action. Yet this approach is proscribed by the international practice of listing designated terrorist groups which criminalizes even constructive engagement. Humanitarian access in the rebel-controlled north of Mali is also curtailed by counterterrorism policies, despite a growing number of internally displaced persons and growing humanitarian need.

International actors should partner with West African governments and civil society groups such as WANEP to develop a conflict prevention and resolution-based response to extremism in Mali. Regional experience with ending armed conflict advocates for analysing root causes, developing a regional response, and engaging with armed groups. This approach should be enhanced, not undermined, by international counterterrorism policies.

Video Panel on West Africa
Part one: Emmanuel Bombande
Part two: Oulie Keita
Q&A Part one
Q&A Part two

Northeast India: Closing Civil Society Space

In Northeast India, 10 of 79 armed ethnic groups are listed as terrorists. Since 1958 the area has been under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act which grants extraordinary powers to official armed forces to maintain order in the region. Violence from government armed forces and local self-determination movements has caught innocent civilians in the middle and depressed development in the region. Human rights groups have documented widespread sexual violence, mass atrocities, and extrajudicial killings from both sides. State forces have little accountability to civilians and extremist forces act with impunity.
Since 9/11 and the 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, security forces have been further strengthened in the region. Heightened surveillance and special operations against armed resistance groups have put additional pressure on civil society space. National legislation has made it more difficult for local civil society to receive international funding, and only a handful of international organizations are working in the area despite pressing development and security humanitarian challenges. Civil society groups who try to bring polarized ethnic groups together to negotiate a peace, risk being labelled terrorists. Groups working for social, economic, and cultural rights are similarly viewed with suspicion and vulnerable to violence. The UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights reported in 2011 that she was, “troubled by the branding and stigmatization of human rights defenders, who are labelled as “naxalites (Maoists)”, “terrorists”, “militants”, “insurgents”, “anti-nationalists”, “members of underground.”

Despite being victims of violence and active leaders in nonviolent movements, women are largely excluded from formal participation in government or peace processes. Women have been leaders in initiating multi-ethnic networks for victims’ rights for widows of extrajudicial killings and for advocating for women in governance. They have pressured local councils to recognize and address sexual violence abuses by armed forces. Despite a bleak picture, there are examples of constructive partnership between the UN, the Indian government, and regional civil society that should be models for future action: In 1997 the Indian government invited the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights to Northeast India. The Human Rights Committee report found that “the problems [...] are essentially political [...] terrorism should be fought with means compatible with the Covenant [...]”. The committee’s report opened space for a local group to start the region’s first human rights NGO. Following the 2008 – 2009 report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings, the government of India changed its incentive structure for soldiers, who now receive fewer credits for killing terrorists. As a result of the change in security policy, the number of extrajudicial killings fell to 20 in 2011. Recently, a local NGO developed a manual on indigenous humanitarian principles to de-escalate armed groups’ behaviour towards civilians. The Manipur governor is also promoting the manual.

As the economic importance of the region in India’s Asia strategy grows, there will be more urgency for States and the UN system to work with civil society to seek demilitarized approaches to end half a century of violence and instability. Opening safe political space for nonviolent, democratic deliberation on community grievances is a priority.

Nonviolent civil society groups such as the Purva Bharati Educational Trust and Human Rights Alert must be recognized as legitimate actors in democratic societies and civil society registration processes should be depoliticized. Armed forces must be put under civilian oversight and government protection extended to nonviolent advocacy on local issues related to economic policy, development, and human rights protection. There is a dire need to create safe, legal deliberative space for sensitive issues such as self-determination and sovereignty status, and to support nonviolent, multi-ethnic conflict resolution processes in the region.

“I live where there are six terrorist groups. There is constant pressure to prove you are not a terrorist organization.”
– Human rights activist
Terrorism and Organized Crime in Latin America and Central America

Addressing terrorism in Latin America and Central America presents unique challenges. Extremist groups, organized crime, and governments are connected through complex networks and relationships. Organized crime engages with terrorist groups, and some groups use organized crime to finance their work. Governments collude with organized crime and in some cases are captured by it. Democratic governance is weakened by corruption and further undermined by security strategies that cede authority to armed forces that have little accountability to local populations or civilian rule.

National policies are insufficient to address region-wide problems of drug and human trafficking. The region lacks a common definition of security and has an incomplete framework for security in a democratic society. In attempts to address the problems of drug trafficking and organized crime, many states have prioritized national security at the expense of human security. Cultural machismo attitudes in militarized environments have created widespread violence against women throughout the region to the degree that “femicide” is a recognized phenomenon. Indigenous communities have suffered displacement and violence. Heightened and brutal violence between state and extremist actors has endangered journalists and human rights defenders who attempt to hold either side accountable.

Despite the differences between global jihadist threats and terrorist activity in the region, many countries in the region adopted the post 9/11 doctrine on the “global war on terror.” International counterterrorism discourse has further legitimized the participation of the military in national decision-making, which has undermined democratic governance. International funding has contributed to significant expansion of military operations that too often endanger civilians with impunity. Governments have labelled nonviolent opposition groups and civil society groups “terrorists” for political purposes. They have also branded youth gang violence or regional violence as terrorist activity, distorting analysis of actual threats and further closing the space for conflict prevention and resolution programming.

Peace and human rights groups such as Interpeace and SERAPAZ emphasize that effective strategies to counter extremist violence must distinguish between terrorist activities, terrorist groups, and organized crime. State security forces must operate within the rule of law. Many threats can only be addressed through building legitimate democratic institutions and addressing corruption in justice systems. Regional strategies must address root causes of drug violence, including criminalized consumption in the United States, and arms availability.
Path Forward: A Human Security Approach

A 2004 report to the Secretary General-appointed Panel of Eminent Persons on UN-Civil Society relations states: “Civil society organizations are also the prime movers of some of the most innovative initiatives to deal with emerging global threats. Given this reality the Panel believes that constructively engaging with civil society is a necessity for the United Nations, not an option.”

A comprehensive approach to counter violent extremism, taking into account prevention, protection, repression and respect for human rights can only be truly effectuated when it is tailor-made for the context-specific situation and inclusive of all stakeholders. When human security instead of state security is taken as a starting point to draft the comprehensive approach, the effectiveness of the approach will be far greater. By re-focusing policymaking on individual and community well-being, human security holds governments accountable to citizens, the international system, and human rights obligations. Human security prioritizes keeping citizens and communities safe not only from terrorism but also from intended or unintended harmful effects of counterterrorism measures. It evaluates security policy on the basis of protection of citizens rather than number of terrorists caught. The language on counterterrorism policies should represent the two-way street that is necessary to set up a dialogue between authorities and civil society actors on the analysis of the problems conducive to the spread of violent extremism and the measures and policies necessary to counter it.

Engagement with Civil Society

The numerous occasions on which civil society actors have been engaged in UN activities on countering violent extremism, especially the ones (formally or informally) organized by CTED over the last two years are a clear proof of the added value of civil society participation. Furthermore, the establishment of the Civil Society Network on Human Security demonstrates civil society’s effort to respond to the GA’s call in its 2010 resolution\(^1\) to engage with the UN on these issues.

In that respect, this intensified cooperation and engagement from both sides should be represented in the language of the GA resolution of 2012\(^2\). Such welcoming language is important to send out the

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1 UN General Assembly resolution 64/297 of 8 September 2010
2 UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy Review, General Assembly resolution 66/282 of 29 June 2012
message that the overwhelming majority of civil society actors also have – and maybe even more directly – an interest in their own human security. Only when proven otherwise, should civil society actors be the target of counterterrorism measures or be excluded from this dialogue.

On those occasions, it is very important that the right legal regime is applied. The front lines of counterterrorism law and policy are domestic, not international. And yet, domestic law and policy makers remain largely uninformed about the parameters and inter-relationships among applicable international legal frameworks, such as international humanitarian law, law of armed conflict, law of war, law of state responsibility, international criminal law, and international human rights law. The scope of application and rules of each of these frameworks, as well as "choice of law" rules that must be applied when these legal frameworks and domestic law intersect, must be understood. The understandings to be applied will often vary depending on which of the following contexts are at issue: targeting, grounds for detention, due process for detention, detainee treatment, prosecution and trials of suspected terrorists / supporters of terrorism, non-criminal sanctions against suspected terrorists / supporters of terrorism, accountability and remedies to victims of unlawful official practices.
Recommendations

The Civil Society Network for Human Security makes the following recommendations to protect civil society space and reform counterterrorism measures to protect human security.

The UN should advocate for Member States to take greater measures:

To protect innocent civilians and civil society from getting caught in the middle of violent conflict between states and armed extremists by:

- Adopting a human security framework that makes the first goal of counterterrorism policy the protection of communities, individual life and human rights;
- Holding states to their obligations under international humanitarian law to protect innocent civilians in armed conflict; and
- Holding militarized counterterrorism measures to higher scrutiny.

To uphold the rule of law, human rights, and protect human rights defenders in counterterrorism measures by:

- Assisting and protecting local human rights defenders who document state violations and abuses of power; and
- Building legitimate state security institutions that do not abuse power, are under civilian control, and are held accountable for human rights violations.
- Ensuring that domestic law and policy makers get familiar with applicable international law as a predicate to making domestic law and policy to avoid.

To protect democratic, nonviolent civil society from being undermined by militarized counterterrorism measures by:

- Allowing political space for nonviolent opposition and dialogue through respecting rights of free expression and assembly; and
- Recognising and protecting nonviolent civil society groups as essential partners in creating democratic societies.

To prevent further radicalization by demilitarizing counterterrorism measures and using a conflict resolution approach through:

- Investing in prevention measures, including youth empowerment programming, dialogue with religious leaders, and supporting women’s groups;
- Protecting space for Track II diplomacy and humanitarian aid by reforming listing practices to allow civil society engagement with armed actors;
- Engaging in negotiation and conflict mitigation that addresses regional concerns and root causes of conflict; and
- Distinguishing between terrorism, organized crime, insurgencies, and armed self-determination groups in order to develop appropriate strategies that address genuine sources of the conflict and protect local populations.
The UN and its Member States should seek a comprehensive and constructive engagement strategy with civil society and:

- Reconsider framing counterterrorism measures and the labelling of terrorist groups
- Change the language in the GA resolution\(^3\) to be more amenable to civil society participation in countering violent extremism.
- Reconsider the policy approach in countering terrorism to be more tailor-made, context-specific, inclusive of all stakeholders and with a focus on human security:
- Use hard security only as a measure of last resort, recognizing it is likely to have a counterproductive effect, creating alienation, exclusion and possibly radicalization. Prevention programs run and set up in cooperation with civil society organizations can be more effective, and in many cases have more credibility.
- Evaluate UN policies and the extent to which they advocate counterproductive hard core security measures without a proper balancing mechanism.
- Recognize and respect the roles played by different actors within civil Society, in order to prevent compromising these roles by Governments and undermining the credibility and legitimacy of humanitarian actors.
- Set up a regular mechanism for UN entities to engage with civil society actors, in order to create a better understanding of their perspectives and to develop a common language that is suitable to context-specific situations.
- Support and empower the victims of terrorism and counterterrorism and recognize the important role they can play in engaging with all communities in search for a narrative of peace.

CTITF should:

- Include grassroots local civil society organizations (not only the academic institutions or national civil society groups) in the events organized by CTITF working groups.
- Include the events organized by the Civil Society Network for Human Security on the occasion of Reviews of the Global Strategy in the official program.

The future CT Coordinator should:

- Set up regular meetings with local civil society organizations on countering violent extremism, and;
- Evaluate the use of measures against financing of terrorism to develop a more proportional and context-specific approach that does not unduly target civil society organisations or result in diminished resources to address humanitarian needs

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\(^3\) General Assembly resolution 60/288 of 8 September 2006, on the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, and the subsequent reviews of the Resolution (66/282).
10 Human Security Guiding Practices for Countering Violent Extremism

1. Human security guards the essential freedoms, safety, identity and human dignity of all people. It reflects the values in the preamble of the UN charter and encompasses development, humanitarianism, human rights, and security. It calls for holistic and context-specific strategies to counter violent extremism.

2. The ultimate goal and responsibility of any security policy, including counterterrorism policy, should be the preservation and protection of the freedoms, safety, identity, and dignity of individuals and their communities.

3. Terrorism must be fought within the rule of law and with respect for human rights. Police and military functions must be distinguished and operate within the rules of national and international law.

4. Military strategies to eradicate terrorism often harm innocent civilians. Such strategies must be amended to prioritize individual freedoms, safety, identity, and dignity.

5. Militarized counterterrorism measures do not change radical ideologies. They often backfire, further radicalizing vulnerable populations, and should be used only as a last resort.

6. Both victims of terrorism and counterterrorism measures should receive international recognition and reparations.

7. To effectively address terrorism, security policy must address root causes and focus on conflict prevention and transformation.

8. Civil society organizations are essential partners in countering violent extremism. Local civil society actors have valuable knowledge and relationships that are essential for transforming conflict.

9. Restricting civil liberties and civil society space in the name of security creates the conditions of repression that fuel violent extremism.

10. Listing practices have the unintended consequence of impeding peacebuilding and humanitarian access. Civil society must have legal and political space to engage with armed parties and the communities in which they operate.