Resilient Cities

Countering Violent Extremism at Local Level

Diego Muro (Ed.)

CIDOB
BARCELONA
CENTRE FOR
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This volume is dedicated to the victims of the Barcelona and Cambrils terrorist attacks that killed 16 people (August 17, 2017)

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Rik Coolsaet

Professor emeritus at Ghent University (Belgium) and Senior Associate Fellow at EGMONT–The Royal Institute for International Relations (Brussels). He has held several high-ranking official positions, such as deputy chief of the Cabinet of the Belgian Minister of Defence (1988–1992) and deputy chief of the Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1992–1995). From 2002 to 2009, he served as Director of the 'Security & Global Governance' Program at Egmont–Royal Institute for International Relations (Brussels). He was invited to join the original European Commission Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation (established 2006) and the subsequent European Network of Experts on Radicalisation (ENER). His areas of expertise are: international relations, diplomacy and foreign policy, and terrorism and radicalisation. On this last topic, his most recent publications are: 'All Radicalisation is Local'. The genesis and drawbacks of an elusive concept (June 2016); and Facing the fourth foreign fighters wave. What drives Europeans to Syria, and to Islamic State? Insights from the Belgian case (March 2016). Both were released by the Egmont Institute (Brussels).

Jorge Dezcallar

Lawyer, Spanish diplomat and expert in International Relations. He joined the Spanish diplomatic service in 1971 and was Ambassador on a Special Mission for the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU (1996), Ambassador to Morocco (1997) and Director of the Spanish National Intelligence Center (CNI) with the rank of Secretary of State (2001). After four years leading the intelligence institution, Dezcallar served as an Ambassador to the Holy See (2004), as an International Adviser for REPSOL (2006) and Ambassador to the United States (2008). He is a co-author of the book "*Racismo y xenofobia: búsqueda de las raíces*" (Ed. FUNDACION RICH, 1993), author of the book "*Valió la pena. Una vida entre diplomáticos y espías*" (Ed.Península, 2015),

co-author of the book "*No te equivoques, Trump no es liberal*" (Ed. Planeta Deusto, 2017) and is the author of numerous newspaper articles. He has been recognized with diverse distinctions, including the Grand Cross of Isabel the Catholic, the Grand Cross Ouissam Alauita and the Grand Cross of Saint John of the Order of Malta, as well as other Spanish and international decorations.

Lord Toby Harris

He has been a member of the UK House of Lords since 1998. In Parliament, he is a member of the Joint Committee on National Security Strategy and Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Policing. In 2016, he conducted an Independent Review for the Mayor of London on London's Preparedness to Respond to a Terrorist Attack. He chairs National Trading Standards, which is responsible for delivering national and cross-boundary consumer protection enforcement activity and is the UK Coordinator of the Electric Infrastructure Security Council. In 2014/15, at the request of the Minister for Prisons, he led an Independent Review into the Deaths of Young People in Prison Custody, which was the most substantial review of penal policy for thirty years. From 2000-2004, he was the first chair of the Metropolitan Police Authority and subsequently was appointed by the Home Secretary to oversee the national and international functions of the Metropolitan Police - primarily its role in counter-terrorism and security. He was an elected politician in London for 26 years, was Leader of Haringey Council, Chair of the Association of London Government, and Leader of the Labour Group on the London Assembly. He is a former member of the Committee of the Regions of the European Union.

Daniel H. Heinke

Chief of Detectives and Director, State Bureau of Investigation at the Bremen State Police, Bremen, Germany. He is an Adjunct Professor for criminal law, criminal procedure, and interdisciplinary terrorism studies at the Institute for Police and Security Research, University of Applied Sciences in Public Administration Bremen, Germany, and an Associate Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR), King's College London, UK. Prior professional experience includes service as senior executive at the state Ministry of the Interior, Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, Germany, as a state prosecutor (special prosecutor for homicide investigations), and as a military police officer. He holds the rank of Lieutenant Colonel (Res), Military Police, German Armed Forces Reserve. In this capacity he is affiliated with the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. In addition to his own publications his work has been cited in various regional and national German media (including Weser-Kurier, tageszeitung, BILD, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Zeit, Die Welt, Der Spiegel, Radio Bremen, ARD, ZDF, Deutsche Welle) and the BBC.

Daniel Koehler

He studied Religion, Political Science and Economics at Princeton University and Free University Berlin. After having finished the postgraduate program 'Master of Peace and Security Studies' at the University of Hamburg he specialized on terrorism, radicalization, and de-radicalization. He worked as a de-radicalization and family counselor in multiple programs and developed several methodological approaches to de-radicalization, especially family counselling programs around the world. Daniel Koehler is also the co-founder of the first peer reviewed open access journal on de-radicalization (www.journal-derad.com), which he created together with the German Institute on Radicalization and De-Radicalization Studies (GIRDS) in 2014. In June 2015 GIRDS Director Daniel Koehler was named a Fellow of George Washington University's Program on Extremism at the Center for Cyber and Homeland Security. In 2016 he was appointed to be the first court expert on de-radicalization in the United States of America at the District Court in Minneapolis. He has since then conducted risk assessment and de-radicalization evaluations of terrorist offenders in prison and trained expert personnel from various US Government agencies. Since 2016 he also works with the Ministry of the Interior in Baden-Württemberg/Stuttgart to help coordinate the state wide prevention network against violent extremism and radicalization.

Marije Meines

Senior expert at the European Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) Centre of Excellence. RAN focuses on connecting first-line practitioners working on the prevention of radicalisation and enhancing the CVE and PVE efforts all over Europe. She specializes in implementing CVE action plans, building local multi-agency approaches and the development of counter and alternative narratives. She has been involved in the prevention of terrorism and radicalisation for over a decade. Her work includes drafting national and local actions plans and training sessions for practitioners and policy makers.

Diego Muro

Lecturer in International Relations at the Handa Centre for the Study of Political Violence and Terrorism (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews and Senior Research Associate at the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB). Prior to St Andrews, he was Associate Professor in European Studies at King's College London, Assistant Professor at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI-UPF), Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellow at the European University Institute (EUI) and Senior Fellow at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. His main research interests are comparative politics, nationalism, security studies and terrorism. He has authored four books with Routledge entitled *Ethnicity and Violence* (2008), *The Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition* (2009), *ETA's Terrorist*

Campaign: From Violence to Politics (2016) and *When Does Terrorism Work?* (2018). His work has also been published in the following scholarly journals: *Afers Internacionals*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *Politics*, *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, and *West European Politics*.

Bart Somers

Bart Somers is a Flemish politician, member of the Open-VLD party, where he has fulfilled various functions. He has been minister-president of the region of Flanders, party president for five years. Currently he is the Group chairman for Open VLD in the Flemish Parliament and president of the ALDE-group in the Committee of the Regions. He is the Mayor of the Belgian town Mechelen since 2001 and a Member of the Committee of the Regions (CoR) since 2004. Bart was rapporteur for the opinion "Combatting radicalization: mechanism for prevention on a local and regional level" which was accepted on 15th of June 2016 in the Committee of the Regions. In 2017 he published his book "Living together. A hopeful strategy against ISIS."

Bibi van Ginkel

Senior research fellow at the Security Cluster of the Clingendael Research Department of the Netherlands Institute for International Relations 'Clingendael', the no. 1 think tank in The Netherlands for International relations. Van Ginkel specialises in the nexus between international law, including human rights and humanitarian law, and security issues. She has a great knowledge with regard to the United Nations and other security organisations. Special focus in her research is on (counter-) terrorism and (counter-) radicalisation issues. She published extensively on all the topics mentioned above, and has a long time experience in managing research projects for various clients. Among these publications are the flagship publications on terrorism for the Clingendael Strategic Monitors 2016, and the ICCT report 'The Foreign Fighter Phenomenon in the European Union; Profiles, Threats & Policies', which she co-edited with Eva Entenmann. She is a frequent commentator on national and international media. Finally, she is member of the Peace and Security Committee of the Dutch Advisory Council on International Affairs, a member of the Advisory Council to the Royal Netherlands Marrechaussee, and board member of various NGOs.

Lorenzo Vidino

Dr. Lorenzo Vidino is the Director of the Program on Extremism at George Washington University. An expert on Islamism in Europe and North America, his research over the past 15 years has focused on the mobilization dynamics of jihadist networks in the West; governmental

counter-radicalization policies; and the activities of Muslim Brotherhood-inspired organizations in the West. The author of several books and numerous articles, Dr. Vidino's most prominent work is *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, a book published in 2010 by Columbia University Press. Dr. Vidino has testified before the U.S. Congress and other parliaments; advised law enforcement officials around the world; and taught at universities in the U.S. and Europe. He regularly provides commentary to diverse media outlets (including The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, PBS, CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, BBC, Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya...) and is a columnist for the Italian daily La Stampa. In 2016, he was appointed by Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi as Coordinator of the National Commission on Jihadist Radicalization.

Tim Wilson

He went to school in Cambridge and university in Oxford. His intellectual interests in conflict derive from working as a community worker in both North Belfast and East London in the later 1990s. Trained as an historian, his chief interest is in the widely differing effects political violence can have across different contexts. In over ten years of teaching and researching at top universities (Oxford, St Andrews, Queen's Belfast) he has worked widely both on terrorism committed by governments, and by their opponents. Both his teaching and research have been recommended for prizes: indeed, his first book Frontiers of Violence – a grassroots comparison of different patterns of ethnic violence – was nominated for the Royal Historical Society's prestigious Whitfield Prize in 2010. He is currently working upon a second book that seeks to ask why militant violence in Western societies has taken the forms that it has over the past 150 years, provisionally entitled: Terrorists: A Social History of Political Violence. He assumed the Directorship of CSTPV in September 2016.

T he primary goal of this book on *Resilient Cities* is to compare and contrast local experiences on how to counter violent extremism at city level. The volume evaluates local action plans and best practices against violent extremism of various ideologies: from anarchism to left-wing, right-wing and Salafi-jihadism. A secondary goal of the book is to discuss ways in which European cities can increase their "resilience" or ability to persevere in the face of emergency and acute shocks such as terrorist attacks. As is well-known, the number of terrorist incidents worldwide has increased rapidly in the last 50 years and the biggest increase has taken place since 2001. Out of the approximately 150,000 terrorist incidents that have taken place between 1970 and 2016 (150,000 approximately) about half of those (73,000) occurred in the 2000–2016 period. Even though terrorists have killed 170,000 people since the turn of the 21st century, European democracies have been relatively unaffected by indiscriminate violence and it is estimated that only 4% of terrorist incidents took place in wealthy democracies.

The origin of this volume was a conference on *Resilient Cities: Countering Violent Extremism at Local Level,* which was held in Barcelona on June 8–9th 2017 under the auspices of CIDOB and the Handa Centre for the Study of Political Violence and Terrorism (CSTPV) at the University of St Andrews. The two-day conference was attended by public policy experts but also by a variety of local stakeholders interested in prevention: from social workers and educators to NGOs, community leaders and local police forces. The conference attracted considerable media attention and public interest, most probably because the ability of resilient cities to survive, adapt and grow after a terrorist atrocity does not only depend on elected representatives but on all individuals, communities, institutions, and businesses within a city. To put it differently, the social resilience of European cities depends on a collective effort to go back to normal after a disastrous event, emergency or challenge and face the future with confidence. In the aftermath of a terrorist atrocity, resilient cities can demonstrate they constitute strong and cohesive communities which are confident of their values and lifestyle and refuse to make concessions to those using brutal methods. In short, single event disasters put to the test the defences of a city, but also its social fabric.

To some, the future belongs to cities and only cities can "save the world". This is the case for Benjamin Barber, who has praised the role of city authorities in creating a new vision of governance in his book *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities* (Yale University Press, 2013). According to Barber, the most perilous challenges of our time – climate change, terrorism, poverty, and trafficking of drugs, guns and people – are problems too big, too interdependent and too divisive for the nation-state. Cities worldwide share unique qualities – pragmatism, civic trust, participation, creativity, innovation, and cooperation – that allow them to better respond to these transnational problems than nation-states, which are often mired in ideological infighting and sovereign rivalries. By way of illustration, cities do not control the origins and causes of global terrorism but they are required to address their consequences. Despite lacking the necessary legal instruments and financial resources to provide a comprehensive solution to these complex problems, cities do not have the luxury of turning a blind eye and not delivering for their inhabitants. In an interdependent world, city authorities are forced to implement pragmatic policies that tackle the local manifestation of transnational challenges such as violent extremism. Barber makes a persuasive case that modern cities are best placed to meet the challenges of a globalising world and that cities alone offer real hope for a *glocal* future.

This volume on *Resilient Cities* is made up of 11 chapters that analyse what municipalities can do to build resilience to violent extremism. Towns and cities are uniquely positioned to safeguard their citizens from polarisation and radicalisation to violence through partnerships with local stakeholders. The chapters have been grouped into three sections devoted to explaining the current threat of violent extremism in Europe, providing examples of best practices and local experiences in order to facilitate organisational learning, as well as explaining what cities can do to inspire local action on a global scale. These three sections provide concrete answers and policy recommendations to the research question "What should cities do to counter violent extremism?" The contributors to this book argue that municipal governments need to map out the threats affecting their communities, identify best practices and learn from other local contexts, and must design and implement their own local action plans.

The first section on violent extremism in Europe is devoted to examining the current security threat and explaining institutional responses implemented by EU member states. **Rik Coolsaet** identifies the explanations and variables that account for the rise of violent extremism in European cities. **Bibi Van Ginkel** examines the different levels of countering the threat, from the European to the national and local levels. **Jorge Dezcallar** discusses terrorism in 2017 and mentions some of his experiences as head of Spain's *Centro Nacional de Inteligencia* (CNI) betweeen 2001 and 2004. **Diego Muro** examines the process by which an individual is radicalised into an extremist ideology that manifests itself in terrorism. He provides a visual representation of four scholarly models and argues that in spite of the popularity of the term, "violent radicalisation" bears no direct relation to its actual explanatory power regarding the causes of terrorism. A common concern for these four authors is the absence of a long-term view of prevention amongst practitioners which echoes the well-known cliché of "prevention is better than cure". In the absence of pressure from the electorate, irresponsible practitioners and elected officials only come up with initiatives in the aftermath of attacks.

The second section focuses on international best practices and examples of local action plans. **Bart Somers**, World Mayor of the Year for 2016, presents the "Mechelen Model" and identifies the idea of "inclusiveness" as key to its success. **Toby Harris** discusses whether European cities are prepared to respond to a major terrorist incident. His policy recommendations are based on the findings of a wide-ranging strategic review written for the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, into what could be done to improve London's resources and readiness to respond to a serious terrorist attack. Finally, **Lorenzo Vidino** examines what accounts for the lack of a strategy for countering violent extremism (CVE) in the USA. Under the Obama administration, funding for CVE was sizeable, but these initiatives have practically ended under President Trump. A common finding of this second section is that states and regions often suffer from institutional inertia and rarely devolve powers and competences to local authorities. In an adversarial environment where different levels of government compete with each other, cities are often forced to be creative with the limited resources at their disposal. Subsequently, the creation of international coalitions of mayors and municipal policymakers and practitioners such as the Strong Cities Network or the European Forum for Urban Security have been created to facilitate the exchange of experiences and good practices in building social cohesion and community resilience to counter violent extremism in all its forms.

The third and final section focuses on "ways forward" for European cities and examines how local authorities can systematically strengthen strategic planning, policies and practices at local level as well as building the capacity of local practitioners to counter violent extremism. **Daniel Heinke** first discusses how to fine-tune existing institutional responses and answers the question of who should lead the local initiatives against violent extremism. He discusses the role of multi-agency coordination, community engagement and public-private partnerships. **Daniel Koehler** then explains how to design and evaluate programmes of prevention of radicalisation. **Marije Meines** discusses the possiblity of coming up with a European local action plan. Finally, **Tim Wilson** provides a long-term perspective on the issue of countering violent extremism and resilience and examines city resilience in a historical perspective. The authors of this section point out that cities devising their own municipal initiatives face coordination challenges in the form of horizontal collaboration with other local actors as well as vertical synchronisation with regional and state levels of government. Also, community-centric approaches cannot be oblivious to ongoing initiatives at the national and supranational levels. Last but not least, local action plans need to define clear goals as well as mechanisms to evaluate their effectiveness and facilitate the evaluation of what works and what does not.

Is a local response necessary?

The contributors to this volume advocate that cities need to develop local responses to terrorism to respond to citizens' demands for safer local communities. The terrorist attacks in Madrid (2004), London (2005), Oslo (2011), Paris (2015), Brussels (2016), Nice (2016), Berlin (2016), Manchester (2017), or Barcelona (2017) to name a few, have demonstrated the harm that violent extremism can cause to the social cohesion of European societies. In addition to the division between communities, the deadly attacks have caused deaths, injuries, emotional stress and economic costs to European states, not

to mention a loss of public confidence in the authorities. Notwithstanding the general call for additional measures, not everyone is persuaded by the citizenry's plea to develop bottom-up responses to cross-border problems. Indeed, skeptical readers may be asking themsevles: is a local response to violent extremism truly necessary? The answer is "Yes", and there are at least four reasons why a city-level response is indispensable.

First, the key motivation for a local response to violent extremism is that the threat of terrorism frequently manifests itself at the local level. The root causes or grievances that give rise to political violence may be national or international, but they often affect towns and cities, where 75% of European citizens live. To put it differently, a local response is needed because the threat is eminently local. In Europe, the number of attacks in our streets and neighbourhoods has increased significantly since 2001. Terrorist incidents in EU cities now occur with such frequency that terrorism has long ceased to be something that happens "over there". The list of urban centres that have been victims of terrorist atrocities – from Madrid in 2004 to London in 2017 – is long and tackling jihadist terrorist threats has become an over-riding priority for security services. It is increasingly clear that European cities need to update and intensify their efforts to counter and prevent Salafi-jihadist violent radicalisation.

Second, local officials have a much higher trust level than the upper levels of government. City mayors, for example, often have more credibility than state institutions, often because they are rooted in the city they govern (it is rare for mayors to live in a different city to the one where they work), because of their proximity to citizens (if they use public transport), and the possibility of interacting with them in meetings (sometimes face-to-face). By contrast, state-wide initiatives are often criticised for lacking proximity to citizens and for implementing blueprints that neglect local contexts. Citizens no longer expect counter-terrorist initiatives only to punish perpetrators but also to prevent new attacks, and these are measures that need trust between the authorities and local communities. If we are interested in the engagement of citizens, fostering the sense of solidarity and communal closeness typical of parochial cities, it is essential to develop a network of stakeholders with shared goals. Indeed, trust (what scholars used to call social capital) is essential to complete the paradigm shift from "countering" terrorism to "preventing" it. In this new scenario, bespoke social policies and security policies go hand in hand and resilient cities can play a role in addressing the causes of violent extremism, supporting local communities and facilitating the development of effective counter-narratives by civil society.

Third, if violent extremism is local, the problem should be dealt with by the most immediate level of government: the local. This line of reasoning for a municipal response is consistent with the principle of subsidiarity (enshrined in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty), which sustains that the resolution of conflicts should be decentralised. At the moment, central governments are firmly in control of counter-terrorism but indiscriminate violence mainly affects local authorities. There is a mismatch that needs to be addressed through the delegation of competences and an adequate distribution of resources. Needless to say, these strategies will be implemented at the local level but they cannot neglect the national and supra-national level. Only vertical coordination across the different levels of government as well as horizontal collaboration between local stakeholders can assure the empowerment of resilient cities.

Fourth, local authorities know their local communities best. No other level of public administration has better intelligence of its streets and neighbourhoods than local practitioners and representatives. When mapping out hotspots, vulnerable groups, unsafe areas, or groups displaying anti-social behaviour, no other level of government is better prepared to determine where the challenges lie than city authorities with daily contact with the reality on the ground. This exercise of "defining" the problem is even more effective when carried out by officials in collaboration with local stakeholders. A related problem is, of course, that city authorities do not always have the competences or the resources to carry out an independent analysis of their local problems. Mayors and cities would no doubt like to see an increase in their budgets to address violent extremism but this is unlikely to happen in most cases. The point to be made here, though, is that local expertise already exists and it only needs to be put together. What is lacking is local will to gather existing local intelligence and act upon it.

Building resilience to violent extremism has become a matter of great concern for European cities that have experienced attacks or that fear experiencing them in the future. Mayors, municipal leaders and other local authority representatives are leading efforts to empower city governments across the EU and develop pragmatic and non-ideological policies. As increasing numbers of citizens rank violent extremism as one of their top worries, urban centres have effectively become the front line of the fight against radicalisation. It is in European cities where transnational extremist threats take shape in the forms of hate speech, recruitment networks, radical cells and terrorist attacks, and it is also in European cities where evidence-based plans to counter and prevent violent extremism at local level need urgently to be devised. Cities are obvious settings in which to implement the motto "think globally and act locally".

Diego Muro

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VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN EUROPE

WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR THE RISE OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN EUROPEAN CITIES?

Rik Coolsaet

Professor Emeritus of International Relations, Ghent University
Senior Associate Fellow,
EGMONT–The Royal Institute for International Relations

Since the 1970s, scholars have been trying to identify how and why individuals turn to activism and terrorism. These renewed attempts at answering an old question were heavily induced by the radical-left zeitgeist of the 1960s and its parallel wave of transnational radical-left terrorism. The paradigms of "radicalisation" and "violent extremism" were not yet *en vogue*. The attacks in Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005 pushed the question once again to the fore. Unlike the perpetrators of 9/11, these attackers did not come from abroad, but were individuals who grew up in Europe and were often born there. How did they come to resort to terrorism and turn against their own countrymen? Why were they attracted by extremist ideologies? What made them vulnerable to recruiters? Something, it was argued, must turn a person from a "normal" individual into a terrorist. A new concept was introduced – radicalisation. This was supposed to be the key to open this "black box". It soon developed into the holy grail of European (and later worldwide) counterterrorism efforts.

Almost a decade and a half later, the quest for answers is still ongoing. No consensus has been reached on the key drivers that explain how individuals turn into terrorists. Many drivers have been identified, from ideology and religion to socioeconomic deprivation and personal and cultural characteristics, but their exact sequencing and relative importance has failed to achieve consensus.

Moreover, personal trajectories into terrorism and national, regional and local environments are so widely divergent that an overall one-size-fits-all explanation remains frustratingly out of reach. We are also still at a loss when attempting to elucidate the causes behind the emergence of jihadi terrorism, which is chronologically the successor to the abovementioned radical-left terrorism wave, let alone to propose a more granular analysis of the successive "subwaves" within this broader jihadi wave. The perceptive Norwegian terrorism scholar Thomas Hegghammer acknowledges: "[n]obody before 2011 predicted this [ISIS] resurgence, and its precise causes remain unclear" (Hegghammer, 2016).

It might be worth considering turning again to the classics of terrorism studies. In a landmark 1981 contribution on "The Causes of Terrorism", one of the pioneers in contemporary terrorism studies, Martha Crenshaw, also recognised that answering the question of why specific individuals engaged in political violence was a complicated problem. Context, Martha Crenshaw urged, is of the essence in understanding terrorism. Context not only accounts for the instigating circumstances that permit the emergence of terrorism, it also provides situational factors that motivate and direct groups and individuals to use violence. Martha Crenshaw insisted on the need to look into the interplay between this societal context, psychological considerations, and group dynamics to understand terrorism, since it is not an automatic reaction to given conditions.

Fraught with methodological difficulties and confronted with a seemingly endless stream of factors to be taken into consideration, the why-terrorism-occurs research failed to gain traction. Instead, the focus shifted to more practical policy-orientated studies – only to be resuscitated with the advent of jihadi terrorism. The early, somewhat deterministic, root causes approach after the 9/11 attacks has now given way to nuanced portrayals of interlinking dimensions, but this never resulted in a model on which scholars and practitioners could agree.

Now perhaps is the time to pick up Martha Crenshaw's model again and integrate some of the recent findings into this framework. Terrorism and pre-terrorism radicalisation can be viewed as the interplay between a conducive environment, opportunities, kinship and friendship networks or bonds, and ideology. This conceptualisation of the emergence of terrorism goes along the lines of the "puzzle" metaphor introduced by Mohammed Hafez and Chreighton Mullins (2015) as an alternative to the idea of a radicalisation "process" (with, however, some rearrangements). It also encapsulated the "kaleidoscope of factors" as systematically enumerated by the longtime Swedish terrorism scholar Magnus Ranstorp (Ranstorp, 2016), albeit in a mutually interactive mode.

How can the interplay between: (a) a conducive environment, (b) opportunities, (c) kinship and friendship networks or bonds, and (d) ideology help to address the question in the title? More specifically, can it help to explain in simple terms ISIS's success and the unparalleled speed and scale with which foreign volunteers flocked to its proto-state in the Levant? If we were able to satisfactorily answer the latter question, then a cautious look into the future at what might happen after the ISIS chapter might be possible.

A conductive environment

An alternative wording to "conducive environment" is "push factors". What factors have pushed so many often young people from Europe to Syria to end up with ISIS?

Without underestimating the significant national and even subnational differences among the European foreign fighter contingents, one might use Marc Trévidic's portrayal of the youngsters who have passed through

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his office in his 15 years' tenure as an anti-terrorism judge in Paris as a shorthand description for the European volunteers as a whole. Jihadism has become a "hype" (*un phénomène de mode*): "Ninety percent of those who leave, do it out of personal reasons: they are looking for a fight, or for adventure, or revenge, because they do not fit in society … and only 10% out of religious beliefs […] Religion is not the engine of this movement and that's precisely its strength."

At the risk of excessive generalising, but for the sake of clarity, two groups of Europeans travelling to Syria can be distinguished. A first group is composed of individuals, often youngsters in their early twenties, with a previous life of petty crime, drug trafficking, and other forms of juvenile delinquency. "A gang of street thugs" was an often heard depiction former friends and neighbours offered of the group of young terrorists that perpetrated the November 2015 Paris attacks. Patterns of engagement, age range, groupthink (by which members end up embracing the opinions of the majority of the group), propensity for violence, and a feeling of having no stake in society are characteristics shared by street gangs and ISIS-related foreign fighters' networks. Joining ISIS represents a once in a lifetime opportunity to join a "super-gang" from which they derive status, recognition, power and freedom to use violence to a point they could never have obtained in the streets of their home towns.

Whereas most of them are well known to the police from an early age, this is not the case for the second group. Before suddenly deciding to leave for Syria, the youngsters in this group didn't show any sign of deviant behaviour and nothing seemed to distinguish them from their peers. In social media, wiretaps or interviews, hey often mentioned earlier personal difficulties (of various kinds) that left them feeling stifled and discontented. One gets the impression of solitary adolescents, frequently estranged from family and friends, in search of belonging. Often, these stories point to a desire to leave this *dunya* behind, to be "someone", to be accepted, to do something "useful". They want to look up to heroes – or to be one themselves. They long for an alternative lifestyle. And they want to believe in "something".

The common denominator between the two groups is the lack of prospects, both real and perceived. This does not simply equal socioeconomic deprivation. For some it amounts to quintessential teenage angst that makes them receptive to a groomer's attention. For others, however, it results from a life of broken dreams and harsh daily experiences of being considered second-rate citizens in their own country.

A specific segment of European youth has indeed for quite some time been facing a series of hurdles that cannot but feed estrangement from society. More than 30 years ago, the French weekly *Figaro Magazine* featured the portrait of a veiled Marianne to illustrate the cover story: "*Serons-nous encore Français dans trente ans?*" ("Will we still be French 30 years from now?"). The children and grandchildren of the migrant workers that European states invited to come *en masse* in the 1960s are still being confronted on a daily basis with their origins. They are still routinely labelled "migrant communities" – notwithstanding the fact that these families have now been present on European soil

for three or four generations, and that many of them have acquired a new nationality. After 9/11, it then became standard practice to equate "migrant" with "Muslim". The significant diversity within diasporic communities from Muslim-majority countries was thus compressed into a single monolithic category labelled the "Muslim community", conflating ethnicity with religion. Some empathy would suffice to comprehend the impact of four decades of political, media and social misgivings on this group of European citizens, be they highly qualified or not. The sense of inequity that results from this can reasonably be expected to end in frustration, anger, and feelings of revenge.

Lack of prospects is clearly not simply a matter of failing to secure a job or facing discrimination – even if one should never underestimate the impact of this on the group of Europeans that left for the Levant. It's about facing an impasse (as said earlier, both real and perceived). "No future" is the essence of the youth subculture that drove many young Europeans towards Syria. "*Un sentiment d'abandon*" ("a feeling of abandonment"), was the prevailing sentiment Latifa Ibn Ziaten, the mother of one of the soldiers killed by Mohammed Merah in 2012, sensed when speaking at schools in the French *cités*. A social mapping of Molenbeek, a municipality in the northwest of Brussels that saw some fifty (mostly young) inhabitants leave for Syria, contains a similar quote: "Nobody cared about [the host of problems in] Molenbeek – therefore it is a good place for radicalisation to develop" (EIP, 2017).

ISIS has been the object of all kinds of fantasies for all kinds of people, from thrill- and revenge-seekers to the mentally unstable to those seeking for meaning and belonging, who all want to be part of ISIS, because it offers them a once in a lifetime, instant opportunity to go from zero to hero. The explanation for their decision is thus found not in how they think, but in how they feel, as Marc Sageman once opined. For most, especially in the early years, going to Syria was an escape: they were convinced they had nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Opportunities

A conductive environment does not automatically lead to violent extremism or terrorism. There has to be an opportunity, a "pull factor".

Why was ISIS able to appeal to such a wide variety of individuals, to a degree that Al-Qaeda could not (and was not willing to)? Part of the answer lies in ISIS's unique feature among contemporary jihadist groups: control over a large territory. ISIS has been able to successfully tap into this European subculture and to speak both to members of inner-city gangs with a propensity for violence, and to youngsters who simply felt estranged from society, because the establishment of its proto-state straddling Syria and Iraq offered the prospect of instant satisfaction of the host of personal motivations, as the French judge Marc Trévidic observed.

One can view ISIS as an online catalogue of boundless offers for anyone seeking to join them, physically or virtually. The catalogue offers a new beginning, a future, prospects, and a feeling of finally being accepted the way they are. It suggests to them status, empowerment,

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belonging, camaraderie, respect, recognition, adventure, heroism, and martyrdom. Some years ago, ISIS social media messages were said to convey the rhetorical question: "Why be a loser when you can be a martyr?"

ISIS also offered material wealth: a salary and a villa with a pool. It offers, for those who join in, power over others, revenge, and even a license for viciousness in the name of a higher goal. But joining ISIS was not only about fighting. It offered a new life. Its proto-state needed "normal" people not bent on violence: doctors and nurses, officials and engineers, mothers and teachers. ISIS went to great lengths to project a new utopia of peace, harmony and universal brother- and sisterhood, a potent alternative to a life of drugs and petty crime, with simple and straightforward rules.

British fighters once described their engagement in Syria as a "five-star jihad". Until the international intervention following Jim Foley's beheading in August 2014, Syria was indeed a relatively risk-free location (compared to other jihadi theatres), thanks to ISIS's full control over a large territory. This undoubtedly explains the appeal of *hijra* to Syria as well as the unprecedented speed and scope of the foreign fighters phenomenon. Without it, ISIS's appeal could never have produced the same results.

ISIS's seizure of large swathes of Iraq and Syria made the catalogue of solutions credible and within immediate reach. Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda was never in a position to offer this.

Kinship and friendship networks

Between a conductive environment and an opportunity a link must be established for terrorism to emerge.

Recent research indicates that foreign fighters often travel in clusters, originating from specific locations. Belgium is a case in point. The first wave of foreign fighters, who left the country between April 2012 and July 2013, departed from a limited number of urban neighbourhoods, especially from Antwerp and Brussels, as well as Vilvorde (near Brussels). In these locations, small extremist groups and entrepreneurs had been active for some time: Sharia4Belgium (the Belgian franchise of the London-based jihadi network al-Muhajiroun), Resto du Tawhid in Schaerbeek and a network clustered around Khalid Zerkani, who acted as a bridge between the small Belgian jihadi scene and the criminal rings of young delinquents. These pre-existing, tight-knit groups played a significant role in connecting push and pull factors in the early stages of the Syrian crisis. Once on the scene, they reached out to their peers in their home country, creating a snowball effect that increased the numbers of foreign volunteers.

In his 2008 *Leaderless Jihad*, Marc Sageman specifically identified kinship and friendship bonds as key components of the socialisation process that leads individuals into terrorism. He was referring to a third wave of foreign fighters that he labelled "home-grown". These individuals indeed entered the jihadi scene through such networks, and

connected to the global context via the internet, but failed to physically link up with the remnants of Al-Qaeda or other jihadi organisations.

Such groups, which Lorenzo Vidino (2017) aptly branded "radicalization hubs", make all the difference between street gangs and terrorist groups. An individual joining a given group evolves with the group he (or she) is part of. Group dynamics push the members into easy moneymaking via drug trafficking, while another evolves into biker gangs (and sometimes both), while a third group can take a completely different track and excel in street art or in a martial arts school. Or join the jihadi scene.

Without terrorism-oriented entrepreneurs, an individual seldom links up with terrorism. Lone wolves do exist, but they represent only a handful of individuals. One does not simply become a terrorist by watching social media messages or heroic videos. However important they may be as a means of feeling oneself part of a (virtual) community of likeminded people, in most cases cyberspace bonds need a physical extension in order for an individual to suit the action to the word.

Ideology

One last piece is still missing from the equation: ideology. Ideology is what distinguishes terrorism from other crimes.

Ever since the adoption of the concept of radicalisation in 2004, the relationship between terrorism and ideology has been hotly debated. For some, ideology is the key driver that transforms individuals into terrorists. For others it merely represents a justification for violent action. Whatever the position one takes in this debate, most will probably agree that ideology does play several important roles in terrorism: justification, motivation, bonding, groupthink and cohesion. But is it the key driver of ISIS's success?

Even scholars who tend to strongly emphasise the importance of Salafism as an "unprecedented cultural challenge" insist that it only leads to jihadist violence "when social, cultural and political conditions are ripe" (Kepel and Rougier, 2016).

Labelling ideology a key driver fails to explain the differences between member states of the European Union as to their respective foreign fighter contingents – or differences within these states. It also contrasts with the often superficial religious (and political) knowledge of ISIS-related individuals. In 2016, a new concept was even coined: "flash (or instant) radicalisation", to come to terms with the fact that many plotters apparently didn't go through a lengthy process of radicalisation.

Ideology does not equal theology, as the German deradicalisation expert Daniel Koehler is used to saying. Whatever the theological credentials of ISIS's leadership and its scholars, the rank and file of the European foreign fighters and their grassroots companions are mostly uninterested in theological or ideological discussions – even if some are. That at least is the experience of many front-line prevention workers dealing

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with "radicalised" individuals, especially in the early years of the Syrian war. Put simply: the European ISIS generation is not fundamentalist in the specific sense of the word. Most of them entered the jihadist scene without having gone through a previous Salafist phase.

ISIS offers (as Al-Qaeda did previously) an overarching narrative that wraps the variety of individual motivations into a collective storyline that heavily emphasises surpassing oneself, heroism, victory, and apocalyptic revenge. The ISIS brand of jihadi ideology has been all the more credible and alluring since it not only shrewdly appealed to the host of specific motivations of the individuals and groups it targeted, but also because it promised instant solutions. Its relentless 24/24 and 7/7 online campaigning did the rest.

Anticipating the post-ISIS landscape

This emergence of ISIS-linked violent extremism in Europe has thus been the result of a unique combination of: a conducive environment; pre-existing kin- and friendship bonds that stimulated individuals, often very young, to journey to Syria, once the opportunity arose; and an overarching narrative that neatly fitted with the needs of the no-future subculture. Cities are the physical spaces where these factors most easily fall into place.

But the Islamic State is no longer what it used to be. It has lost much of its territory and income and many of its fighters. The battle for Mosul is officially declared over and Raqqa will probably follow before the end of 2017. ISIS's global media output has decreased significantly. ISIS as we used to know it, with its proto-state and its shining aura of invincibility and unstoppable expansion, attracting tens of thousands of foreign volunteers to the Levant, is rapidly coming to an end.

Jihadism, however, is by no means over. Most importantly, the root causes jihadi groups have been able to tap into are still very much in place. Violent extremism will unfortunately linger on for some time before it starts to decline. But decline will happen. The ISIS brand will lose its appeal over time, since its unique selling proposition, its proto-state, is rapidly shrinking. By itself, ISIS's "virtual caliphate" will not be able to sustain the ISIS dynamic. Moreover, there is no inexhaustible source of "jihadis next door". ISIS veterans' networks are very high on all of Europe's police and intelligence services radar and will face the same unravelling as Al-Qaeda's post-Afghan networks.

The waning of ISIS offers a window of opportunity to deal with the conducive environment it has been able to exploit. In Europe, this implies taking a hard look at the reasons why so many young people feel like second-rate citizens. Europe also has to come to terms with its identity politics and corresponding polarisation, since this is exactly the stated goal of jihadism. And one way or another, member states and Muslim communities alike will have to find a way to facilitate the anchoring of Islam to the local environments. Violent extremism is not inevitable and neither ISIS nor jihadi terrorism represent an existential threat – unless Europeans choose to see them this way and act upon that perception.

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COUNTERING AND PREVENTING THE THREAT OF TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM: FROM THE INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN TO THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

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Introduction

More than ever we see a nexus between internal and external security. Things happening abroad may have a direct impact on national security and public order and vice versa. Think for instance of the Turkish referendum and the protests of diaspora communities it spurred in the Netherlands and Germany. Since the terrorist threat clearly has a transboundary character and the efforts to spread extremist ideology, as well as to incite and to recruit, have a transboundary character it makes sense to also organise the counter approaches in a multilateral manner.

For one thing, it is important to use a broad scope when assessing the long-term trends in terrorist threats, in order to "predict" how these trends will develop in the near future. Using data generated from international attacks such as the number of casualties and the modus operandi throughout the years provides interesting insights into how the terrorist threat is developing worldwide.[1] This form of strategic foresight is of great importance for timely and effective policy planning of responsive mechanisms. Assessing these long-term trends, for instance, tells us that in Europe we are now dealing with a diversification of targets chosen and weapons used by terrorists, and that there is also an increase in lone actor attacks. This conclusion follows from the *Clingendael Strategic Monitor* 2017 study, in particular the chapter on terrorism. The conclusions that can be drawn based on long-term analysis of data are important for threat assessments. Based on the data mentioned above, we can conclude that intelligence and law enforcement agencies are facing an even harder task in intercepting preparations for terrorist attacks. With the "weaponisation of ordinary life", in which a simple van or a kitchen knife can function as an effective weapon, authorities become unable to retrieve information on plotted attacks based on weapon supply trafficking. At the same time, authorities should – based on these outcomes – take a different approach to taking protective measures in the case of mass events, for instance, or for crowded streets with pedestrians. The assessments of long-term trends for the European region can therefore also translate directly to the security measures needed at a local level.

[1] An important source for these data is the University of Maryland's START Global Terrorism Database, see https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/.

Table 1: Listing CT/CVE/PVE objectives	
Objective	**Source of the measure/action or actor/platform fulfilling the objective (includes examples; not meant to be exhaustive)**
Harmonisation of criminal legislation	International conventions; United Nations Security Council resolutions; EU legislation
Mutual legal assistance and extradition	Bilateral and multilateral conventions; European Arrest Warrant
Stopping logistical, financial support; travel	UN Security Council resolutions; sanctions; EU regulations; Financial Action Task Force special regulations
Improving effectiveness of investigative, prosecutorial and adjudicative policies (training and capacity building)	Training manuals developed or capacity building (workshops)/technical assistance organised/offered by the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (UNCTED), the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) – in particular the Terrorism Prevention Branch (TPB), the OSCE, the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), Europol, Interpol, Eurojust
Improving effectiveness of security and border management policies (training and capacity building)	Technical assistance offered by UNCTED, the EU, Frontex
Improving protection of critical infra-structure (training and capacity building)	Standard setting by the Organisation on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (UNCTITF), 1540 Committee, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), national governments
Early detection (sharing of information/intelligence, and analysis to make an inventory of indicators)	Data sharing platforms set up by Europol and Interpol; (bilateral) cooperation between intelligence agencies; data sharing mechanisms and platforms set up by national governments, local authorities
Improving (local) police activities, including community policing	Training and capacity building by the EU, Interpol, Europol, the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL), national governments, local authorities
Rehabilitation and reintegration (policy advice, training and capacity building)	Guiding principles, good practices guides and manuals prepared by/training workshops sponsored by the UN, GCTF, UNODC, EU, working with states; yet the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) also functions as a hub for exchange of experiences among first line practitioners; national governments; national probation centres; local authorities
Countering Violent Extremism	Listing guiding principles and setting up platforms to support, for instance, counter-narratives by the UN, EU, OSCE, national governments, municipalities, non-state actors; installing repressive preventive (administrative) measures by national/local authorities; addressing root causes of VE by international organisations, national/local authorities, and non-state actors
Prevention of radicalisation; building resilience in societies; community engagement	Among others, development programmes, skills training, youth/women leadership programmes, public-private partnership programmes to promote entrepreneurship, access to justice programmes, diversity promotion, anti-discrimination, promoting Security Sector Reform (SSR), good governance promotion, political/community participation/engagement initiated by the UN, EU, OSCE, Global Community Engagement Resilience Fund (GCERF) of the GCTF, national and local authorities, and non-state actors.

Policies on counterterrorism and preventing and countering violent extremism (CVE) are being implemented but also developed at various policy levels. When discussing the policies on counterterrorism and countering violent extremism, it is interesting to assess the implementation of policies from the top down, namely, first assessing the

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international (legal) policies, such as international conventions and UN Security Council resolutions, the regional policies, such as those issued by the European Union, the national policies, and ultimately the policies at the various local levels. Following the manner in which policies adopted at the international level trickle down to, ultimately, implementation at the local level, and assessing whether the assumed effect of these policies materialises at that level will provide valuable information about the effectiveness of the various policy levels.

Just as interesting, but less well researched and documented, is whether the context specific policies developed and implemented at the local level yield results that would merit policy uptake to the national and possibly even the regional or international level. The work done so far, after all, is mostly limited to collecting good practices to be shared at the local level, although a thoroughly developed model for monitoring & evaluation also seems to be lacking.

Important in all of this is to distinguish the various objectives that are served by the policies adopted at various policy levels (see Table 1). One clear objective is, for instance, the harmonisation of criminal legislation through the obligation to implement legislation set in either international conventions or in UN Security Council resolutions. In particular, various organs of the UN, such as the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (UNCTED) and the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODCD), furthermore provide technical assistance and motivate states to improve their investigative, prosecutorial and adjudicative policies, as well as other security and border management policies.

In terms of analysing how the policy objectives and measures formulated at the international/European policy level are being implemented at the national and local levels, as well as on how policy uptake based on local experiences takes place at the national and international/European levels, I will, due to the limited scope of this paper, only focus on the objectives of CVE and in particular strategic communication and prevention of radicalisation, and subsequently highlight some of the initiatives developed at the various policy levels. These areas are most suitable for assessing the interaction of the chain of actors from the international to the local level.

Strategic communication

Recently the UN Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution on strategic communication. Security Council Resolution 2354 (May 2017) urges member states to follow new guidelines on countering terrorist narratives and amplify credible and positive alternative narratives to audiences vulnerable to the messages of extremist organisations. The resolution refers to a comprehensive international framework for counter terrorist narratives prepared by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, and which consists of three main elements: 1. the legal and law enforcement measures in accordance with obligations under international law, including human rights law, and relevant Security Council resolutions and in furtherance of General Assembly resolutions; 2. public-private partnerships; and 3. the development of counter-narratives.

Clearly, the Security Council (SC) on its own is not able to implement all three elements of its comprehensive framework. As such, it can only play a decisive role with regard to the first element by promoting harmonisation of legislation. With regard to this first element, various SC resolutions, in particular SC Resolution 1624 (2005), set a legal standard by encouraging member states to criminalise incitement to terrorism and take action against the glorification of terrorism. Over the years, the SC has encouraged member states and offered technical guidance for the development of criminal legislation to fulfil this objective. Its Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate, the organ mandated to monitor the implementation of the resolution, also keeps a record of the progress in implementation of legislation and has issued two global survey reports on the progress. For the second element, the council is dependent on cooperation with the private sector and can merely offer a platform for consultation between the governments that need to implement and enforce prohibitions of particular posts on social media because they qualify as incitement and the industry that needs to employ take-down policies. Yet, encouraged by the initiatives of the UN Security Council and UNCTED the major private sector providers announced the formation of a Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism on June 26th 2017. Finally, according to its own principles, the third element of the comprehensive framework can best be implemented by credible messengers, such as youth organisations or religious organisations. To assist in materialising that element, UNCTED can only appeal to governments to engage with civil society organisations and to support the grassroots initiatives that support these activities.

At the EU level, the objective of harmonisation in legislation by criminalising incitement is being met through the adoption of Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA, which obliges EU member states to criminalise those actions and prosecute those that post violent extremist propaganda and messages that intend to incite and recruit. In Framework Decision 2008/919/JHA direct and indirect provocation to commit a terrorist offence has also been criminalised. According to an ICCT research paper issued in April 2016, of the 26 EU member states included in the research, 23 had indeed adopted legislation against incitement or glorification of terrorism (Van Ginkel & Entenmann (eds.), 2016, pp 60-61). So far and as part of its Media Communication Strategy,[2] the EU has also taken steps to facilitate the operationalisation of counteractions against extremist content on the internet by informing service providers of social media channels such as Facebook and YouTube to take down certain content. It has therefore set up the EU Internet Referral Unit (IRU) of the European Counter-Terrorism Centre at Europol. The EU Internet Forum is another initiative to implement the EU Media Communication Strategy, and is in particular a good example of a close cooperation with the industry. The cooperation has spurred several companies to tighten their internal procedures to control the content that is being posted. Finally, the Strategic Communication Network (originally set up as the Syria Strategic Communications Advisory Team (SSCAT)) has been established, and contains two components: CVE and CT communication campaigns to be delivered to member states, and a network for member states to exchange good practices of CVE and CT communications. The network typically offers technical assistance and facilitates the work of credible messengers to deliver the counter messages. It is interesting to note that the EU Media Communication Strategy (2005 and revised in 2007)

2. European Council, *Revised Media Communication Strategy* (5469/3/07 REV 3), 28 March 2007.

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in itself also has the ambition to deliver the EU's own message in a more effective manner, including the underlying message of the overall EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy, to be implemented in a just, fair and inclusive manner, respecting the guiding principles of integration, non-discrimination, equality, respect for cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and equality between men and women.

Finally, to cater to the needs of the practitioners at the national or local level, the EU Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) has established the Communications and Narratives working group, which offers a platform for experiences. Although very relevant for awareness raising and exchange of practices, it is not (yet) able to deliver a set of good practices, or a list of do's and don'ts in counter messaging that can be relevant for both practitioners and state organs that issue counter or alternative messages.

At the national level, there are a couple of examples of states developing counter-narrative campaigns. One example is the French campaign launched in 2015 under the heading #stopdjihadisme. The effectiveness of these campaigns are in any case highly debatable, since the messenger lacks the credibility in the eyes of the target group, and the message is not tailored enough to a particular group since it uses broadcasting instead of narrowcasting techniques. Overall, these government campaigns lack the finesse to adapt to and effectively contradict the sophistication of the propaganda by ISIS. Apart from the local initiatives developed by non-state actors, it is hard to find information on state initiatives that are not communicating a message themselves but are rather fully supportive of the initiatives developed by non-state actors. The reasons for this are clear, since public knowledge of this kind of support might undermine the credibility of the local initiative.

Prevention against radicalisation

Although in 2006 the UN adopted the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of which one of the four pillars was the pillar focussed on addressing "Conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism", the need to invest in prevention against violent extremism was more urgently acknowledged by the UN Secretary General, who in 2016 presented the United Nations Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (A/70/674-A/70/675) (PVE Plan) to the General Assembly. The concept of PVE was introduced to distinguish certain policies from the more repressive trend that had developed as a consequence of a certain interpretation of the countering violent extremism (CVE) policies that were earlier introduced to steer away from the singular repressive and military responses that ruled the policy field after 9/11. However, the lack of a clear definition of "violent extremism" allowed for wide interpretations of this policy field, resulting in repressive measures that also targeted civil society groups and journalists in certain regions. PVE is intended to focus exclusively on the prevention phase and address root causes that render communities vulnerable to the influences of extremist organisations, and is intended to increase resilience in these communities.

The PVE Plan lists 70 practical, inclusive and comprehensive recommendations to member states and the United Nations system. One of the key recommendations advises member states to develop a National Action

Plan to Prevent Violent Extremism. The Plan of Action also points out the importance of national ownership and respect for international law, and among other things, emphasises the importance of a multidisciplinary approach. Although the UN and its various organs stimulate governments and offer technical assistance to develop these plans of action, it is ultimately up to the member states to facilitate the multi-stakeholder consultations to set up coordination platforms and initiate multidisciplinary programmes and comprehensive approaches to prevent radicalisation to violent extremism.

Also at the EU level, one of the pillars of the overall EU Counterterrorism Strategy adopted in 2005 contains a "prevent" pillar. In the same year, a special EU Strategy for Combatting Radicalisation and Recruitment to Terrorism was adopted. No binding regulations or decisions have followed the adoption of the prevent strategy, or its revisions since. It does stress, however, the need for a "balanced approach between security-related measures and efforts to tackle those factors that may create an environment conducive to radicalisation and recruitment to terrorism".[3] It furthermore stresses the importance of the role of communities, civil society, non-governmental organisations and the private sector, among others, in building resilience and supporting disengagement initiatives. Notwithstanding the admirable ambitions and recommendations formulated at EU level, without even an obligation to report on any progress in designing national prevent strategies on state level, the EU, like the UN, depends on the willingness of states to take action. So far, not even all EU member states have adopted comprehensive strategies that include both repressive and preventive measures (Van Ginkel & Entenmann (eds), 2016, p. 65). The RAN keeps a rolling list of prevention and deradicalisation initiatives and good practices in various member states, and in its various working groups also assists practitioners on issues such as education, youth, prison and probation, police and local authorities. These exchanges have provided input for very generic output documents, which do not really provide enough synthesis to inform the policy level on how to better instruct various actors on the effectiveness of the prevention initiatives.

The real innovations are, therefore, instead coming from programmes developed at local levels such as the model used in Aarhus (Denmark) to deradicalise extremist offenders or the "Veiligheidshuis" multistakeholder/multidisciplinary local consultation mechanisms used in the Netherlands. Although both programmes are in particular used in relation to individuals that are already radicalised, they both work from the principles that it is not only the hard security sector that is responsible for the response and intervention policies, but rather work in close cooperation with the soft sector, such as social services, mental health services, youth care, etc. The main cities in the Netherlands moreover work with a system of "key figures", who are ordinary citizens who might even have another day job, and who – after an instruction workshop – are at the same time able to signal early signs of radicalisation among their neighbours and brothers and sisters within their own direct community. As they are one of the community, they also have the trust of the people they want to approach to discuss the changes in behaviour or mind-set, and, if necessary, reach out to the right authorities or religious mentors who have the credentials to engage with those vulnerable to radicalisation. It is difficult to make statements on the effectiveness of these approaches, as the first evaluations have yet to be conducted.

3. Council of the European Union, *Revised EU Strategy for Combating Radicalisation and Recruitment to Terrorism*, 9956/14, 19 May 2014, Annex, par. 9.

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Final observations

As mentioned in the introductory remarks, long-term trend analysis of terrorist threats is very important to inform international organisations and states how to plan their strategies and policies. Although these strategies and policies can set the general framework and ensure a balanced approach including repressive and preventive measures, the effectiveness of preventive policies depends a great deal on tailor-made approaches designed at the local level. The question is therefore whether the international and national policy levels are able to facilitate the tailor-made design and implementation of preventive policies at the local level. So far, the policies designed and implemented at local levels lack regular mechanisms for evaluation of their effectiveness, which would not only be beneficial for the improvement of these policies, but also would contribute to better informed framework policies at the national and international levels, and facilitate a better policy uptake. At the same time, the national and international policy level could put more effort into supporting the design and implementation of prevention policies at the local level by:

- (Financially) supporting evidence-based research into the underlying factors for radicalisation (at the local level);
- Facilitating processes of exchange between various actors;
- Disseminating knowledge;
- Providing (technical) resources.

Finally, insofar as local initiatives are dependent on financial donor support, local NGOs have to be aware of the current debate in international circles, making a distinction between C/PVE-specific and C/PVE-relevant programmes. Although the C/PVE-relevant programmes, which might for instance focus on improving good governance and access to justice or youth and women's empowerment programmes, but which lack a specific focus on countering or preventing violent extremism, play an important role in rendering communities more resilient to the risk of radicalisation, these programmes will most likely not qualify for C/PVE support funds. The downside of this is the tendency of many NGOs to no longer focus on the support of programmes that intend to improve the fabric of societies in a sustainable manner, but rather choose a more limited focus for their programming in order to secure their budgets. The question is, therefore, whether this discussion in the international fora is not counterproductive to the overall objectives it is supposed to support.

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The terrorist threat is evolving in a world in rapid evolution from a multilateral to a multipolar system, while the geopolitical system born after WWII and based on the so-called Washington consensus is coming to an end. We now confront two major terrorist threats in the form of Islamist terrorism and cyberterrorism, which demand new combat methods and techniques on our part in a permanent cat-and-mouse game in which security forces and Intelligence agencies, on the one hand, and terrorists, on the other, are constantly learning from each other. In open societies where total security simply does not exist, it is important to respond with a cool head and avoiding over-reactions that might endanger our civil liberties and freedoms.

A first decisive characteristic of our world is the acceleration of the "*tempo historico*" to the point where -as Toynbee pointed out- the dust raised by the hooves of the galloping horses of History prevents us from seeing what it is actually happening around us. The rate of discoveries in science, medicine, technology, biology.... is simply so vast and fast that it is almost impossible to keep abreast of them all.

Probably there has never been such a thing as a World Order but there were at least some enduring political-diplomatic architectures, even if they had progressively shorter spans of life: In 1815 the Vienna Congress imposed a conservative order in Europe which lasted until the First World War in 1914, when four empires bit the dust. Then the conferences of Tehran, Postdam, Bretton Woods, San Francisco etc. established another geopolitical house of cards which lasted just 45 years, until 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell down taking with it Communism, Bipolarity, MAD, the USSR and the Cold War. But only ten years later, 9/11 shook American confidence in hegemony laying its vulnerability bare before the world. And then the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan showed the limits of American power for all to see.

We now witness the dismantling of the geopolitical system laboriously set up in 1945, while we enter a complicated time in which standing rules are doubted and debated, and the power void translates into uncertainty and insecurity, something aggravated by the personality of the new tenant in the White House. This is the boiling pot in which terrorism is born.

The three main elements marking the geopolitics of the world in 2017 are the withdrawal of the USA, the crisis in Europe and the emergence of new actors in a context of globalisation (macroeconomic gains but microeconomic injustices), global problems (climate change, poverty, pandemics, terrorism and cyberterrorism, proliferation...) and local crises in central Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Sahel and the heart of Africa.

For some time the Americans have being showing signs of fatigue in the face of wars that are difficult to understand, impossible to win and terribly expensive in both human lives and money. These wars were not making the USA or the world a safer place. President Barack Obama read the mood and reached the White House with a clear programme to repatriate the troops and concentrate on revamping the economy and providing with social security to 30 million Americans who did not have it. This created a void. Then President Trump arrived "without baggage" (according to Kissinger) and with the belief that the present international and economic order of the world is both unfair and contrary to the interests of the USA. His ideas are both simple and few: America First, which entails a redefinition of American interests in narrower terms, relinquishing collective leadership and showing no interest in preserving the statu-quo; protectionism; and rejection of both international alliances and international organisations. But if the USA withdraws from international organisations the world will be less safe. And setting up walls of protectionism, is a recipe for poverty. On the other hand, President Trump's line of action may reduce the international presence of the USA but in no way diminishes its national standing. The US will continue to play a major role, even if no longer as the "indispensable" leader.

The second element is the decadence of Europe. With 9% of the population, the European Union (EU) represents 21% of the world's GDP, 15% of its trade ... and 50% of its social spending! This will be difficult to maintain given cheaper energy in the US and the Middle East, and cheaper manpower in Africa and Asia. Our welfare system is the envy of the world and elicits accusations of hedonism or comparisons between Mars (the US) and Venus (Europe). The truth is that the EU is in an "existential crisis" (President Juncker) with institutional, political, economic and social problems, prompting fractures between North and South because of different economic interests, and between East and West for different values on Human Rights or refugees. The European Union lacks necessary common policies on Foreign Affairs, Energy, Defense, Economy and Fiscal policies - you name it! And its predicament is aggravated by the current refugee crisis in a context of slow growth, low inflation, high unemployment, little investment and in desperate need for growth oriented stimuli.

As a result, the global influence of Europe diminishes because either the EU is an "ever closer union among the peoples of Europe" (article 1, TEU) or we shall disappear as a relevant actor. The combined effect of the election of Donald Trump in the USA and Brexit should become the impulse we need to revitalise our Union.

This is, finally, a world in which new actors are emerging, both at state and non-state level. And power is changing hands. In 1960 the USA + Europe + Japan represented 70% of the world's GDP. Now just they add up to a little more than 50%. Asia alone has 34% of world GDP. And this massive transfer of wealth from North to South and from East to West has made it necessary to create the G-20 which accounts for 85% of global GDP.

These emerging countries (China, India, South Africa etc) have different values as a result of a differing cultural evolutions, and demand more participation and a different sharing of the wealth of the world. No matter how much insistence there is on harmony, it is inevitable not to create ripples when a new country enters Calderon's Great Theater of the World with prima donna ambitions. It is the so called Thucydides Trap and its best example is the emergence of Prussia in the heart of Europe in mid XIX Century. These countries accuse of lack of democracy and lack of transparency the institutions we have inherited from the end of the Second World War of lacking democracy and transparency, all adopted without their input. Why should France hold a veto power on the United Nations Security Council and not India?. The consequence is that either we reform these institutions together or they will become unaccepted and irrelevant.

Be that as it may, it seems evident that we are witnessing the end of four hundred years of Western domination of the world in favor of the area Asia-Pacific, as the new economic epicentre of Planet Earth. And this massive transfer of wealth and influence coincides with the passing from a multilateral world to a multipolar world. Multilateralism is based on the "Washington consensus", i.e., market economy, liberal democracy, security guaranteed by the USA, international cooperation and strong international institutions for the resolution of conflicts. A combination that Francis Fukuyama considered definitive. On the other hand, multipolarism means permanent competition among countries and/or clusters of countries, in an environment of protectionism and weak international conflict resolution instances. If this is true, we are heading for an epoch of insecurity and uncertainty, at least for as long as it takes for the new model to assert itself.

This is the background on which a new wave of terrorism is taking place. For the purposes of this paper I understand terrorism to be an act of violence on civilians or non-combatants in order to create an state of fear to intimidate a population, or to force a government to do something or to abstain from doing it through fear. Having ended in Europe with our own home grown anarchist, leftist or ethno-nationalist brands of terrorism (ETA, IRA, Baader-Meinhoff etc), we must confront a new Islamist terrorism coming from the Middle East and North Africa. Islamist terrorism has different objectives and uses different tactics, methods and weapons to the ones we had got used to and were familiar with. It is a new challenge and demands a different preparation on our part. And we learn with each passing day. There is no doubt that in the end we will prevail, but in the meantime we have to make sure we reduce the suffering to the minimum. And it is not easy.

The Middle East is nowadays by far the most conflictive area on Earth. The reasons for this are many and go back to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the carving up of the region between the French and the British, disregarding the lofty views of President Wilson in his Fourteen Points which aimed, among other things, to put an end to colonial rule. The Sykes-Picot agreements drew a line from the "e" of Acre to the "k" of Kirkuk and gave the North to France (the Greater Syria) and the South to the United Kingdom (Jordan, Iraq, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia..). The new borders did not respect ethnic, religious or language differences and created artificial new states: Lebanon was segregated from Syria to give a home to Maronite Christians, Israel was given to the Jews, and Iraq was

formed out of three different Turkish wilayats or governorships (one for the Kurds and one each for the sSunni and the Shia Arabs), and then Kuwait was carved out to separate Iraq from the sea. And so on and so forth. Not only did these policies betray the longing for freedom of the Arabs (remember the broken promises of Lawrence of Arabia), but the resulting countries were artificial copies of Western models, giving way to political corruption and economic inefficiency. They utterly lacked legitimacy both of origin and of exercise. The Palestinian poet Tamin al-Barghouti has said that they got independence in exchange for dependence because the West then gave its support to dictators from Tunisia to Persia, from Ben Ali, Mubarak, the Shah etc... to al-Sisi in today's Egypt. And what is still more serious, we have also given our short-sighted support to radical Islamist forces: Israel discreetly helped Hamas in order to weaken Arafat's Fatah years ago, while the USA armed the mujahideen in Afghanistan to fight and expel the Soviet invaders. Turkey and Qatar are now openly supporting the Muslim Brotherhood and Saudi Arabia finances the radicalisation of Sunnis all over the world. Zbigniew Brzezinski told me that once that a strong feeling injustice unites Muslims against the West because of these misguided options.

The Arab Spring channelled the appetite for freedom and the demand for dignity of peoples subjected to post-colonial rule, and put an end to many corrupt dictatorships. At the same time a number of old, unsolved ethnic, tribal and linguistic problems came to the surface, together with others related to the role of religion in public life, the Sufis' longing for an idealised and no longer existent past, etc. Then, the failure of the Arab Spring has brought about a burning feeling of frustration, giving way to what Avi Shlaim calls "post-Ottoman syndrome", characterised by disorders, unstableness and an strong deficit of both legitimacy for the states and in the human rights of their peoples. After vainly looking for solutions to their problems in socialism, Pan-Arabism and nationalism, Arab peoples have turned to Islamism trying to find in past idealised glories an answer to their present predicaments and frustrations, which are many.

If that were not enough, we must confront the danger posed by failed states from Somalia to Afghanistan and Libya, Eritrea, Mali etc, unable to control their own national territory and open to organisations which use terrorism and all sorts of illegal trafficking and which would not reject the use of weapons of mass destruction if they had the chance. Other risks are born in the prevailing unjust distribution of wealth in a world where 45 million people starve to death every year, one billion have no access to drinking water and two billion have no electricity, and these are just a few examples. Hunger, war and despair feed vast migrations which result in other threats to our comfortable way of life. We confront both threats and risks, which are more elusive and difficult to cope with.

This is the boiling pot which gives birth to the main two terrorist Islamist (in the sense that they resort to a distorted version of Islam for their political aims) organisations of our days: Al -Qaeda and the Islamic State. They are separated by differences that are ideological, doctrinal, tactical and personal at the same time, in spite of rumours of unconfirmed recent contacts between al-Zawahiri and al-Baghdadi. Were they to be true, they would mean very bad news for the world at large. On the other hand, Russian sources pretend to have killed al-Baghdadi near Raqqa on May 28th, a still unproven assertion.

After a peak in 2004 (Madrid) and 2005 (London), there has been a resurgence of terrorist crimes since 2015 for a number of reasons: the need to show resilience against the setbacks ISIS faces in Syria and Iraq, motives of vengeance, to boost the morale of their troops, to keep recruiting volunteers, and to strike back in this asymmetric war. The recent use of cheap, humble instruments as weapons (knives, hammers) and locally born terrorists is a lethal combination and ISIS is taking advantage of it when calls for the weaponisation of daily life to strike in "the land of infidels". And we should not forget in this respect that Spain, dominated by the Arabs for 700 hundred years and cradle of a glorious moment in Arab culture (Al Andalus), is considered a retrievable land for some f today's radical Islamists! Crazy as that may sound.

We must confront terrorist threats and, at the same time, we have to reduce our vulnerability. Our security grows when we control our borders, introduce biometric data on our passports and protect our vital networks in energy, transports etc. But also when we strive for a better integration of migrants, something that is not easy, as experience demonstrates. But difficulties should not deter our efforts.

Also very worrisome is the exponential development of Cyberterrorism, a great threat in ourtimes, which benefits from the security offered by distance, opacity and the difficulty of tracing back CT attacks. Cyberterrorism can put a country literarily on its knees by attacking critical networks or modifying viruses to create pandemics. The possibilities are enormous. And they are growing: from 64 major attacks registered in the world in 2015 to 479 last year alone. Spain suffered a total of 115.000 cyberattacks in 2016, double the figure in 2015. In this respect the Centro Criptológico Nacional, created in 2002 when I headed CNI, is doing a great job of protecting our networks and infrastructure.

The greater risk is nowadays the possibility of terrorist groups using CT or, still worse, WMD, something that has not yet happened (with some exceptions with sarin gas and anthrax) due to the complication inherent in weaponising these substances, or just because of self-restraint on the part of terrorists themselves because of the difficulties controlling their consequences. The WannaCry ransomware attack may also offer new ideas to terrorists groups or individuals. Recent unconfirmed information suggests that the Islamic State is producing chemical weapons to use against Iraqi forces, and that part of this material is currently being transferred from Iraq to Syria, where a new "chemical weapons cell" is being created. Were this information to be true, there is no need to insist on the extreme gravity of this development needs no extra emphasis.

Intelligence is a fundamental instrument in combatting terrorism, something already predicted by Sun Tzu in the 5th century BC when he said something as obvious as that it was easier to defeat an enemy if you were aware of its intentions. And it was in Spain, under Phillip II, that the first autonomous, administrative and professional network of spies was ever set up (Walsingham's being more just a personal counterintelligence agency which died with his own life). Intelligence aims not just to gather information, something that is easy in the internet era, but to select that which is correct about terrorist networks (strategy, internal structure, financing sources etc) and other threats to the security of the state. This information must be certain, concise, contrasted, politically neutral, not biased and

with added value. And it should be addressed in real time to the right person in government to facilitate the decision-making process at the adequate level. To gather this vital material, Intelligence services use human (Humint), signal (Sigint), and image (Imint) sources, among other methods.

In Spain we have trained forces that are well trained in combatting terrorism due to our decades long tough fight against ETA. Experience is always very important in this field. But it is never enough, as this is a different kind of combat in which terrorists not only are not afraid to die, but actually long for death itself. And in this game of cat and mouse, where we constantly learn from each other, they keep the advantage of always choosing the what, how, when and where of any attack. And terrorist attacks are never the same, as their objectives, methods, victims and even the terrorists themselves vary from one attack to the next, their only permanent element being their aim to create terror and fear. It is true that many terrorist plots are frustrated and that even the fact that terrorists resort to cars or knives is a success, in the sense that it can lead us to believe that they experience growing difficulties in obtaining deadlier weapons. But a single successful terrorist attack is enough to obliterate the success of many frustrated ones.

We have to learn to live with the knowledge that zero security simply does not exist in our world and get used to it and be very clear about it. If we protect the parliament they will mow down pedestrians, and if we separate cars from sidewalks with barriers they will turn their attention to softer targets like public markets, a crowd attending a sports event, or whatever isolated rural parish they may fancy. And for this very reason we should avoid over-reacting, because more measures do not automatically amount to more efficiency, in the same way that more restrictions do not necessarily provide more security, or that more meetings do not perforce result in better cooperation.

In my own experience we have to search out terrorists, because if we just wait for them we will certainly be too late. That is why prevention and early detection are essential weapons in our struggle. That also means public awareness and support along the American lines of "neighbors watching" and "if you see something, you say something". And then, global threats demand shared security, as we need the full picture of a number of isolated minor crimes, difficult to prosecute in themselves and that only together allow us to detect a terrorist plot. There is no longer any difference between domestic and international terrorism and that is why the name of the game nowadays calls for better domestic coordination and more international cooperation, knowing full well the difficulties inherent in sharing sensitive information or sources. We must be more efficient in the integration of migrants and more vigilant about the spreading of radical ideas on the social networks. This is something no country can do alone. We have to learn from our mistakes and pull together our resources in the name of efficiency, and the European Union offers an ideal framework to do it. Change laws if we have to, but only after careful consideration and never under the impact of a murderous massive terrorist attack, remembering that any restrictions to our freedoms should only be imposed with a prior crystal clear definition in order to avoid abuses; with a restrictive character; only if they are absolutely necessary; at the lowest possible level; with pre-established temporal limits; and under adequate parliamentary and judicial control.

And, please, stop thinking of higher and higher barriers to stop terrorists at the borders, making travel more and more uncomfortable. After all, in the recent terrorist attack at London Bridge, the victims were three French, two Australians, one Spaniard, one Canadian and just one British citizen, whereas all three terrorists were British. Or maybe the border walls are intended to prevent more victims from coming in, as Fernando Savater has ironically suggested?

In the end we will prevail and that is just another reason why we have to protect our system of rights and civil liberties, paying attention to the fact that the growing demands of an impossible total security are encroaching into them and that we do not want to give terrorists a victory over our values and freedoms.

JORGE DEZCALLAR

WHAT DOES RADICALISATION LOOK LIKE?
FOUR VISUALISATIONS OF SOCIALISATION INTO VIOLENT EXTREMISM

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I t is estimated that over 30,000 foreign fighters from 100 countries have entered ongoing conflicts in Syria and Iraq since 2011. These foreign fighters have travelled to the Middle East to join the Islamic State (often abbreviated as IS, ISIS, ISIL, or Daesh), a Salafist jihadist group that follows an ultraconservative branch of Sunni Islam. But what has driven these individuals to migrate to ISIS territory and serve the self-proclaimed Caliphate? Why have so many foreign fighters joined the ranks of Jihad? The underlying assumption is that the majority of European mujahideen have undergone a process of radicalisation and now believe that an offensive holy war is required to defend and expand Islam.

As the Islamic State surrenders territory as a result of international military intervention, there has been much debate in academic and policy circles about how ISIS fighters, particularly foreign fighters, will respond (Roy 2017). Western security agencies worry that these combatants will return to their home countries or venture into neighbouring countries to launch attacks; there is concern about whether some of these fighters and their spouses can be reintegrated into society; and there is also concern about what to do with all of the children born in ISIS territory, who may soon be stateless kids because of a lack of proper documentation on marriages and births. Having the ability to identify, detain and prosecute radicalised returnees as well as home-grown terrorists would be of great help to European law enforcement agencies.

Credible information indicates that the next stage of violent jihad might be fought on European soil. But how should Western governments deal with arrested foreign fighters or returnees upon their return? What is the difference between a radicalised individual and a common criminal? Are authorities attuned to what the process of radicalisation looks like? The goal of this piece is to examine violent radicalisation as a much discussed but little understood process and provide a visual representation of four models that depict the process of radicalisation towards violent extremism that manifests itself in terrorism.

What is radicalisation?

Whereas not all radicals are terrorists, all terrorists are radicals. Individuals living in representative democracies are entitled to hold ideas that tackle the roots of issues (the literal meaning of radical) as well as to favour drastic political, economic or social reforms. In fact, many of the causes defended by European "radical movements" in the late 19th and early 20th century were gradually assimilated by the orthodoxy of political liberalism (widening the franchise, redistributing property, freedom of the press, etc.). This might explain why liberal constitutions protect the rights of citizens to defend extreme or unorthodox views and only limit the freedom of speech when this is obscene, offensive or advocates violence. However, the rules that govern the world of ideas and the world of actions could not be more different. The behaviour of individuals is tightly regulated, especially when it involves the use of illegitimate violence against non-combatants that is not sanctioned by the state. Open societies are intolerant (and rightly so) of individuals and organisations that use indiscriminate violence against civilians.

The term "radicalisation" is often used by pundits and experts when discussing Salafists, the ultra-conservative Islamists who are known for aggressive proselytising and their sympathies for terrorist groups such as ISIS or Al-Qaeda (Gerges 2016: 23). But the process of radicalisation is present in all kinds of terrorism, whether left-wing, right-wing, anarchist, ethno-nationalist or religious. Although the need is urgent to tackle the violent manifestation of radicalism, it is also important to separate this from ideology, which is not violent per se. People, not ideologies, are violent. At the same time, there are ideologies that explicitly advocate the use of non-state violence to accomplish long-term goals and these are more likely to appeal to terrorists. As Peter Neumann has convincingly argued, the real long war entails delegitimising extremist movements and engaging with the ideas, political conflicts and social cleavages that make them resonate (2016: xviii).

There are many definitions of radicalisation but this piece is specifically interested in the process by which individuals "radicalise to violence". And not to just any type of violence, but to a specific type of political violence, namely illegitimate violence directed against civilians and non-combatants, also known as terrorism. As argued by Schmid, what is generally meant by radicalisation is the "individual or group process of growing commitment to engage in acts of political terrorism" (Schmid, 2013: 1). Finally, a working definition of "violent radicalisation" is provided by the European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation which has defined it as "socialisation to extremism which manifests itself in terrorism" (Expert Group, 2008: 7).

While violent radicalisation has gradually moved to the top of the EU counter-terrorism agenda, it has been accompanied by a relatively embryonic understanding of the processes and interplay of factors that contribute to the adoption of radical ideas and behaviour. The term "radicalisation" was brought into the policy discussion after the coordinated suicide bombing attacks in Madrid (2004) and London (2005) which targeted civilians using the public transport system and resulted in 191 and 52 casualties respectively. Several of the attackers in both incidents were home-grown terrorists which had either been

born or socialised in the country and had adopted a new identity in which the struggles of their Muslim homelands played a powerful role in fomenting anger against the West. For the authorities, it soon became a priority to have a clearer picture of how young men from Muslim immigrant backgrounds radicalised in the West and were swept up by a seductive outlaw culture of violent Jihad.

What does radicalisation look like?

The adoption of radical ideas is a mental process that is hard to detect. In the case of Islamist terrorism, law enforcement agencies often look for "signs" that may reveal a change of ideas, such as suddenly adopting more religious clothes, growing a beard, introversion, secrecy, cutting links with old networks of friends, or visiting some far-off conflict zone. These behavioural changes are useful to the operational goal of detecting and preventing the process of radicalisation but they tell us very little about the acquisition of new knowledge and understanding by an individual. The goal of this piece, however, is to provide visualisations of four analytical models of radicalisation which, to reiterate, are common to all types of terrorism.

(1) Radicalisation as a process model

About the only thing radicalisation experts agree on is that radicalisation is a process (Schmid, 2013: 1). As indicated in Figure 1, a basic understanding of this cognitive process would entail the gradual adoption of extremist ideas and would end, if completed, in the practice of violent extremism or terrorism.

Figure 1: Radicalisation as a process

IDEOLOGICAL ENGAGEMENT   RADICALISATION   *"Catalyst Event"*   VIOLENT EXTREMISM OR TERRORISM
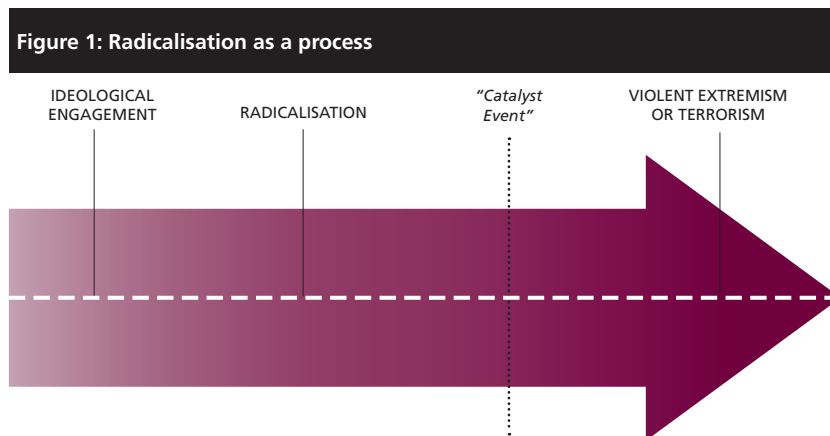
Source: Muro 2017

Figure 1 indicates that radicalisation is best viewed as a process of change, a personal and political transformation from one condition to another. Becoming radicalised is a gradual process and one that requires progression through distinct states and happens neither quickly nor easily. Thus, a person does not become a radical overnight although the influence of a "catalyst event" may accelerate the process.

The catalyst event has been described by Quintan Wiktorowicz (2004; 2005) as a "cognitive opening" which makes a person more receptive to the possibility of new ideas and world views. This shocking event or personal crisis shakes an individual's certitude in previously held beliefs, prompts them to re-assess their entire life and become open to a radical change of values and behaviour. In the case of the IRA or ETA, new recruits justified joining the ethnonationalist terrorist groups by referring to the killing (or torturing) of friends and relatives by the state, and it may therefore be assumed that terrorism was an act of vengeance. More recently, there is evidence that criminals who joined jihadist groups like ISIS and Al-Qaeda realised that their criminal behaviour had been harmful and that they needed to break with their past and make up for their "sins". This "point of no return" provided the rationale for their turn to religion and justified the involvement with Salafist followers of the ultraconservative Sunni branch of Islam.

The catalyst event can take multiple forms: economic (losing a job, blocked social mobility), social (alienation discrimination, racism), political (international conflicts) and personal (death of a loved one). In addition, there is a long list of triggers (real or perceived) which may initiate the progressive movement towards violent extremism. In short, it is not difficult to find individuals who are being deprived of something to which they feel entitled.

(2) The Four-Stage Model

The sketch provided above seems intuitively correct but a richer picture that identifies the different phases of the process of radicalisation is required. A more elaborate model that tries to chart the transition from early involvement to becoming operationally active is the Four-Stage Model proposed by Randy Borum (2003; 2011). Borum proposes a conceptual model for the emergence of a "terrorist mindset" and argues that there are some common factors to all processes of radicalisation to violence. His model attempts to explain how grievances and vulnerabilities are transformed into hatred of a target group, and how hatred is transformed – for some at least – into a justification or impetus for violence. Or, to put it differently, the model explains how relative deprivation and moral outrage are combined to allocate responsibility for an alleged injustice and vindicate terrorist action.

As Figure 2 indicates, the four-stage process begins by identifying some unsatisfying event, condition, or grievance ("It's not right") and framing it as being unjust ("It's not fair"). For example, specific events such as the wars in Bosnia, Chechnya, Afghanistan and Iraq are inserted into a wider interpretation of the world where moral violations are seen as representing a "war against Islam". The third stage involves blaming the injustice on a target policy, person, or nation ("It's your fault") and the fourth and final stage involves identifying, vilifying and even demonising the responsible party ("You're evil"), which facilitates the justification or impetus to aggression. The model successfully describes the progression involved in a process of ideological radicalisation but is unable to forecast when individuals will take the ultimate step of using indiscriminate political violence.

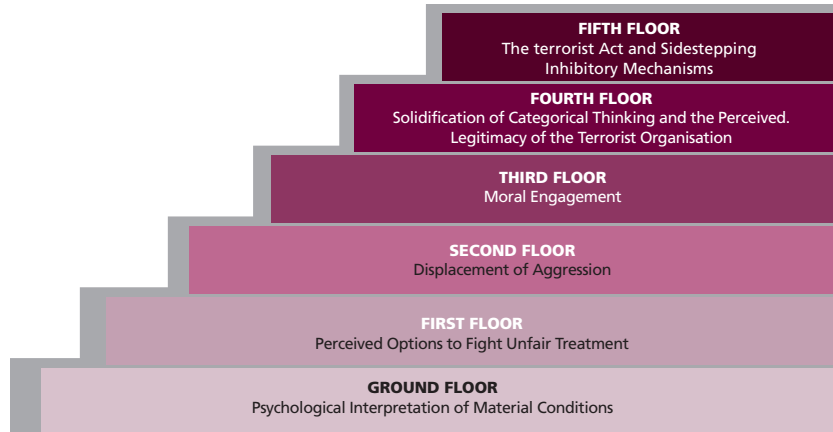**Figure 2: The Four-Stage Model of the Terrorist Mindset**
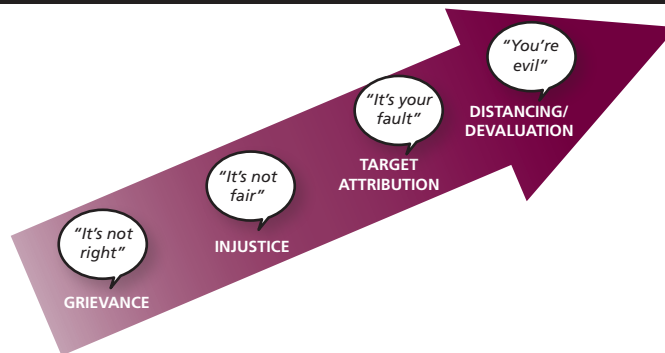
Source: Muro 2017

Similar models to Borum's have been developed by police forces (e.g. the NYPD) to help their members chart the trajectory of individuals who become terrorists. Identifying the cause that impels some individuals to violent action also gives clues as to how these stages reinforce each other and about what the process of recruitment may involve, as well as operational clues on how to develop a counter-recruitment strategy. However, these law enforcement models have modest ambitions (e.g. training) and do not identify the multiple causes that enhance the likelihood of an individual being drawn to a terrorist group.

(3) Staircase to Terrorism

A more sophisticated model is provided by Georgetown University psychology professor Fathali M. Moghaddam (2005), who developed the "Staircase to Terrorism" as a metaphor for the process of violent radicalisation. Moghaddam's metaphor is of a staircase housed in a building where everyone lives on the ground floor, but where an increasingly small number of people ascend to the higher floors, and very few reach the top of the building. The "staircase" narrows as it ascends from the ground floor and fewer and fewer people reach each of the five successive floors.

Feelings of discontent and perceived adversity form the foundation of the staircase and the fuel for initially setting out on the path to terrorism. The ground floor is heavily populated by those who perceive some form of injustice or deprivation. Those who wish to do something about it climb to the first floor. The second floor, not as populated, accommodates those who, having found no solutions to their problems, displace their aggression onto some enemy. The third floor harbours those fewer people who join a group facilitating a kind of moral engagement before they ascend to the fourth floor, where "recruitment to terrorist organisations takes place". Then, finally, the fifth floor, where they are trained to "sidestep inhibitory mechanisms" and sent to kill. "As individuals climb the staircase", Moghaddam writes, "they see fewer and fewer choices, until the only possible outcome is the destruction of others, or oneself, or both". Once again, the model was designed with a specific purpose in mind, in this case explaining suicide bombing, and it is entirely possible that the five stages cannot be generalised to a wide universe of cases.
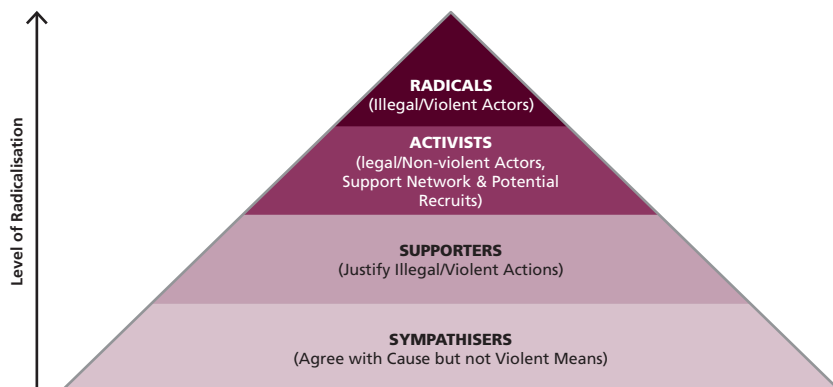
Figure 3: The Staircase to Terrorism

FIFTH FLOOR
The terrorist Act and Sidestepping Inhibitory Mechanisms

FOURTH FLOOR
Solidification of Categorical Thinking and the Perceived. Legitimacy of the Terrorist Organisation

THIRD FLOOR
Moral Engagement

SECOND FLOOR
Displacement of Aggression

FIRST FLOOR
Perceived Options to Fight Unfair Treatment

GROUND FLOOR
Psychological Interpretation of Material Conditions

Source: Muro 2017

(4) The Pyramid Model of Radicalisation

Finally, the most elaborate visualisation is provided by the so-called Pyramid Model of Political Radicalisation where the higher levels of the pyramid are associated with increased commitment but decreased numbers are involved. As Figure 4 indicates, the apex of the pyramid represents the small number of active terrorists who remain relatively few in number when considered in relation to all those who may sympathise with their beliefs and feelings (e.g. superiority, injustice, distrust, vulnerability, etc.). The lower level of activists is composed of those who are not committing violent acts themselves, but provide those sitting at the top with tacit support (e.g. recruitment, political or financial support, etc.). The level below is made up of the far larger group of supporters who justify the goals the terrorists say they are fighting for but also, crucially, the violent means. The base of the pyramid is made of a far larger group of sympathisers who agree with the goals the terrorists say they are fighting for. This wider community of reference would constitute the social group the terrorist group is claiming to represent.

Figure 4: The Pyramid Model of Radicalisation

Level of Radicalisation

RADICALS
(Illegal/Violent Actors)

ACTIVISTS
(legal/Non-violent Actors, Support Network & Potential Recruits)

SUPPORTERS
(Justify Illegal/Violent Actions)

SYMPATHISERS
(Agree with Cause but not Violent Means)

Source: Muro 2017

From the pyramid perspective, radicalisation is the gradient distinguishing the active terrorists from the broader base of sympathisers. The number of members and intensity of support for/dedication to the political cause increases with each level and the more behaviourally committed – as indicated by their willingness to take risks – sit at the top. The model leaves open the question of how a person moves from the base to the extremes of the apex, an element that is best studied in the Borum and Moghaddam models. The interesting aspect of this model is that it moves away from the individual level and introduces the role of ideologies or "frames" linking the terrorists with their societies at large. In order to understand militants, it is important to pay attention to "group identification" or the way terrorists care "about what happens to the group, especially in relation with other groups" (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008: 416).

The authors of the model are Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko, two psychologists who conceptualise "political radicalisation as change in beliefs, feelings, and action toward support and sacrifice for intergroup conflict" (2008: 428). An interesting observation from their work, however, is that many of the mechanisms of radicalisation of individuals and groups are largely reactive. The drivers are not intrinsic to specific individuals but are found in the contexts they inhabit. This is essentially a relational approach and the radicalisation of non-state groups can be interpreted as a response to the actions of other actors. In the words of McCauley and Sophia: "political radicalization of individuals, groups, and mass publics occurs in a trajectory of action and reaction in which state action often plays a significant role. Radicalization emerges in a relationship of intergroup competition and conflict in which both sides are radicalized. It is this relationship that must be understood if radicalization is to be kept short of terrorism".

Conclusion

The four visualisations presented above are suggestive of what the process of radicalisation to violence might look like. From the simpler to the more comprehensive, the incremental complexity of these figures indicates 7 lessons to be taken into account when detecting and countering radicalisation towards violent extremism.

1. Terrorists and radicalised groups resemble an iceberg. Only a small minority of radicals use strategic violence to attract media attention. The majority of extremists are not visible and use non-violent methods, which are more effective in achieving their stated goals. Below the water level, there is a supportive social environment or "radical milieu" which occasionally agrees with the actions of the most committed militants and an even larger "silent minority" with a distaste for targeting non-combatants. Counter-terrorism must target the small visible part of the iceberg, whereas counter-radicalisation needs to aim at the underwater section of the ice mountain, which is much larger. Not the other way around.
2. Individuals are drawn into a clandestine life by their devotion to a cause. Living underground can be a grim experience and not everyone is equally motivated in finding a rationalisation for violence. Terrorists go through a "catalyst event" and risk their life to further a greater

cause, which may be political, religious, social, etc. Thus, the most effective counter-recruitment policy is to deploy a targeted counter-terrorist policy that increases the costs of joining a terrorist group while providing channels for dealing with the "issues" raised by its sympathisers.

3. Radicalisation and mental pathologies do not go hand in hand. Terrorist organisations tend to recruit disciplined individuals who can follow orders and do as they are told. The unpredictable, the unstable and the traumatised are weeded out. As suggested by the "staircase model", an individual will progress into a terrorist group in a slow and gradual manner, with would-be terrorists given smaller tests before being trusted in more important missions, and with many non-violent tasks before being asked to use guns or explosives. The most common characteristic of terrorists is their normality.

4. Self-radicalisation is rare. Even autonomous self-starters who radicalise on the internet need social interaction with a long-distance recruiter. Evidence points to the importance of neighbours, cliques of friends, and relatives in explaining indoctrination. The progressive intensification of radical beliefs is still bound by territory and is very context dependent. Furthermore, radicalisation with like-minded people rarely occurs in the virtual space and more often takes place in cities and neighbourhoods which act as fertile grounds in which to harden ideological positions.

5. Radicalisation is a multi-level process, as suggested by the pyramid model. Individuals are at the centre of this socialisation process but what goes in the sociopolitical environment and surrounding organisations also matters. A comprehensive strategy to counter radicalisation needs to take into account the individual, organisational and societal level. Given the multiplicity of causes at play, it is not possible to identify a single causal mechanism or "terrorist mindset".

6. Indiscriminate murder might be too complex a subject to synthesise in a single model. In fact, the causes of radicalisation are as diverse as they are abundant and there is no single theory that can integrate all the triggers of radicalisation. Factors contributing to violent radicalisation processes can be: familial, social, gender-based, socioeconomic, psychological, religious, ideological, historical, cultural, political, propaganda, social media or internet-based. The events and conditions leading a person from radical ideas to violent action are also numerous, and the mechanisms are so complex that they need to be broken down to be understood. Hence, there is a clear need to incorporate a multi-level understanding of radicalisation that covers individuals, groups and the mass public and tries to specify the interactions between them.

7. An effective counter-narrative that can prevent support for intergroup conflict requires societal introspection and the fine-tuning of state, regional and local policies. Western publics should demand the highest standards on both domestic and foreign policy to leave terrorist sympathisers with no arguments. Advanced democracies with high ethical standards are more resilient and better prepared to resist the challenge of violent extremism, either from inside or outside. However, introspection and self-criticism should not result in self-doubt or inaction against global jihadism. Instruments of counter-radicalisation need to be deployed on those who sympathise with extremism whereas the full force of counter-terrorism needs to fall on those who want to destroy political authority with illegitimate violence.

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LOCAL EXAMPLES
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THE MECHELEN MODEL: AN INCLUSIVE CITY

Bart Somers

Mayor of Mechelen

Lately the "Mechelen Model" has gathered a lot of attention. That's why I feel it's important to stress that my city Mechelen is not a paradise. It's a city of 86,000 inhabitants, located between Antwerp and Brussels. We've grown in our superdiversity, with more than 130 different nationalities living together in our city. Strikingly, one out of two children born here has a foreign background, most of them Moroccan. The latter being one of the most vulnerable groups to violent radicalisation. Fifteen years ago Mechelen had a very bad reputation. Polarisation was high and over 30% of the people voted extreme right. We had one of the highest criminality rates at that time, middle class families fled the city and deprivation was high. Nowadays, Mechelen is considered as one of the reference point cities in Flanders. The appreciation for the integration policy is one of the highest in the country and the extreme right has less than 8% of the votes. The overall culture has changed and there is a growing openness towards each other.

Mechelen is at the heart of the bigger Antwerp-Brussels agglomeration, with over 2.5 million inhabitants. Nearly 10% of all European terrorist fighters came from this region. Two hundred left from the Brussels region (which is only 25km south of Mechelen), nearly 100 from Antwerp (only 25km north), 27 from Vilvoorde (only 5km away from Mechelen). Today Mechelen has no foreign terrorist fighters and that's a statistical conundrum. Consequently, people started asking questions: "how did they manage to do this?" Of course it has a lot to do with luck. At any time, even while writing this, someone might be leaving to Syria. But there is more to it than just luck.

To explain the why and the how of our policy, I would like to start with two inconvenient truths. First of all if the number of violent radicalised people grows it becomes impossible to follow them all. Secondly, once someone is radicalised, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to deradicalise them. It is very time consuming, it costs a lot of money and there is absolutely no guarantee of success, no guarantee that we can bring them back to our society and convince them of our democratic, liberal principles. So the most important thing is to prevent people from getting radicalised in the first place. But how can we prevent people from getting radicalised?

The key answer is a policy of inclusiveness: make people part of their society, make them feel like citizens. It is about recruiting them for your society so others don't have a chance of recruiting them for ISIS. When people feel part of this society and that society respects them, if they feel that their future can grow here, the battle is won twice. First of all the attraction of a totalitarian society will be less intense. People can have critical thoughts about their own society, but they still live in it and appreciate it. Moreover, they will not choose a radical alternative to replace it because they see possibilities to fit in with the current situation. Secondly it is important to realise at all times that there might still be people choosing the radical narrative. But if they find themselves surrounded by people embracing the narrative of our society in which there is no space for a violent, extreme alternative, the totalitarian narrative loses its strength. Because when they look around, they will be surrounded by people that feel like citizens of this inclusive society. People who feel like they can trust the mayor, the police, youth workers – enough so that they can go to them in times of crises. When they feel that someone is slipping away, when they are afraid of losing their son, daughter, friend, colleague to a totalitarian regime such as ISIS, they will see the ones that can help them as fellow citizens instead of enemies, as people who are in the first place there to help their friend, instead of finding ways to punish him/her.

ISIS recruitment is clearly based on a recurrent strategy. It aims at vulnerable people, in a complex situation, with a bad history, that have hit rock bottom. "A zero" they say they are able to transform into "a hero" – which fits perfectly within their simplistic black and white rhetoric and view of the world. It feeds upon frustrated individuals who are disappointed and no longer trust society, they feel abandoned by the many failed promises and feel they have changed into or have always been second-rate citizens. Therefore, I believe in a preventive method where people are confronted at an early stage with a more realistic view, when they are still open for reasoning and discussion. At that early stage it's crucial to bring in people they still trust and respect. In that way these people can try to stop the radicalisation process, to change their thoughts, and show them there are alternatives.

But the bigger and even more important question is: how do we include people in our society? How do we make sure they feel themselves to be equal citizens? It has to be more than just an attractive slogan. Since I have been mayor of Mechelen for more than 16 years, long before the caliphate was introduced to our cities and long before the uprising of this radically violent ideology, I've witnessed the process we've been through. We worked hard on our city and most importantly we worked together, with our citizens. Not knowing of course that this regime of ISIS would hit our borders one day, but from a general positive attitude to make our city and its citizens better. It seems now that it has empowered our city to offer some resistance. Our strategy is built on seven points.

First of all it's essential to take safety issues seriously. We invested a great deal in police forces and in fighting criminality. We didn't want to leave neighbourhoods behind where children would grow up with the idea that police officers are the enemy and drug dealers are role models. We did not want generations of people to grow up in a city where you can buy stolen goods in shops, where there's no respect in the public domain, where streets are dirty and where there are no parks to play

in. In short: where the rule of law has been replaced by the rule of the jungle. The people growing up in these neighbourhoods can in no way identify themselves with our society as equal citizens. They do not see a society they belong to. Because they are obviously not part of society. It is my personal belief that in these places, where criminals rule the streets, extremists will follow. They can easily fill in the gap that has been created: "What are our values? What is our ideology? No way do we share the same values as the state. They left us behind, they are our enemy and not present in our community". To fight this I have been a very strict mayor and I still am today. I have used a zero tolerance policy in certain areas or during certain times. There has been criticism that I have a lot of cameras in my city, but they're never aimed against a specific community. Moreover, I try to mobilise people to be part of the security story. Because I believe that we're fighting a social battle. For example: if my car is stolen, it's a small inconvenience but I will have my insurance company who will make sure I can buy a new one. But if you're poor and your car gets stolen, it's far more dramatic. You don't have money to buy a new one right away, you can't get to work, you can't drop your children at school. So in the long run a security policy is actually a social policy. That's why we try to mobilise people to help us. In my city we work with the "older brothers programme". It's a project where in summertime we recruit young interns who live in our town to be social workers in their own neighbourhoods, more specifically in the playground. They are in charge of the local playground and they tell other youngsters not to vandalise the place, to keep it quiet after 10pm, for example, because little children have to sleep. This creates a growing sense of responsibility for these interns and it stimulates them to think about the rules in society. On the other side the younger children respect them as "playground leader" because it actually is someone's older brother, or the nephew of a friend, etc. In that way society gets a familiar face. It's not a white policemen, but it's Mohammed from around the corner. Another reason why this first point of security measures is so important is because of other inhabitants who are reluctant about this new society in which diversity is the new reality. If you can show them that there is someone at the city hall who takes security seriously, they can feel less threatened and become more open towards this new reality. So it's not a left- or right-wing answer. The ideal is a mixture of both sides, to evolve into a new paradigm.

My second strategic point would be to create a new narrative for diversity. If your city's identity is based on a nostalgic worldview of a faded monocultural past, everybody will be frustrated. On one hand is the indigenous group, who feels that the past was better and that with every step they lose something. They have the wrong idea that they need to give something away. On the other hand we have the new group, the migrants who will also be frustrated because they can never be part of that identity. That's why it's crucial to create a new narrative, a new story every single inhabitant can be a part of. It's a new story about who we are and about a new shared identity. We can obtain this through policy, of course, but symbols are equally important in this story building. For example: a couple of years ago we, as a city, with all our inhabitants, celebrated the 124 different migration backgrounds living in our community. Fifty years of immigration was remembered in Flanders but was a festive occasion in Mechelen. We put 124 photos of 124 citizens all with a different national background in the main square in the centre of the city for one year. It shouted clearly: "we're proud of this, they are part of us and our city".

Another example of creating this narrative is what we did after the terrorist attacks in Brussels. On Friday I, as a mayor, went to the mosques in my city, about 1000 people sitting there, all afraid of possible retribution and consequences against their group in society. At the same time they were also afraid of these terrorists. I told them that for me they were victims twice over. First of all as citizens, like every one of us. But secondly as Muslims. Because these terrorists hijacked their religious identity and transformed it into something barbaric. Consequently they now always have to explain that they are not like these terrorists, that they hate them just as much as we do. They're drawn into a corner and have to apologise for who they are. They shouldn't have to do that, because they are just as much victims as we are. This visit, these festive occasions, and other initiatives are crucial moments in bringing people with different backgrounds and identities together.

The third important principle is to avoid groupthink. It's a typical classic left- and right-wing fallacy. The classic left uses groupthink too often to point out that people with migrant background are victims. They are a discriminated against group in society and should get special attention. Meanwhile right-wing politicians abuse it to criminalise people, saying that they're abusing our social system or that they often get trapped in crimes. They both make a striking mistake, namely thinking in a one-dimensional reality. But people have many identities: Flemish, Belgian, European, father, lawyer, liberal and so on. Depending on where we are and who we are talking to, our identities shift. When I'm in Barcelona I'm a Belgian. When I'm in Belgium I'm an inhabitant of Mechelen. We need to see people as individuals, not as groups. If we tag them as belonging to a group, e.g., Muslims we are blind to all their different and other identities, e.g. mother, sister, artist, and so on. We succumb to one-dimensional thinking and by doing so we're making caricatures of one another. Let me explain this by giving another example: a while ago we had a Moroccan youth club who did many good things, but they were always thinking and discussing what makes them different from the rest in society. How we Moroccans differ from the non-Moroccans. If you keep heading down that track it results in playing Moroccan music exclusively, because of course all Moroccans exclusively love Arabic music. As if I would only love Schlager music. As if Moroccans only eat couscous and as if I only eat mussels and French fries. This caricature creates an enormous group pressure, and the biggest trap is that we don't see the success stories anymore because they don't fit in with this groupthink path. In my city we have Moroccan doctors, professors and teachers but also criminals. We have people who go to the mosque every day and people that have never been there and everything in between. We need success stories to destroy the groupthink dynamic.

The fourth requirement is to fight segregation. Progressive people speak positively about diversity – they see the benefits of a diverse society. But in a lot of cities we don't actually live in a diverse reality. We live in a kind of archipelago of monocultural islands. If we allow different groups to live next to each other without living together, we create an illusion of diversity. All problems start when people keep living in a segregated reality. The us versus them vision becomes a threat: "why do they get a park and we don't? Why do we get police control and they don't?" So if we really want to have an inclusive society, we have to fight segregation. At schools, in neighbourhoods, in sport clubs – everywhere possible. This

strategy demands efforts, because we cannot force people of course. One of the most beautiful projects we organised in our city is called School in Sight (*School in Zicht*). It's an organisation supported by our city that makes home visits to white middle-class parents whose children live near to a local school, but prefer to go to a school much further away. They talk to these different parents and convince them, in groups of 10 or 12 parents, to sign their children up at the nearby school, a place that is, for the moment, dominated by one ethnic group. This mixture is not only a good thing for the monocultural group which was already present at the school. It's also a good thing for those other ten children who will now learn to play together from an early age. The school has to be a reflection of the reality that evolved outside of the school gates. Over two years we convinced 160 parents to enrol in this project and change schools. And now it's time to look at the white ghetto schools. Because that's an equally important segregation problem. We talked to a head principal in order to make the school feel more like a home base for all cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Why shouldn't there be halal food on the menu, if vegetarian food is no problem? This process has to be conducted in every segment of society. We invested a lot in poor neighbourhoods to give them equally fancy parks and playgrounds. Normally when policymakers decide to renew something in a poor neighbourhood they are convinced to use "vandal-proof" materials, creating a reinforcing signal of being ghettoised. That's why we consciously chose the same high quality materials, because every citizen deserves the same quality. Indirectly it attracts the middle classes to come back to the city, creating a superdiverse city in all its aspects. These middle-class citizens are actually unpaid social workers. By organising street activities, they bring people together because they have the social capacity to do so. For example, when their children come back from school, they have to finish their homework first before they can play. Consequently, the boy around the corner, a fellow classmate, is also invited into their home and gets the same help with his homework as their own children. It is in such a manner that upward social mobility can grow and real integration begins.

The fifth command, which is probably the most unattractive one, is that we all have to reintegrate into a new reality. If we want to fight segregation, we all have to make some effort towards achieving this. In Brussels for example it's often been put aside as a problem of integration. But already we have a third generation of migrants living here. They were born here, their parents lived here, they are citizens of their city. We don't possess a firstborn right over them. Since 1520 my family has lived in Mechelen, for 17 generations, but I'm the first generation that lives in a multicultural superdiverse Mechelen and I don't have more rights than Mustafa, whose family has been here since 1966. To put it in a well-known quote from an American president: "don't ask what society can do for you, but ask what you can do for society". We all have to integrate into a new reality and it requires efforts from all of us to give a city power tools to fight against terrorism and extremism.

The sixth strategic point has to do with values. There's a lot of talk about values, which is a good thing. We have to discuss our common values because they're a very important part of our society – they're what our society is built upon. They give us our freedom, for example: the equality of men and women, democracy, the rule of law and so on. These values should be used to create bridges towards one another instead of walls.

The latter is what populists aim for because they abuse these values to exclude people, and do exactly the opposite of what these values preach. In my country for example a right-wing party claimed we should diminish freedom of speech to ensure our freedom. It's similar to the phrase: "okay, we proclaim to be an open and free society, but "they" have to adapt to us, to our traditions and habits". By falling for this fallacy we fear freedom because it inevitably brings change. The group of people who have changed our society the most are women: through emancipation all our traditions and habits have changed. A typical reaction against such change is the zero-sum reasoning: if they take something, then I will lose something. For example if women take a place in the labour market, than men will lose their job. Eventually all these changes made society stronger, and their demands were based on the same premises as those of today's people with migrant backgrounds. A city in diversity can be attractive if we keep the promise it seems to make: if you work hard, if you do your utmost best, you can get a future for yourself and your kids. Racism and discrimination destroys that dream.

My last point, which is probably the most urgent one, is to put a stop to Wahhabist propaganda.

Today if Muslim women or men want to find information about her/his religion either in a bookshop or online, 95% of everything (s)he finds is Wahhabist propaganda. Wahhabism is a totalitarian reinterpretation of the Islamic religion. Every religion has a pluralistic background, a rich history in discussing different types of the same belief, recognising each other in their own identity. In contrast, Wahhabism makes from Islam a totalitarian religion, one that should stand alone and is better than all the other interpretations. Our Belgian security services have reported that since the seventies Saudi Arabia has invested €73 billion in Wahhabist propaganda in Europe. In comparison: that's more than what all democratic parties have spent on their campaigns. To strike an even more dramatic note: if Nazi Germany still existed and spent billions in propaganda for their fascist ideology, we would not accept it. Not even for one day. Not even for one hour.

LONDON'S PREPAREDNESS TO RESPOND TO A MAJOR TERRORIST INCIDENT

Lord Toby Harris

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on Preparedness for a Major Terrorist Incident
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The United Kingdom has suffered three major terrorist attacks with multiple fatalities since the beginning of 2017:

- on 22nd March an individual drove his car into tourists and others, killing four people, and then went on to stab a police officer to death within the precincts of the Houses of Parliament before himself being shot dead by another police officer;
- exactly two months later on 22nd May, a suicide bomber blew himself up in the foyer of Manchester Arena at the end of the Ariana Grande concert killing another 22 people and seriously injuring many more; and
- on Saturday 3rd June, three terrorists drove a van into pedestrians on London Bridge and then ran armed with 30cm-long ceramic knives into the Borough Market area where they attacked and stabbed people in the cluster of bars and restaurants there. As a result, eight people were killed and 48 seriously injured before the police shot the three perpetrators dead.

In addition, five other attacks have been thwarted and disrupted by the security and intelligence agencies and the counter-terrorist police over the same period.

The three incidents that were not interdicted led to the first deaths from terrorism on the mainland of the United Kingdom since the bombings on the London transport network on 7th July 2005, in which 52 people were murdered, and the fatal attack on Trooper Lee Rigby on 22nd May 2013 near the Royal Artillery Barracks in Woolwich.

The most recent attacks were in the context of a series of murderous terrorist incidents across western Europe starting with the assault on Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 and including – amongst others – the attacks on the Bataclan night club and other targets in Paris, the Brussels bombings, the heavy lorry driven through the crowds celebrating Bastille Day on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice, the Berlin Christmas market attack and the hijacked truck crashed into a department store in Stockholm.

It was against this background that Sadiq Khan, the mayor of London, shortly after his election in May 2016, asked me to conduct an independent review

of London's preparedness to respond to a major terrorist incident. My report was published in October of last year and most of its 127 recommendations have been accepted and are currently being implemented. The remit related not just to those agencies for which the mayor is directly responsible, such as the Metropolitan Police, the Fire Service and Transport for London, but also other bodies including the London Ambulance Service, the British Transport Police, the 33 local councils in Greater London, the Port of London Authority, community organisations, faith groups and business organisations.

It is worth stressing that the British counter-terrorism strategy, CONTEST, which is currently being reviewed and updated by the Home Office, has four strands:

- PURSUE: the investigation and disruption of terrorist attacks;
- PREVENT: work to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism;
- PROTECT: improving our protective security to stop a terrorist attack; and
- PREPARE: working to minimise the impact of an attack and to recover as quickly as possible.

My review was primarily concerned with the PREPARE strand of the strategy, although inevitably my conclusions touched on the other elements.

The immediate focus was the city's ability to respond speedily and effectively to a marauding terrorist firearms attack (or an MTFA as it is known in the jargon) with the Paris attacks of November 2015 in mind. However, the review looked at a range of possible attack scenarios, including vehicles used as weapons (as in the Nice and Berlin attacks) and subsequently seen on Westminster Bridge and on London Bridge.

I had previously been heavily involved in this field, when, on behalf of successive home secretaries, I had oversight of policing work on counter-terrorism and security from 2004 until early-2012. And the headline conclusion of my review was that preparedness had improved substantially compared with four or five years earlier. In particular, the emergency service response would now be much faster than it would – or could – have been in 2011.

This was demonstrated, during the course of the review, by a stabbing incident in Russell Square on 3rd August 2016. This turned out not to be a terrorist incident, although the response was triggered as though it might have been. An individual, whom the court was subsequently told was suffering from "an acute episode of paranoid schizophrenia", attacked passers-by, tragically killing an American tourist. The length of time that elapsed from when the first (of many) emergency calls were received to the control room being informed that an individual had been subdued and arrested (and not shot dead which might have been the outcome elsewhere) was less than six minutes. This was a fast response by any standard.

In March this year, from my vantage point overlooking Westminster Bridge in the room in which I was barricaded with colleagues, I saw the speed of

the police and ambulance response. However, that was an incident that lasted precisely 82 seconds from the point at which the terrorist drove his vehicle on to the pavement and into the crowds, through him crashing into the barriers, leaping from the car, running round a corner into the gates of Parliament and stabbing to death a police officer before being shot dead himself. Just 82 seconds from start to finish. Obviously, this took place in what is admittedly one of the most heavily policed areas of the city. And the subsequent lock-down of the building lasted for nearly five hours while the possibility of there being a second attacker was eliminated.

And in the London Bridge/Borough Market attack on 3rd June, the police were on the scene within two minutes and paramedics from the London Ambulance Service within six. The three terrorists were shot dead just eight minutes after the first emergency call.

In all of those incidents the emergency response was rapid. However, it is an important and salutary lesson that even those fast response times would have appeared far too slow to those caught up in them. Moreover, the London incidents involved individuals carrying knives rather than guns or bombs. Had the incidents involved multiple assailants armed with automatic weapons or explosive devices, the death tolls in such crowded places would have been far higher.

It is, of course, theoretically possible to further increase the armed police presence so that those response times could have been shorter. However, that would not eliminate the risk or necessarily prevent fatalities. It is the work of a moment for a suicide bomber to blow himself up and people armed with powerful guns can kill a lot of people even if the emergency response time is much less.

So the decision for politicians like the mayor of London, or indeed perhaps for all of us, is what level of risk is acceptable? Doubling or quadrupling that armed police presence obviously has a financial cost (even if it were practically possible to recruit, train and equip the officers required), but it would also have a profound impact on our way of life. How far are we prepared to go to change the look and feel of our cities to reduce - perhaps only slightly – the number who might be killed in such an attack? That is the dilemma: whatever we do, we can never *guarantee* safety.

Thus, whilst it is right to be better prepared, other steps are necessary to make us safer and more secure.

The United Kingdom prides itself – rightly or wrongly – on the belief that our security and intelligence agencies and our counter-terrorist police are amongst the best in the world. However, those agencies still judge the risk of attack as being SEVERE (the second highest of five levels), meaning that an attack is regarded as "highly likely". (The threat level briefly went to CRITICAL – the highest level – in the immediate aftermath of the Manchester Arena attack, when it was feared that a wider network was involved and had not yet been apprehended.) Even if we are right about the effectiveness of our investigative agencies (and – inevitably – in the latest two attacks there are reports that warnings had been given to the authorities about some or all of the perpetrators but not acted upon), the judgement is – and we have to work on the basis – that an attack is highly likely. There can therefore be no complacency.

During the review, I was impressed at the huge amount of thought and analysis that has gone into planning and exercising for a wide variety of attack scenarios. There is necessarily a constant need to consider developing threats and evolving attack methodologies and I watched this in action by sitting in on a meeting of the fortnightly Security Review Committee when amongst other things the implications of the Nice attack and an incident at RAF Marham were being considered.

However, whilst this sort of preparation is essential and it has to be remembered that new attack methodologies can be spread via the internet within seconds, and whilst it is imperative to have as good an intelligence picture as you can, planning should also be on the basis of expecting the unexpected. Because something has never happened before, does not mean that it might not happen tomorrow. Similarly, if a particular methodology has not been used for several years, it may still be brought back into play without prior warning or indication.

During my review, I came across a number of areas where the current intelligence assessment was that particular threats were considerably less than they were thought to be a few years ago. That should not mean that measures previously taken to address such threats should be abandoned, merely that perhaps they might be reduced – and even then with caution.

In some instances I remain disturbed that the response of the national government has not been as timely or as sharp as it should be. The first of these relates to be the availability of guns in the UK. The UK in my view benefits from the fact that firearms are more difficult to acquire in my country than elsewhere in the world. However, there is almost a complacency about this with an assumption that MTFAs like those that occurred in Paris in 2015 would not happen to us.

London is not firearms free. During the July and August of my review, the Metropolitan Police recorded 202 firearms discharges compared to 87 in the same months of the previous year. These were criminal rather than terrorist incidents. However, there is also clear evidence that some convicted terrorists have tried to obtain arms from organised crime groups or from other sources.

Moreover, our borders are not as secure as they should be: we have far-from-adequate coverage of our coastline by air and sea patrols, only a tiny proportion of vehicles crossing into the country via the Channel Tunnel or on ferries are ever searched, and the same is true for crates of goods arriving through our ports. The resources available to address this have declined in the last six or seven years. If there is complacency, it has been misplaced and I fear it is only a matter of time before we see a significant gun-related terrorist incident in the UK.

Similarly, there has been a dilatory response to the use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) or drones for terrorist purposes – something which is increasingly reported from overseas theatres – either for reconnaissance or for delivering a payload. The UK Department for Transport has been conducting – at a slow pace – a review of policy on the regulation and control of UAVs, despite widespread concerns being raised not just from a counter-terrorist perspective, but also in respect of air traffic control, privacy and the delivery of contraband into prisons.

More work is also needed on the inter-relationship between mental health and those who commit terrorist attacks. In Israel, it is reported that many of the Palestinian lone attacks have been precipitated by mental health crises in the individuals concerned. I referred earlier to the mentally deranged knife attacker in Russell Square last summer. As it happens, he was a Muslim. There is no evidence that he was inspired by any jihadist propaganda to carry out his attack, but it is a reminder that the borderline is perhaps a narrow one. In the UK, our community mental health services are inadequate – the poor relation of the rest of the National Health Service – but we need to do more to bring those mental health professionals that there are much closer to the work being done to try and prevent individuals carrying out violent extremist acts.

More generally there remains in the UK a general belief that the PREVENT strand of the CONTEST strategy requires reinvigoration and refocussing.

In the meantime the threat remains SEVERE, so what else did my review suggest could be done to make London more secure? Once it is recognised that you can never guarantee safety and security, what is important is to try and build a culture of resilience into the fabric of the city so that risks can be mitigated.

Some of that is about taking physical measures: bollards and barriers to limit the scope for vehicle-based attacks; the capacity to close off roads and prevent cars and trucks entering areas where large numbers are gathered; and ensuring that closed-circuit TV is used more widely as both a preventative and investigative resource.

We should use design to make new buildings harder for terrorists and require that certain physical standards be incorporated to make attacks more difficult. When premises require licensing for public use or for specific events, there should be expectations set as to their emergency plans and the extent to which their staff must be trained to manage certain types of incident. It should be an obligation to have police counter-terrorism security advisors inspect premises and that their advice be acted upon. This is already standard for fire safety and so should it be for counter-terrorism.

The aim should be that a culture of security is developed in all spaces where the public have access. During the review process, I was struck by how variable this was. Some places of worship have given a great deal of thought to this, others had given none and seemed to be assuming that nobody might bear them ill-will.

I was particularly concerned about schools. Most schools have plans for evacuation in the event of fire. Very few had even thought about the need for an in-vacuation plan in the event of the school being under attack – what teachers should do and how pupils ought to be drilled. Most had some sort of rudimentary perimeter control system designed to keep out predatory paedophiles, but were less well-equipped to deal with a heavily armed marauder and in any event door-entry systems were often left open at the time when pupils were arriving at the beginning of the school day or leaving at the end. I specifically recommended that each school should have a governor responsible for thinking about these issues and devising arrangements appropriate and proportionate for that school.

LORD TOBY HARRIS

London is home to half a million businesses, all of whom have a strong interest in ensuring London is a safe and secure place to invest and trade. So they too have to take on some responsibility for security. They have a duty of care not only to those who work for them, but also to their customers and perhaps also to those simply passing by. At the height of the incident on Saturday 3rd June, there are contrasting tales of those bars and restaurants who on the one hand ushered those on the street inside to safety and on the other those who barred access to those from outside.

Many offices and businesses in London have trained security personnel. These personnel are regulated by the Security Industry Authority and there are estimated to be some 100,000 operatives licensed by the SIA in London – roughly three times the total number of police officers. In the event of an attack, depending on the location, it is those security guards who may be first on the scene and, as uniformed members of staff, the public may look to them for advice and protection. At the very least, they need to be adequately trained in how to respond in the event of a terrorist incident and at best they are a massive resource to help protect the public.

Communication is key to all of this. In the recent attacks the Metropolitan Police used their Twitter feed to provide frequent authoritative updates to counter what might otherwise have been misleading material on social media. However, there is much more that should be done with the development – as has happened in a number of other cities – of alerts directly to people's mobile phones. In time, the capacity to provide cogent real-time advice targeted at different cell-sites or at different types of recipient should be developed.

This must all be part of a process of enabling all of us to respond in the most appropriate way to any incident that may happen. The current mantra in the UK is RUN, HIDE, TELL:

- RUN – to a place of safety. If there is nowhere to go then …
- HIDE – turn your phone to silent and barricade yourself in if you can …
- TELL – the police by calling 999 when it is safe to do so.

Those were the messages being put out on social media during the London Bridge attack, but the aim must be for every citizen to have that engrained in the psyche in the same way that as children we all learned the road safety mantra of (in a UK context at least) look left, look right, look left again when crossing a road.

Preparedness has to be pro-active. And preparedness has to be flexible enough to be relevant whatever the form of an attack. The responses encouraged have to enable all the relevant organisations – including the business community and the public – to react seamlessly and effectively, whatever the nature of the incident.

This means that all of us must acquire a mind-set of community security and resilience. It should also mean that our cities have security and resilience designed in and it is part of our society's fabric. Ultimately, it means that everyone who lives and works in our cities sees security and resilience as their responsibility just as much as it is the responsibility of the emergency services and the civic authorities.

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WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR THE LACK OF A CVE STRATEGY IN THE USA?

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Over the last few years the United States has been one of the most enthusiastic proponents of the introduction of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) activities worldwide. It has spearheaded countless global initiatives, from a high-profile global summit hosted by the White House in February 2015 to the formation of permanent CVE-focused initiatives like the Abu Dhabi-based Hedayah. It has also been providing substantial financial support to counter-radicalisation programmes implemented in countries throughout the world through various State Department or USAID-funded initiatives.

Yet, this CVE enthusiasm abroad has not been matched domestically. Efforts on this front, in fact, have been timid, underfunded and haphazard. Technically the United States possesses a domestic counter-radicalisation strategy. In August 2011, in fact, the White House issued a paper, entitled *Empowering local partners to prevent violent extremism in the United States*, which was later followed by various programmatic papers providing further details.[1] Yet none of these documents outline initiatives that are even remotely as ambitious and far-reaching as those long implemented in many European countries.

With a few limited exceptions, most initiatives are in fact limited to funding research on the radicalisation process and engaging the American Muslim communities (laudable activities, to be sure). The few initiatives aimed at deradicalisation and disengagement take place only in a handful of geographical areas and are generally underfunded. Counter-narrative initiatives aimed at a domestic audience pale in terms of resources when compared to those funded overseas.

Arguably nine concurring reasons have caused the reluctance on the part of American authorities to devise anything more ambitious. They are:

1) **The delay in the emergence of a domestic jihadist threat**
American-based jihadist sympathisers possessing quintessential homegrown characteristics had been detected before September 11th 2001 and in relatively larger numbers after it (Vidino, 2009; Rosenau and Daly, 2010). Yet the widely held assumption among American

[1] Available online at https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/empowering_local_partners.pdf

policymakers and counter-terrorism professionals was that radicalisation did not affect American Muslims except in sporadic cases. Tellingly, for many years following 9/11, in American political parlance the term "homegrown terrorism" was reserved solely for anti-government militias, white supremacists and eco-terrorist groups such as the Earth Liberation Front. Jihadists, even if American-born and possessing quintessential homegrown characteristics, were excluded from this category. This perception started to change around 2010, in the wake of various attacks by and arrests of homegrown jihadists. And it has definitely been internalised with the domestic Islamic State-related mobilisation, which has been unprecedented in numbers and quintessentially homegrown in nature (Vidino and Hughes, 2015). Yet this delayed perception has been a key factor in determining the late development of a US CVE strategy.

2) Belief that American Muslims' good integration serves as an antidote to radicalisation

During the 2000s it was widely argued in American counterterrorism circles that home-grown terrorism of jihadist inspiration was a uniquely European problem, a direct consequence of Europe's failed integration policies. Radicalisation, argued this narrative, is the inevitable by-product of the unemployment, social segregation, poor education and widespread discrimination plaguing European Muslim communities. Despite some notable exceptions, American Muslims, on the other hand, tend to enjoy economic and educational achievements that put them in the top tier of American society.[2]

To some degree these assumptions have been shattered, as few still believe that American Muslims are "immune" to radicalisation. Yet the perception that radicalisation is largely caused by social ills to which most American Muslims are not subject is widely held in many quarters, and has caused both a delay in the development of CVE programmes and, later, a timid approach to CVE.

3) Faith in "hard" counterterrorism tactics

Although only rarely applying the military and extrajudicial tools they have used overseas, since 9/11 American authorities have adopted a remarkably aggressive posture towards individuals and clusters associated with terrorism of jihadist inspiration operating on American soil.[3] The 2001 Patriot Act granted them extensive surveillance powers and significantly decreased the separation between investigators and intelligence agencies. Moreover, authorities have often employed the so-called Al Capone law enforcement technique, arresting suspected terrorists for immigration, financial or other non-terrorism-related offenses in order to neutralise them when they did not possess enough evidence to convict them for terrorism.[4]

Most controversially, they have increasingly resorted to using *agents provocateurs*. Operating under the assumption that certain individuals espousing jihadist ideology are likely to eventually carry out acts of violence, US counterterrorism officials have sometimes resorted to triggering the passage from the radicalisation phase to action themselves. Therefore, since 9/11, the FBI has approached known radicals, many of which were unaffiliated wannabes, with *agents provocateurs*. Under the strict direction of authorities such individuals approach their targets, lead them to believe they belong to Al-Qaeda or, lately, the Islamic State, and encourage them to either plan attacks or provide material support to terrorist organisations.

2. According to a Pew Research Center study, the average American Muslim household's income is equal to, if not higher, than the average American's. See Pew 2007: 24–25. http://www.pewresearch.org/2007/05/22/muslim-americans-middle-class-and-mostly-mainstream/.

3. Cases like those of Ali al-Marri, a Qatari national arrested in Peoria in the wake of 9/11, and Jose Padilla, a US citizen linked to Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who were detained without charges for years in a military prison before being tried in the civilian court system have been exceptions. The vast majority of terrorism suspects apprehended within the United States since 9/11 have been granted due process rights.

4. The term, commonly used by American law enforcement practitioners, owes its origin to the fact that infamous 1920s Chicago mobster Al Capone was never convicted for his well known criminal activities, of which authorities never possessed enough evidence to stand in court, but, rather, simply for tax evasion.

These tactics, employed with similar enthusiasm by both the Bush and the Obama administrations, have been extensively criticised by many who argue they infringe on civil liberties and create tensions with Muslim communities (Markon 2010). Yet their effectiveness, at least in terms of incarcerating targets, is undisputable. A deep belief in the effectiveness of these measures has led many in the US counterterrorism community to argue that other "softer" measures are not necessary.

4) Massive bureaucratic structure

The size of the country and of its bureaucratic apparatus, with the overlap of federal, state and local jurisdictions, creates an additional obstacle to the implementation of a comprehensive counter-radicalisation strategy. Coordinating the activities of the over 17,000 law enforcement agencies working on terrorism-related matters throughout the country is an understandably daunting task (Bjelopera and Randol, 2000). Various agencies, such as the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), have over time taken key roles in shaping a domestic CVE strategy. But inter- and infra-agency rivalries, bureaucratic issues and the sheer size of the country have made that task particularly hard.

5) Separation of church and state

Deep political, cultural and constitutional issues have also played an important role in determining the American reluctance to experiment with domestic counter-radicalisation. The constitutionally sanctioned principle of separation of church and state is arguably one of the main ones. The concept, in fact, is so revered and politically sensitive that US authorities tend to be extremely reluctant to engage in any activity that could give the impression they are blurring that line.

While many counter-radicalisation activities have nothing to do with religion, it is inevitable that in programmes dealing with jihadist extremism in some cases issues related to Islam would appear. Some European programmes focus almost entirely on religion and would therefore be difficult to replicate as government-funded projects in the United States. But American authorities tend to be wary of being seen as politically engaging in or financially supporting any kind of programme that deals with religion, even in a more indirect way.

6) First Amendment issues

A similar constitutional and political damp on American authorities' enthusiasm for counter-radicalisation initiatives is the country's sacrosanct tradition of respect for freedom of speech. America has traditionally provided a degree of protection to all kinds of extreme discourse that is unparalleled in virtually all European countries. This tradition is not just enshrined in the constitution but deeply entrenched in the American political psyche and supported by all sides of the political spectrum. Consequently, American authorities tend to be reluctant to engage in counter-radicalisation activities that can be perceived as limiting free speech.

7) Little political/public pressure

In most cases, European counter-radicalisation programmes were established after a catalyst event – generally a successful or failed attack carried out by homegrown jihadist militants. None of these dynamics seem to have taken place in the United States. Over the last few years

several attacks with quintessential homegrown characteristics have been carried out or attempted in the United States. Hundreds of American militants have been arrested on American soil or reported fighting with various jihadist groups overseas. Yet none of these events has triggered a widespread perception among the American public and policymaking community that homegrown jihadism is a major problem that requires actions other than a traditional law enforcement approach.

8) Political opposition

The debate over the introduction of CVE measures has often been a highly polarised one. Various critics, both in and outside of Congress, have frequently argued that CVE measures unfairly target the Muslim community and/or are ruses designed to spy on it. Similarly, many have argued that right-wing extremism represents a comparable, if not bigger, threat to the US and that CVE measures should also target that form of militancy. This heated debate, which often leads to political grandstanding, has been one of the main brakes on the development of a domestic CVE strategy.

9) Reluctance to tackle ideology

While all these factors are unquestionably important, it is arguable that none of them is as important in determining the shyness of the US government in developing extensive counter-radicalisation programmes as its reluctance to enter the field of ideology. The Obama and, in its last years, Bush administrations have largely avoided dealing with the ideological underpinnings of radicalisation, particularly on the domestic front. While there is no question that various elements within the US government fully acknowledge the role jihadist ideology plays in the process, there is no government-wide consensus on the matter. Since a comprehensive counter-radicalisation programme entails tackling the ideological element as one of the main components, albeit not the only one, of radicalisation, this indecision leads to the inability to draft extensive programmes like those implemented in Europe.

Recent developments

During the last years of the Obama administration and due largely to the rise of the Islamic State on the global scene, authorities witnessed a rise in the number of American Muslims attracted to jihadist ideology. This development has led authorities to shed some of their previous hesitations about delving into domestic CVE and develop various initiatives. While still not amounting to the level of commitment seen in many European countries, these efforts represent a clear break from the past.[5]

One CVE approach that has recently attracted the interest of US authorities is targeted interventions. While some of its field offices had been occasionally carrying out some mild forms of interventions below the radar, the FBI formally entered the field in April 2016 through the creation of so-called Shared Responsibility Committees (SRC). SRCs were meant to get communities more involved in CVE and help "potential violent extremists" disengage (FBI, 2016). SRCs were to be "multi-disciplinary groups voluntarily formed in local communities" at the request of the communities themselves and "sometimes with the encouragement of

the FBI." The bureau would have referred at-risk individuals to SRCs and communities would have built a personalised intervention programme to address the issue (FBI, 2016).

The programme encountered severe criticism. Many civil rights activists saw SRCs as the FBI's attempts to create a network of community-based informants. Such a network, they argued, would have infringed upon the civil rights of Muslim communities and created mistrust between community members (Hussain and McLauglin, 2016). Similar concerns were expressed by various Congressmen, who highlighted the programme's limited transparency (Committee on Homeland Security Democrats, 2016). Influenced by the negative feedback, the FBI eventually decided against launching SRCs.

Intervention programmes at the local level appear to have had better luck. The Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has been operating the so-called RENEW (Recognizing Extremist Network Early Warnings) initiative, an early intervention programme that seeks to bring together law enforcement, Joint Terrorism Task Force officials, and mental health professionals (The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2016). While many of its dynamics have not been made public, the scheme appears to be similar to Channel and other European intervention programmes, allowing for a RENEW Coordinator to determine what kind of intervention (such as involvement of mental health professionals or social services) is most likely to interrupt an individual's radicalisation trajectory.

Small deradicalisation initiatives have also been set up in other areas. Boston had been identified as a "pilot city" to work on deradicalisation at the 2015 White House Summit. Since then local and federal authorities, under the leadership of the US Attorney's Office, have been working on devising interventions schemes. And, in what represents a first in the country, in 2016 a Minneapolis judge ordered a deradicalisation intervention for six young Somali-Americans convicted of attempting to join the Islamic State in Syria (Koerner, 2017).

In the last years of its mandate the Obama administration also seemed to reverse the trend that saw CVE efforts as plagued by a chronic dearth of funds. In December 2015, Congress passed the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act 2016, allocating $10 million for CVE. In July 2016, the DHS announced a CVE Grant Program providing financial support to organisations working on one of the five focus areas identified by the department. FEMA, which is part of the DHS, was responsible for allocating the grants. The five focus areas were selected based on what current research on extremism "has shown are likely to be most effective" in addressing violent extremism (Department of Homeland Security, 2016). The five areas included: a. Developing resilience; b. Challenging the narrative; c. Training and engaging with community members; d. Managing intervention activities; and e. building capacity of community-led non-profit organisations active in CVE (Department of Homeland Security, 2016). The organisations selected to receive the funds were announced on January 13 2016, a week before President-elect Donald Trump's inauguration (Department of Homeland Security, 2017).

It is difficult to forecast at this stage what the change in administration will mean for domestic (and, for that matter, international) CVE in America.

LORENZO VIDINO

The Trump administration has been cryptic and vague on many policy issues, including CVE. What can be said at the moment about its future intentions can therefore be little more than speculation, educated guesses made by interpreting rumours and the attitudes of individuals involved in the administration. As of early June 2017, in fact, there has been no CVE-related official statement or decision.

Uncorroborated reports that surfaced in February indicated that the administration was planning an overhaul of the federal CVE strategy. They also suggested that CVE would have been renamed either Countering Islamic Extremism or Countering Radical Islamic Extremism. As the names indicated, the strategy was supposedly to focus solely on Islamist extremists – in that sense not different in substance from Obama's strategy, albeit with more direct naming (Edwards et al., 2017). A much more muscular focus on Islamist ideology has also been hinted at by various individuals close to the administration who have been involved in terrorism-related matters.

These rumours spread at a time when the administration's controversial decision to preclude individuals originating in several Muslim-majority countries from entering the country (what came to be known as the "Muslim ban") was made public. These dynamics led at least four organisations that had been selected by the Obama-promoted CVE Grant Program to state that they were considering rejecting the funds if the administration reshaped CVE according to certain modalities (Nixon et al., 2017). Ka Joog, a Minnesota-based organisation that had been awarded $500,000 under the programme announced that because of the new administration's "policies which promote hate, fear, uncertainty" they were not accepting the money (Ka Joog). A similar decision was also reached by Bayan Claremont, an Islamic graduate school in California, which turned down an $800,000 grant, the second-largest amount awarded (Bharath, 2017). In an official statement, the school announced that they would continue to work with the government when needed but "given the anti-Muslim actions of the current executive branch, we cannot in good conscience accept this grant (Bayan Claremont, 2017)."

Domestic CVE, which in the final years of the Obama administration seemed to have finally managed to be seen by many American policymakers and law enforcement agencies as useful, finds itself the victim of the current extremely polarised political climate. It is difficult to foresee, less than six months into the Trump administration, what will happen to CVE. It might be completely scrapped, as some within the Trump camp see it as a pointless and politically correct approach to a problem that needs other, more muscular solutions. Or it might be revamped, but possibly in ways that differ substantially from past iterations and likely stress ideological components with much more emphasis.

It is also likely that, in this chaotic environment, various actors (both within law enforcement and civil society) will develop their own initiatives that function at the local level. There are in fact indications that an increasing number of community groups and NGOs are engaging in the CVE space. Similarly, various police forces and even federal agencies have been quietly starting their own projects, running small initiatives that, while attracting (on purpose) little attention, have given some initial good results. This localised and low-key approach might be the direction of CVE at times of extreme confusion and polarisation in Washington DC.

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WAYS FORWARD

WHO LEADS AND WHO DOES WHAT?
MULTI-AGENCY COORDINATION, COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT, AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

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Advancing the idea of "resilience" in societies in general, and in cities from a more specific point of view, the topic of violent or violence-promoting extremism certainly has to be addressed along with the efforts to prevent and/or counter such extremist movements. This holds true for literally all cities in the European Union, albeit with different centres of gravity. Be it "traditional" political extremism – in left-wing or right-wing form – nationalist/separatist movements, or extremist religious ideologies or those with religious overtones, the political landscape has undergone some troubling developments over the last years, placing the topic of violent extremism high on any government's agenda.

This is not to deny that there is still no common understanding of "extremism", and that the approaches followed by EU member states vary considerably. Still, the experiences of several decades (in some contexts) or at least several years (especially with regard to violence-promoting Islamism, i.e. jihadism) are sufficient to draw some general observations and consequently some recommendations on how to build resilience against violent extremism, i.e. a society capability of resistance against those extremist ideologies able to influence the behaviour of significant parts of the population in today's cities.

Taking into consideration the examples presented in this edited volume (most notably those of the cities of Mechelen in Belgium and Aarhus in Denmark) this contribution on the mechanisms of a multi-agency approach takes a generalising angle. It follows the basic assumption that prevention starts – and works best – at the local level.

In this chapter I will present the different actors in local efforts to counter violent or violence-promoting extremism and their mutual dependency, the need for a holistic strategy including all governmental and non-governmental partners, the necessity of a thorough coordination of all activities under this strategy, and the importance of community engagement as part of this overall effort. Drawing on the main conclusions presented at the end of the chapter, I provide some policy recommendations for decision-makers in the field of CVE both within governmental and parliamentary positions to indicate areas

of potential improvement of already ongoing efforts, or of possible new approaches to enhancing public security – at the local as well as regional and national levels.

Who does what? Actors in local countering violent extremism (CVE)

Before one can address the question of "leading" any joint effort of various actors in CVE, it must be clear which actors should be included in the overall effort.

In the context of countering violent or violence-promoting extremism (that is, individuals or groups who engage in ideology-driven violent activities or provide support to others engaging in violent activities either through material support or through forming a community with a shared extremist worldview, thus indirectly facilitating the decision of others to engage in violent activities), many people automatically turn their attention to the security agencies, most importantly towards the police. The police – traditionally one of the most trusted public institutions (at least in western European countries) – is the default "turn to" agency in questions of security, in most Western countries complemented by one or several agencies responsible for domestic intelligence in the area of political extremism.

However, as in many areas of criminology, security agencies play an obviously important but by no means exclusive role in countering violent or violence-promoting extremism. The whole concept of preventing violent extremism – as different as the specific strategies may be in different countries – is to prevent individuals from being exposed to violence-promoting extremist views without the possibility of accessing other points of view as well, and to prevent individuals from adapting these violence-promoting extremist views themselves (also described as "radicalisation"). These developments are not the prime responsibility of security agencies, and the tools available to security agencies more often than not are not suited to dealing with these situations.

A principle often neglected is that "social policy is security policy". This rather paradoxical sounding line of thought highlights the realisation that social circumstances and the individual's social situation directly influence the individual's vulnerability to deviant behaviour. So who is taking a role in addressing these questions? The additional actors and stakeholders involved cover a broad range. They comprise – depending on the very different administrative layout in the European Union member states – various governmental bodies and agencies, to include, but not limited to:

- youth services, as teenagers and adolescents are among the most susceptible to extremist ideologies, and oftentimes have to cope with real or perceived problems that lay the groundwork for a subsequent adoption of an extremist worldview;
- social services, as personal and economical difficulties play an important role in reducing an individual's resilience against extremist ideas;
- the educational system – from child care through school to university – in a dual role: first with its task of conveying societal values and a common understanding of human rights and the rule of law, and to

provide information on extremism; and second in being observant about young people's development and possible indications of radicalisation, thus being able to refer the individual to counselling by actors in or outside the educational system;

- labour services, strongly linked to the explanation above with regard to the economic status of an individual as one factor in his or her vulnerability to extremist ideology;
- regulatory and other administrative authorities (especially migration agencies), as their decisions may influence an individual's behaviour in one way or another;
- the justice system – in criminal law as well as in civil law –from prosecution decisions over court rulings to (possibly) the prison system;

whether they are organised at the local, regional and/or state or national level.

And that is only the state actors to be involved – a different, but nevertheless vital role can (and should!) be played by non-governmental stakeholders, to include community organisations of different kinds, religious communities, welfare organisations, and especially organisations offering counselling in social affairs (or even those specialised in preventing or countering extremism).

On "leading" (or: the multi-agency approach)

Acknowledging the multitude of actors and stakeholders to be considered in developing and implementing CVE activities prompts the next question: Can this broad range of relevant governmental and non-state actors be led effectively?

In an ideal world, all government agencies would interact seamlessly and harmonise their activities effortlessly towards a joint aim. Unfortunately we do not live in this ideal world yet. Inter-agency cooperation was and still is an area that needs constant work, especially when trying to combine the activities of the multitude of actors described above. But even within one area of the executive branch (say, different police forces) conflicts or at least a lack of coordination have occurred in the past. Here, as with all other actors, the agencies (at the institutional level) and the agents (on a personal level) have to acknowledge and embrace the fact that they contribute to the same overall effort.

Experiences of the past have shown time and again that the well-designed and flawlessly executed activities of one agency can be completely negated by an ill-timed decision of another agency; not out of ill will, in most cases, but because of different strategies and, most important, a lack of communication and coordination.

Nevertheless, with all these actors involved, a concept oftentimes called for is obviously not realisable in a modern administrative state: there is no apparent "lead agency" to direct all the others – that holds especially true for the security agencies. Given the diverse responsibilities of the various government branches, and adding a certain degree of conscious separation of powers to the mix, it becomes clear that no "leader" can be identified to command all activities in this area.

Thus, to effectively implement a joint governmental strategy to prevent and/or to counter violent or violence-promoting extremism it is paramount to ensure a common understanding of the task and a common strategy to deal with it – that is, weaving all particular avenues into one holistic approach. Whatever terminology your organisation utilises, be it jurisdiction (law enforcement), area of operation (military), or field of responsibility, all actors have not only to understand, but to accept and pursue their respective role in the overall approach.

The military has long since coined an expression for this avenue: The combined and joint operation. In the civilian world, the "multi-agency approach" describes the same concept.

Of course, efforts have to be made so that all actors (both at the institutional and individual levels) not only (grudgingly) accept this approach, but embrace it and orient their efforts towards this joint strategy.

However, even the most inspired, pro-active and aggressive collaborative efforts of a variety of actors are prone to failure if there is no provision for at least a basic level of information sharing and harmonisation – i.e. a coordinating role. This local CVE coordinator should ensure optimal cooperation and collaboration between the agencies and other governmental actors involved, as well as the focused use of the available resources. Additionally, the local CVE coordinator should serve as the main (but by no means exclusive!) point of contact for the outreach to non-governmental partners, thus ensuring a truly holistic approach *(see below on community engagement)*.

The importance of a local/municipal approach aside, it would be a mistake to focus solely at the city level, though. While it is true that every city has its own specific characteristics and challenges, many topics can be found in multiple or even in all cities. To provide for quick sharing of experiences, it is advisable to establish corresponding CVE coordination positions at the regional and the national levels that may act as information-sharing hubs for all local CVE coordinators. This is even more important when there is – like in Germany – no joint national strategy on preventing and countering violent or violence-promoting extremism, as there is no consensual framework within which to operate.

To summarise:

Countering violent or violence-promoting extremism is an area of responsibility, especially at the local level. To successfully address this topic all efforts should be integrated into a holistic overall strategy including all governmental and non-governmental actors and stakeholders. While, due to the broad variety of actors involved a "command structure" does not seem feasible, effective coordination is key to ensuring efficient cooperation.

Community engagement

Having contemplated the structure of a promising CVE approach, I want to turn to some select aspects of how to integrate non-governmental actors into the overall approach, and how to create active involvement of society in this development.

For the sake of the topic at hand, the improvement of a city's resilience against violent or violence-promoting extremism, community engagement may be defined as inclusion and coordination of civil society with governmental activities.

The prevention of an individual slipping into an extremist worldview is the best way to counter the societal threat of extremism, of course – if it is possible to preclude the spread of extremist views, the threat emanating from individuals or groups adhering to these views is obviously smaller than if society has to deal with a large movement. This is not to belittle the efforts made in the field of deradicalisation, but preventing a fire almost certainly needs fewer resources than extinguishing it.

As Rik Coolsaet convincingly put it, cities (or urban populations) are most vulnerable to violence-promoting extremism because they provide the critical mass that on the one hand due to their sizes fuels a notion of the individual's alienation, and on the other hand enables structures of kinship or friendship crucial for radicalisation.

Therefore, urban communities have to face special challenges in targeting violent or violence-promoting extremism, and should not withdraw to a purely governmental approach, but reach out to civil society and make PVE/CVE a community mission.

Community engagement in this context has many forms and flavours and goes far beyond the scope of this text to provide a comprehensive account of the importance of community engagement in a modern society.

But obviously community engagement has to start from common ground. There have to be principles everyone agrees on, the most important one (in the context of coordination with law-enforcement and other security agencies) being a general acceptance of the rule of law. It is paramount to insist that there are no areas of loosened law, or that there are – especially politically motivated – criminal offences that may be seen as less serious because of their political context. In the modern nation-state it is the government's role to ensure that the law applies to everyone equally, regardless of his or her political, ideological, or religious views or affiliation.

Thus the most important aim for governmental outreach in the realm of security is to encourage the population to take part in upholding the safety and security of their society – an idea that seems to be more obvious than it actually is, as many people seem to have mentally "outsourced" any of their own responsibility to safety and security agencies, not seeing an personal role in the overall context.

Inclusionary narrative

To help with this approach, it may be useful to create a new narrative of inclusion or to emphasise an existing one – a sense of belonging to a larger group, which in this context means the societal community, incarnated in the municipality or city. In providing such a narrative, one that is not rooted in ideas like ethnicity, religion, nation, political affiliation or wealth, the population can bond in a non-exclusionary fashion, thus strengthening the concept of belonging while accepting diversity.

So in the context of preventing or countering violent or violence-promoting extremism the most important task seems to be to avoid groupthink that alienates certain individuals. In most extremist ideologies the cohesion of the ideology's followers is accomplished through a more or less elaborated dichotomic worldview – the in-group being in a constant struggle against the out-group. In several movements this dichotomy has even been discussed quite openly (notably in the left-wing extremist movements of the 1970s, and right now by the jihadist propaganda of the so-called Islamic State, which explicitly calls for the overcoming of what they describe as "grey areas", i.e., societal areas where Muslims and non-Muslims live together in peace and thus deny their simplistic view of a god-given fight between the true believers and the infidels).

One person may have multiple "identities", depending on the context (for example, one might be male, German, Catholic, whereas another one might be female, Turkish, Muslim) but if a society succeeds in proffering a common identity (such as "citizen of Bremen" or "living in Germany"), these other identities may less easily be misused as means of separation.

Cooperation with security agencies

As already pointed out in the first section, security agencies are not the primary actors in governmental approaches to enhance community engagement. They do play a role, however, and it is strongly advisable that they do so.

That said, I might point out the obvious one more time: Outreach of security agencies in community engagement is about information and raising awareness, not about gathering intelligence. Cooperation of security agencies with non-governmental groups or organisations is sometimes mistaken (and quite often actively mislabelled by opposing groups) as spying on the community in question, whereas the idea of "community policing" employed by modern law enforcement agencies at the local level is to provide mutual trust and to establish communication structures for use by both the official and the civic actors.

In the context of preventing and especially of countering radicalisation to extremist views, these structures may be used to provide information for the community, to educate people on current trends of extremist organisations and their approaches to recruiting new followers, and to offer assistance in various stages of a radicalisation process, and conversely as a means for community members to pass on information to social workers or, if applicable, to security agencies to enable them to intervene in radicalisation processes, thus having the chance to help before any real threat develops or a criminal offence is actually committed.

Public-private partnerships

Special attention should be paid to cooperation with private enterprises as they can play a significant role within a local action plan. The topic of public-private partnerships in preventing and countering violent or violence-promoting extremism has to be viewed with two points in mind:

One: Private enterprises as commercial partners in state-run or state-led PVE or CVE activities. Private enterprises and organisations are very often employed in governmental activities to prevent or counter radicalisation processes, covering the entire range from (assistance in) strategy development through consulting and mediation to first-line fieldwork in education, counselling, or even direct deradicalisation.

Two: Talking about resilience, private enterprises have to be considered as partners of governmental actors to empower them to play an active role when confronted with possible incidents of radicalisation.

The exact form of cooperation in this field has to be tailored to the specific situation in any city, but may include:

- **raising awareness** about political and religious extremism;
- **informing** about radicalisation;
- **advising** on possible help capabilities;
- **encouraging** the playing of an active role in community well-being; and
- **acknowledging** the efforts made by commercial actors.

So whether private enterprises are part of the picture as commercial partners in governmental activities or as addressees of a specialised kind of outreach, cooperation and respect, it is key to ensure that they support the overall effort in countering violent or violence-promoting extremism.

Conclusions

So what are the lessons to draw from these considerations? The most important conclusions result into the following three findings.

First of all it is both evident and necessary to view the task of countering violent or violence-promoting extremism not only as the responsibility of security agencies, but as a societal challenge to include many state and non-state actors and stakeholders. It is a complex task that includes many actors at the local, regional, national, and even international levels. Therefore building resilience against violent or violence-promoting extremism has to be seen as a local challenge with strong ties to other cities, and implications for society on a wider scale.

Secondly, due to the complexity of the task and the plurality of actors and stakeholders, preventing and countering violent or violence-promoting extremism cannot be conducted in a centralised top-down manner, especially not as a security-driven effort. The necessary prerequisite for a successful concept is an inspired and willing multi-agency approach in which all actors understand and fully accept and pursue their respective role in the overall approach.

Thirdly, to provide for a truly joint effort, this holistic approach's multitude of endeavours has to be orchestrated by a local CVE coordinator entrusted to ensure optimal cooperation and collaboration between the agencies and other governmental and non-governmental actors involved.

Furthermore, regional and national CVE coordinating hubs should take care of a timely and non-bureaucratic exchange between these local CVE coordinators, ideally as part of an overarching national strategy on countering violent extremism.

Recommendations

So what consequences result from these conclusions? The following policy recommendations address decision-makers in the field of CVE both in governmental and parliamentary positions to indicate areas of potential improvement of already ongoing efforts, or of possible new approaches to enhance public security – at the local as well as at the regional and national levels.

- To improve cities' resilience against violent or violence-promoting extremism, the city should pursue a holistic approach, integrating state actors at the local, the regional, and the national levels, as well as including non-governmental stakeholders in a joint strategy tailored to the specific needs of the community.
- This strategy should take into consideration the lessons learned (both good practices and less successful approaches) in other communities, ideally integrated into a national CVE strategy.
- The governmental part of the local strategy should be viewed as a multi-agency approach: not directed by one branch of the government, but effectively tying in all activities of agencies at the local, the regional, and the national levels, each within their respective areas of responsibility.
  However, to ensure optimal cooperation and collaboration as well as the focused use of – more often than not limited – resources, these activities should be coordinated through a local CVE coordinator. The CVE coordinator should serve as the main (but not exclusive!) point of contact for the outreach to non-governmental partners.
- To provide for quick sharing of experiences, it is advisable to establish corresponding CVE coordination positions at the regional and national levels to act as information-sharing hubs.

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PREVENTING VIOLENT RADICALISATION: PROGRAMME DESIGN AND EVALUATION

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Introduction

One of the most severe problems faced by programmes designed to prevent violent radicalisation and extremism (PVE) is the question of how to show and ensure a positive impact according to the programmes' goals. Attempts to suggest comprehensive evaluation tools for deradicalisation programmes coming from academia (e.g., Horgan & Braddock, 2010; Romaniuk & Fink, 2012; Williams & Kleinman, 2013) have not found their way into wide-scale practical implementation so far.

Nevertheless, without the development of methods to evaluate PVE programmes and to standardise programme design,[1] the field is inevitably bound to remain fragmented, confronted with suspected inefficiencies, failure, or misconduct. Akin to any other complex social problem, terrorism and counter-radicalisation must be subjected to scrutiny to avoid backlash or waste of resources. Governments, practitioners and researchers need to be able to compare and differentiate programmes according to their type, goals and methods, but also their impact, proficiency and skills, in order to develop true "good practices", to design and build new programmes based on well-established principles, and to improve existing programmes regarding identified mistakes or insufficiencies.

Of course, it would be naïve to propose that a "one-size-fits-all" solution could be developed for every country, target group and context. Differences in political cultures, ideologies, structure of terrorist groups, legal frameworks, religion and available resources need to be incorporated into every programme design. Sometimes the transfer of one specific programme from one community to another in the same country can prove to be highly problematic. Depending on how context specific the programme design was made, it might even be entirely impossible to copy the approach elsewhere. In general, one needs to differentiate between the types of PVE programmes, the political context, and the goals of each initiative (Koehler, 2016).

This chapter will discuss several key questions related to evaluation, standards and impact assessment of PVE programmes and potential ways forward to help design high-quality programmes.

[1]. PVE programmes can be defined as programmes designed to prevent recruitment and radicalisation into violent extremism leading to terrorist actions. These programmes can address individuals or groups not at risk of violent radicalisation (primary or general prevention, resilience building), or those already considered to be at risk or in the early stages of a violent radicalisation process (secondary or specific prevention, early intervention). Deradicalisation programmes are usually not counted among PVE efforts, but rather belong to CVE (countering violent extremism) methods. For this chapter, however, deradicalisation and PVE are seen as closely connected and related activities.

Problem I: Defining impact and showing effect

Defining impact for PVE programmes can be one of the most difficult and complex tasks involved in designing and conducting these activities. A key scientific problem is to prove the causality between an intervention and a non-event, i.e. the successful prevention of violent radicalisation. In this sense, the intervention provider presumes a) that the participant was at risk of violent radicalisation and b) would have radicalised without the intervention. Both assumptions are much contested and essentially impossible to scientifically verify.

In addition, if deradicalisation programmes are included in the PVE framework – in the sense that they prevent recidivism into violent extremism – we face equally difficult problems to define impact. In the narrow definition of the concept, deradicalisation focuses on an individual psychological or ideological change away from condoning violent extremism (Clubb, 2015; Horgan, 2008), a process that is essentially not measurable with the necessary accuracy to speak of a success.

Nevertheless, as a consequence of the difficulty assessing an individual's change of mind or the non-event prevented by an intervention, evaluators and designers of PVE programmes have tried to identify other effects that are more measurable and verifiable.

Problem II: Recidivism and quasi-experimental designs

By far the most widely used metric to show the success of PVE and deradicalisation programmes is the rate of recidivism of graduates back into terrorism, violence, or criminal activity in general. Most programmes claim high success rates based on low percentages of recidivism (e.g., Horgan & Braddock, 2010). Most notably, the programmes in Saudi Arabia and Singapore have claimed 90%–100% rates of success (ibid.), although some high-level cases are known of programme graduates becoming active terrorists again. Practical questions regarding measuring recidivism, such as the validity of statistics, effective monitoring systems for programme graduates, as well as how to define recidivism, usually remain unanswered. More problematic, however, is the value of recidivism as a measurement of success. As the base rate of terrorist recidivism is unknown, it is hence questionable to use certain numbers as proof of success (Mullins, 2010: 174). Existing studies for example suggest much lower recidivism rates amongst imprisoned terrorists compared with "ordinary" criminals: "overall less than five percent of all released terrorist prisoners will be re-convicted for involvement in terrorist related activity" (Silke, 2014: 111). If so, these PVE and deradicalisation programmes might claim false positives (i.e., claims of an effect that does not actually exist) based on the naturally low recidivism rate of terrorists.

As a way to effectively evaluate PVE and deradicalisation programmes, the question of experimental and quasi-experimental research designs was discussed in the literature (e.g.,Williams, 2016), as this approach is widely seen as the "gold standard" of evaluations. However, there are a number of reasons against applying experimental or quasi-experimental evaluation designs to PVE and deradicalisation programmes. First, and arguably most

importantly, it would be ethically impossible to consciously risk a control group of clients radicalising into terrorism and violent extremism. Even beyond the moral costs of such an approach, the potential economic costs (e.g., loss of life, damage to property) by someone who could have been deradicalised but was put in the control group and conducted a terrorist attack cannot and should not be factored in as "collateral damage". Second, as deradicalisation processes are so individual and subject to various external and subjective influences, it might be argued that it is simply impossible to find a control group sharing all relevant characteristics of the treatment group in order to make a meaningful comparison. Third, control of the experiment for all relevant variables over a long period might be impossible to achieve, raising questions about the validity of the outcomes. As an alternative to experiments, the use of randomised treatment was suggested as a quasi-experimental evaluation design (e.g., Mastroe & Szmania, 2016), and indeed this approach was tested out in the field with encouraging results regarding the rehabilitation and reintegration programme for Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka (Kruglanski, Gelfand, Bélanger, Gunaratna, & Hettiarachchi, 2014). It seems that this evaluation approach is only limited by the available resources, data access and – most importantly – the availability of equally structured treatment groups. In practice, however, it might prove difficult or even impossible to find such near perfect conditions for this kind of evaluation again outside of Sri Lanka.

Problems of measuring impact and potential solutions

Nevertheless, the public perception of the "success" or "failure" of any PVE or deradicalisation programme will continue to be based mostly on the recidivism of its graduates. In addition, much higher expectation is placed on these programmes to achieve exceptionally low rates of recidivism than on rehabilitation programmes for "ordinary" offenders. This is because even small numbers of graduates out of thousands of those who are fully deradicalised and prevented from radicalising into violent extremism can inflict potentially devastating damage and be considered to prove the total failure of the respective programme in the eyes of the general public.

Formal evaluations

In the field of PVE and deradicalisation, some experts have suggested specific methods and approaches to evaluating these initiatives. One of the first was published by Horgan and Braddock (2010) and applies "Multi-Attribute Utility Technology" (MAUT) to the field of terrorism risk reduction programmes. Recognising formal comparisons and systematic efforts to evaluate claimed successes despite different cultural and political characteristics, Horgan and Braddock chose MAUT as the most effective tool to facilitate the identifying and weighing of the goals and objectives held by the programme's stakeholders, as well as the assessment of how far these goals are being met. MAUT operates basically by identifying the stakeholders of a PVE or deradicalisation programme and constructing a "value tree" after the object and functions of the evaluation have been set. Stakeholders will be included in the grading of the standardised "value tree", which is a list of those objectives the programme should fulfil for

the respective stakeholders, whereby the assessment and grading of the values is conducted relative to the importance assigned (ration weighting: Horgan & Braddock, 2010: 282–284).

A second approach, designed by Williams and Kleinman (2013), focuses on already existing and fully functioning programmes. Pointing out severe problems involved in evaluating PVE and deradicalisation programmes, the authors also discussed another complication with the measurement of recidivism as a success factor: "[S]hould success be measured by an absolute value (e.g., ten incidents of post-detainment terrorism engagement per year), the percentage of such engagement for a given year, or change over time (e.g., a 10% reduction of post-detainment terrorism engagement compared to the previous year)?" (Williams & Kleinman, 2013: 104). Another question is if the programme should be assessed by its effects on the whole target group or only the participants. In conclusion, Williams and Kleinman also advocate for the stakeholders' responsibility to decide which measures and characteristics of success are important to them. Hence, identifying and consulting the stakeholders, selection of the evaluation personnel, and defining the problem and evaluation goals are the first steps in their approach. Furthermore, especially relevant for the overall evaluation is the programme's theory of change or, in other words, the theoretical foundations needed to understand its mechanisms and characteristics. After choosing the appropriate method, the authors suggest identifying benchmarks, comparison groups, and conducting quasi-experimental designs, such as randomised treatment.

A third approach was suggested by Romaniuk and Fink (2012) under the umbrella of multi-dimensional, vertical (specifically for deradicalisation programmes, assessing them from inception to outcome), and horizontal evaluations. They also stress the importance of stakeholder engagement and the collection of baseline data to conduct a before-and-after comparison.

Although these three models represent comparatively detailed and sophisticated approaches to evaluating (and designing) PVE and deradicalisation programmes, rarely has any attempt to implement them in practice been made. However, as long as no independent and widely recognised standards and definitions in this field exist, effective in-depth evaluations and structured designing of PVE programmes will remain very limited.

A first step to achieving that gold standard would be to assess the programme's integrity through a checklist, as suggested by Koehler (2016, 2017), based on the Correctional Programme Checklist (Latessa, 2013).[2] Elements such as staff training, leadership, assessment protocols, risk-need-responsivity matching, and the quality of the programme manual are the basic elements on which any PVE or deradicalisation programme should be assessed and which should be considered in the programme design upfront. If these initiatives do not uphold the fundamental standards of integrity – including transparency – they cannot be expected to have a high chance of impact, however defined. A second step towards evaluation implementation is to raise awareness that ill-designed, flawed, and non-evaluated PVE and deradicalisation programmes are not only a waste of resources, but, more importantly,

a significant security risk for the communities and countries conducting them. Without proper evaluation, the identification of potential backfiring mechanisms might create even more violent radicalisation and harmful behaviour than without the programme. Failed PVE programmes will, in addition, not only create high security risks, but also damage populations' trust in non-kinetic soft approaches against radicalisation, fuelling public demand for a return to repression-only policies.

Organisational aspects: Structural integrity as a key assessment tool

As a main alternative to such evaluation approaches focusing on metrics and effect measurement (impact evaluation) and those looking at internal process efficiency (process evaluation), a third evaluation technique might be more helpful in assessing a PVE or deradicalisation programme's "value" and fostering effective structured development of these programmes in the first place: structural integrity evaluation. Based on the premise that direct measurable impacts of a PVE or deradicalisation programme are either a) difficult to access (data collection problem, lack of control group, ethical issues), b) difficult to causally connect to the programme (causality problem), or c) difficult to interpret (e.g., recidivism without base rates) the best way to assess a programme's *chance of impact* might be through evaluating and validating the programme's structural integrity, which includes clearly defined elements that can easily be measured, verified and compared (e.g., level of staff training, programme's theory of change, methodological rigour, quality of programme procedures).

The first guide on structural integrity in CVE/PVE was designed in 2011 when experts from the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) and the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT) in The Hague developed the "Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders" for prison-based deradicalisation programmes. Consisting of 25 core principles of organisational and political integrity designed to ensure effectiveness – defined as low rates of recidivism (Stone, 2015) – the Rome Memorandum focuses on four core ideas: the importance of clearly defined goals and objectives; high prison standards regarding treatment, setting and observation of human rights; the inclusion of multiple different actors (e.g., experts from different fields, communities, families, law enforcement, civil society, former extremists); and comprehensive reintegration and after-care components. The Rome Memorandum was adopted by all 30 member states of the Global Counterterrorism Forum.

Several key points of the Rome Memorandum need to be highlighted separately here. First, it is recommended to develop and implement effective intake, assessment and classification systems, as well as continuous monitoring (Stone, 2015: 227). Due to the fact that most PVE and deradicalisation programmes do not possess or conduct adequate intake classification and risk assessments, it is difficult to later evaluate the programmes' effectiveness in reaching specific sub-populations, such as highly radicalised extremists. In addition, security-related aspects become especially relevant, as many programmes are not able to allocate specific resources or methods to those participants with the highest need and risk

of recidivism. Second, the Rome Memorandum recognises the importance of intelligence for counter-terrorism won through interrogating detainees undergoing rehabilitation. However, the memorandum stresses the importance of specialised training and caution for law enforcement officers to avoid interfering with the rehabilitation process. Third, the framework places great importance on the inclusion of multiple actors, as well as specific components, such as vocational training, cognitive skills, and protective measures against the retaliation of the former group. Based on its content, the Rome Memorandum is a milestone for establishing good practices and a comprehensive code of conduct in the field of prison-based rehabilitation. However, its implementation has not been a high priority for many states.

Furthermore, regarding the operational aspects of an effective PVE or deradicalisation programme, it is again necessary to borrow from criminology, where the so-called Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model is widely accepted as a core mechanism of organisational integrity (Mullins, 2010). This model suggests that curative or rehabilitative organisations and programmes should be able to focus their resources on those participants with the highest risk (Risk), designed to address the individual's motivations for offending or radicalising (Need), and maximise social learning (Responsivity). A long history of penological and criminological research has established these three basic organisational mechanisms as highly relevant for ensuring positive outcomes (Dean, 2014). In addition, it was suggested by Mullins (2010: 178) that cognitive-behavioural interventions (focus on rewarding appropriate behaviour, behavioural practice and role play, addressing pro-criminal attitudes, enhancing relevant cognitive skills) and interpersonally sensitive approaches would be most likely to have the desired positive effect.

Structural integrity evaluation has so far not been suggested to be used with deradicalisation programmes other than by the author (Koehler, 2017). In a handbook on quality standards for CVE programmes written for the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of the Interior, Digitisation and Migration the author identified 64 structural variables from six different fields (running and developing the programme; organisation; participant classification; care and advisory services; quality assurance; and transparency). Each variable can be easily measured and evaluated, given that the preferable minimum standards have been formulated by the stakeholders beforehand (Koehler, 2017). This evaluation design involves three parties: a) the standard setting party (usually the funder of the programme or other stakeholders), b) the standard implementing party (i.e. the PVE programme), and c) the standard evaluating party (typically an external academic institution tasked with conducting the structural evaluation based on the previously set quality standards). Again it must be stressed that this approach does not primarily look to find the measurable impacts of the programme as such – a longitudinal in-depth study would arguably take up significantly more resources and time and still struggle with the problems identified above.

Conclusion

Summing up the above-detailed approaches and factors typically cited in the evaluation literature and those studies focusing on impact assessment for PVE and deradicalisation programmes, it must be concluded that both main types of evaluations, i.e., impact and process evaluation, are unlikely to produce valuable and usable results. With the

existing lack of access to programme data, ethical problems, resource restrictions and multiple methodological concerns, structural integrity evaluations present a much more efficient and feasible way to assess the organisational quality of PVE and deradicalisation programmes and provide practitioners and policymakers with guidelines to design high quality programmes.

Since it was argued that social programmes are highly likely to have "delayed, diffuse, and subtle effects" (Donaldson, 2003: 126) – and PVE as well as deradicalisation programmes are no exception – evaluation attempts to showcase how measurable and meaningful effects and impacts are equally likely to fail and produce confusion regarding the value and quality of certain programmes. In consequence, focusing on structural integrity seems to be the most adequate way to assess a PVE and deradicalisation programme's quality and chance of impact. In addition, PVE programme design should – and in fact can – follow structured and systematic guidelines without constraining or contradicting the context-specific and individual nature of violent radicalisation and prevention work. Structural integrity approaches do not define the content – "how" to do it – but rather "what" needs to be included. Adaption to the context through qualitative content generation and definition of terms must still be done by the key stakeholders and practitioners. However, a guided and evidence-based systematic approach to designing PVE programmes allows every stakeholder to more effectively decide what the goals and mode of operation should be and which key practical questions must be answered upfront.

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LOCAL STRATEGY: ELEMENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE LOCAL ACTION PLAN TO PREVENT RADICALISATION AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM[1]

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At-risk individuals who radicalise and become violent extremists or terrorists do so for diverse reasons and through different pathways. They do, however, all live locally and interact with the local community, organisations and perhaps extremist milieus embedded within some local communities. The fact that someone might be in the process of radicalising can best be detected by the (professional) persons in the direct vicinity of him or her and can also best be influenced by those around him or her. This means that at local level – close to those who might be susceptible to radicalisation and close to their peers and relatives – early detection and prevention of radicalisation can be most effective. It is therefore crucial that detection, prevention and interventions are carried out at the local level.

Most countries are aware of this fact and have a national countering violent extremism (CVE) strategy. In most countries, this national strategy provides an outline for local or regional CVE strategy and actions. In one way or another the CVE strategy will have to be translated into actions at the local or regional level. The local level is the domain of the first-line practitioners like youth workers, community police officers, teachers, family support workers, health professionals and exit workers and local or regional authorities. They all carry out their work close to persons who might radicalise or who are radicalised, and close to the peers and relatives of the possibly radicalised person.

The preventive approach (detecting and intervening) needs to be tailored to the needs of the person who is susceptible/vulnerable to violent extremism in his or her local setting. This means different local or regional organisations like youth workers, family support services, schools and community police with different expertise are needed. They all form part of the strategy. This means multi-agency cooperation. The coordination of this multi-agency work can best be carried out by the local authorities. They can form the linking pin between the practitioners' organisations and can develop the needed framework and strategy for this multi-agency cooperation.

Often the coordination of these local frontline practitioners is a major challenge for sustained and effective prevention work. How does one cooperate efficiently when there are different mandates, missions and confidentiality barriers between government agencies? How can we

establish trust in information-sharing, and structure and coordinate efforts? Similarly, what methods exist across different intervention levels of general prevention, with at-risk individuals and those who have already become violent extremists? How can we most effectively engage with local communities and civil society organisations on the issue of radicalisation and violent extremism? An effective local prevention strategy is possible when all the necessary actors from local government and civil society are operating closely together within a specific framework towards a shared goal. To create this situation a local strategy/local action plan must be developed. A lot of regions, cities and municipalities within the European Union have done so or are in the process of doing this.

Every local or regional CVE strategy is developed within the national context and organisational and political setting and should be tailored to the local context and demographics. Due to these differing situations, a one-size fits all blueprint for a local strategy is neither possible nor worth pursuing. There are however common features or elements which should be part of any successful local CVE strategy plan. Several of these elements have been discussed within the RAN LOCAL working group and are described in the RAN Policy Paper "Developing a local prevent framework and guiding principles" from November 2016.

This article gives a brief description of five common elements which should be part of any local or regional CVE strategy plan:

• Local/regional analyses
• CVE strategy and goals
• Definitions
• Conditions for multi-agency cooperation
• Description of interventions.

Local/regional analyses

Before drafting the actual local action plan, an analysis of the local context should be made. Every local setting has its own history and setting and possible violent extremist groups or specific at-risk groups with affiliations to extremist or terrorist groups within their local community. These may be violent left-wing, right-wing, animal rights or religiously inspired groups. The analyses should also encompass the socioeconomic characteristics (demographics) of the population in the region, city or municipality as well as facts such as the number of migrants in a community since 2015, historical affiliations within left-wing groups or persons from the local community travelling to Syria and Iraq to join Daesh. The depicting of the local context will automatically lead to assumptions and reasoning about why a local CVE strategy is needed and why emphasis within the local CVE strategy is on certain aspects. The analyses of the local setting will form the basis and reasoning behind the local CVE strategy.

CVE strategy and goals

Alongside the description of the local context and demographics, the local CVE strategy should also provide insight into the beliefs behind the strategy. Why is it important in this context to prevent radicalisation

and violent extremism, and who within the local community should be protected (for example the youth against recruitment, society against radicalised persons or polarisation, etc.)? And how does the preventive approach fit within the local, regional or national setting? This not only provides the several partners needed in local CVE with a framework to jointly work together towards the same shared prevention goals, it also provides the local community with information about the local CVE strategy which they might be able to relate to.

The "beliefs" behind the CVE strategy are mostly a political matter and should be decided on and developed with the political representatives (mayor, prefect or leader of the local council). It might be a challenge to get this political support but investing in it is crucial. Without political support funding for the local strategy and most importantly the interventions can be hard. This RAN Paper gives an overview of tips on how to get political support from local coordinators.

Definitions

Working with multiple organisations within the same framework towards shared goals will benefit from a set of shared definitions. What are the definitions of radicalisation, violent extremism and polarisation, for example? Also, clarification should be made of the different types of radicalisation and extremism that exist in order to ensure that one type of radicalisation (mostly religiously inspired) is not singled out and becomes the focus of a strategy that was meant to also include all types of radicalisation.

Conditions for multi-agency cooperation

The four most important conditions for multi-agency cooperation are shared goals, working arrangements on information-sharing, situational awareness and knowledge about the mandates and work processes of partners, and a coordinator who functions as a point of contact for all organisations. Within the local strategy plan these four conditions should be addressed.

Shared Goals

The shared goals on a general level should be described in the beliefs or introduction part of the strategy. The sub-goals can be described when listing the interventions that may be carried out by the partners of the multi-agency cooperation. It should be part of the working process that at the beginning persons or projects clarify which of the general goals of the strategy this specific project or intervention is working towards and if possible also define the sub-goals within this. Each year the goals should be discussed with all stakeholders and if necessary adjusted.

Information-sharing

To be able to discuss tailored interventions and actions regarding targeted persons it is crucial to be able to share information between employees of organisations about the at-risk or radicalised person and

his or her environment. Most organisations are not easily allowed to share information about persons. One of the biggest challenges of multi-agency work is therefore the accurate sharing of information between the involved partners. To make information sharing possible a framework, an agreement and working arrangements are necessary. An information sharing protocol where these three elements are sorted out and regulated is key. In most cities or municipalities information sharing protocols between organisations already exist. Use these as examples.

Partner Awareness

In the strategy plan there should be a description of all partners involved in the local effort to prevent radicalisation and counter violent extremism. For each partner a description should be made of their specific role, mandate and task regarding the prevention of radicalisation. It is best to develop this part of the strategy plan together with all needed partners. This provides valuable insights into each other's working processes, mandates and possibilities. The involved organisations should decide together whether this part of the strategy plan will be published or not. It is however a crucial condition for effective multi-agency cooperation that the organisations have knowledge of each other's mandates, tasks and role within the local prevention strategy. This RAN Paper contains some insights on how to facilitate cooperation between the local municipality and police.

Coordination

Multi-agency cooperation needs coordination. Only one partner in the cooperation can be the coordinator. The coordinator should be able to count on the acceptance of their coordinating role by the partners. Also, the process of making the cooperation possible – the general working arrangements – should be overseen by the coordinator. The description of the process of cooperation should be part of the (internal) local strategy plan. For example, the working process of the meetings to discuss specific interventions should be described and coordinated by the coordinator. For example, the frequency of these meetings, who takes part in them and what mandate the representatives of the organisations need when taking part should be made clear beforehand.

Another challenge which needs to be faced by the coordinator is the creation of a network within the local or regional setting to be able to cooperate jointly and effectively. In this network the governmental organisations such as police, social services or health organisations and NGOs and civil society should be represented. This RAN Paper contains a description of how local networks can be developed.
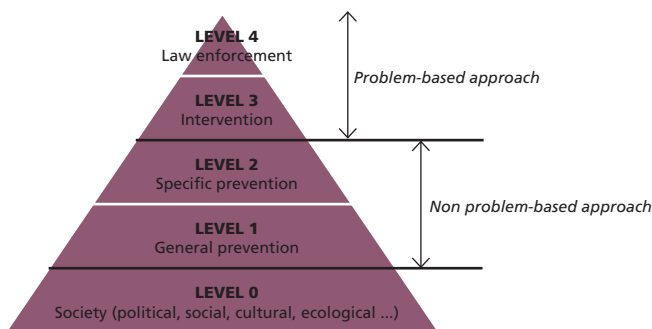
Interventions

Finally a general overview of the interventions that will be used to prevent radicalisation or counter violent extremism should be part of the local CVE strategy plan.

Local or regional authorities can overlook and facilitate the local CVE interventions and actions. As coordinator, they have the capacity and position to overlook what is needed on a local level and how to structure the different projects and initiatives within the local strategy. This facilitates the local organisations and NGOs in developing interventions and taking their responsibility or role in the CVE strategy.

To be able to overlook the interventions and actions these interventions should be analysed and put into the local context with each other. It should be asked, for example, who the target audience for the intervention is, what it aims at, and whether it is a specific intervention or a more general one. Most municipal strategies or action plans operate with a so-called prevention triangle which categorises prevention across different intervention levels. An example of a model to work with is Johan Deklerck's prevention pyramid.

Deklerck's pyramid is used for preventive actions in schools but can be used to rank local preventive actions as well. Deklerck defines 5 types of preventive levels on which actions can take place. The actions can range from very early prevention to law enforcement.

Figure 1 Prevention Pyramid Johan Deklerck

The interventions carried out within the local or regional setting should be categorised before they start. It is important to realise what the aim of the intervention is and whether it is problem-based or non-problem-based prevention. The description of the levels helps the categorising of the interventions.

Level 0 Society: The national and global status quo and development are not something you can greatly influence from the local level. However, you can take stock of what is happening on a national or even worldwide level and how this might affect the local situation (for example the migration crisis or the rise of Daesh). It is good to know who you need to contact if a national crisis affects your local situation, where you can get information, and invest in useful contacts outside your local framework.

Level 1 General prevention: The local habitat and culture impact on the actions of the inhabitants of the city/town/region. If people feel safe and included most of them will engage with their (local) environment in a positive way and be more resilient against polarising views. Actions

2. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/ sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/ networks/radicalisation_awareness_ network/about-ran/ ran-local/docs/ex_post_ran_local_ athens_23-24_05_2016_en.pdf

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taken by the local authorities with positive messages, training in skills and knowledge of professionals and general inclusiveness interventions can be seen as actions at the general prevention level.

Level 2 Specific prevention: Actions that target specific possible problems in order to prevent them. For example, anti-discrimination campaigns, awareness-raising about possible radicalisation among the youth or the dangers of violent extremism.

Level 3 Intervention: Actions targeting a specific situation, or targeting one or more specified persons. For example, talking to family members of a right-wing radicalised young man or teaming up with the community against possible recruitment for Daesh around the local mosque.

Level 4 Law enforcement: Law enforcement can prevent the actual planned criminal act to happen if they can come into action before the act is carried out.

In addition to the general framework of the interventions, the local CVE strategy plan could encompass a list of the standard interventions possible within the local or regional setting. This could for example mean a list of mentoring, family support, youth work, mental health and exit support interventions.

These five elements should be part of the local or regional CVE strategy in some form alongside other elements needed or appropriate within the local context.

Once the local CVE strategy is developed and agreed upon the actual work takes place. An effective way to kick off the actual multi-agency cooperation after the local CVE strategy plan is drafted is to plan an annual project. Especially in the first year after the development of the strategy this can be of huge benefit to the partners needed in the local preventive approach. A project with clear goals and steps will streamline the focus of all partners.

To conclude, the overall goal of the local or regional prevention strategy/action plan is to provide a clear mandate for prevention work and to allocate responsibility for specific intervention to individual agencies. The process of co-creation of a local strategy or action plan is inherently useful for diverse local government agencies with different mandates and responsibilities. Getting the right stakeholders around the table to discuss their individual responsibilities and mandates provides the opportunity to create a holistic approach, creating synergies of cooperation and unity of purpose. This will and should be a tailored process and strategy adaptive to the local or regional setting. However national and local governments can learn from each other's experiences and share tips and lessons. The European Union facilitates this exchange via the Radicalisation Awareness Network and in other fora.

TERRORISM AND RESILIENCE: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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The only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933.

A firecracker is set off in Turin during the Champions League Final (June 3rd 2017); the crowd thinks there has been a bomb and panics: one person dies and 1,527 are injured in the stampede. A week later an overheard conversation on an Easyjet flight from Ljubljana to London Stansted is (wrongly) interpreted by the crew as evidence of an imminent terrorist attack; diverted to Cologne for an emergency landing, nine passengers need medical treatment for injuries sustained during evacuation. A car striking pedestrians at an Eid festival celebration in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (June 25th 2017) prompts swift official clarification that this was an accident, not an attack. Local police clearly feel such apprehensions need calming, and quickly.

Governments, meanwhile, flirt conspicuously with a doctrine of inverted Rooseveltianism: the only thing to fear is not fearing enough. Above all, they must show their citizens that they are not complacent about terrorism. Since October 2015 the presidencies of France, Europol and Britain's twin intelligence services (MI5 and MI6) have *all* independently described the terrorist threat as "unprecedented". Angela Merkel's New Year message for 2017 spoke of terrorism as constituting "the biggest challenge facing Germany". Across Europe the air is thick with the sound of threat mills being heavily cranked.

Civil society, for its part, rallies the symbolic resources of civilisation. To semaphore pan-European solidarity back and forth, tourist attractions are pressed into service as anti-terrorist beacons. Thus, after the Paris massacres of November 2015, London's Wembley Stadium and National Gallery are lit with giant projections of the French Tricolour; in early June 2017 the

gesture is reciprocated as the Eiffel Tower dims its lights in solidarity after attacks in London: for its part, the Brandenburg Gate likewise carries a projection of the Union Jack, and so on. We are all Europeans now, Brexit notwithstanding.

In short, morbid symptoms abound at all levels of public life. A spectre is haunting Europe: the spectre of Islamist terrorism.

I

In this chapter, I stand back to gain historical distance on this contemporary moment. Put simply, I look at the ongoing crisis of European terrorism against a long-term backdrop. My starting point is the traditional reaction of the historian when faced with the present: *how did we get here*? And my biases are fully traditional, too. Like most historians, I am little interested in debating definitions for their own sake. Like most historians, I prefer to analyse fuzzy phenomena (such as terrorism) as operating in complex interplay with other forces. Here I simply concentrate on "terrorism" in the (anti-state) sense in which it is most commonly understood: that is, *public atrocity staged against random strangers for political effect*. Above all, I am interested in what we can learn from the past about how well European societies can be expected to ride out the current wave of violence.

From this vantage point, several points are worth stating upfront about the general context to our current predicament with Islamist terrorism. Seen in any rigorous historical comparative perspective, most citizens of western European societies live lives of material comfort and security that their 19th century forebears could never have imagined. They live better. They live longer. They live in Good Times.

Disease and epidemics now frighten more by their anticipation than by their actual incidence. Outside times of warfare, there has been no mass starvation: for the last peacetime famine, indeed, one has to go all the way back to Ireland in 1845–9. Whatever other problems they have created, post-1945 welfare regimes have managed largely to meet the basic biological needs of their populations. Heart disease and cancer now do the population-reduction work that tuberculosis and typhoid used to do: and they are generally much slower off the mark.

Rates of both industrial and domestic accidents have never been lower. This last point bears some emphasis. As one French government report of 1889 noted succinctly, "like a war, modern industry has its dead and its wounded". That was no exaggeration. Indeed, in every year of the last three years of peace before the First World War an average of 1430 British coal-miners died in accidents. The disaster at Courrières in northern France on 10 March 1901 killed 1,100 miners alone: a death toll, incidentally, that dwarfs any recent terrorist atrocity, 9/11 excepted. Road accident rates in western Europe are the lowest of any region of the world.

Socially, then, life here in the early 21st century is indisputably longer and more comfortable than ever before. It is certainly far, far safer. Karl Marx once wrote of the "idiocy" of rural life; but he never foresaw the infantilism of an urban society where one cannot buy a coffee without

being warned that it might scald. And when genuine disaster does still strike – as at Grenfell Tower in West London (June 14th 2017) – then the universal shock is palpable. Even the fire crews are recorded on their mobile phones asking each other in appalled wonder: "How is that even possible?"

So much, then, for the general context of hazard in western Europe: over 100 years life has improved beyond recognition. Sudden death as a mass phenomenon has become culturally alien. What, though, of *deliberate* threats to life? What, in short, of the long-term trajectory of political violence?

If anything, the picture of improvement here is even more striking. Contrasts with the preceding century, indeed, could hardly be starker. As a menace to the world order, the anaemic Islamic State Revolution of 2017 cannot compare to its Bolshevik counterpart in 1917. Moreover, macro-contexts in early 21st century western Europe are infinitely more benign: 13 million Europeans perished in the first Great War (of 1914–18); and perhaps another 40 million in its sequel (between 1939 and 1945). In between, another half a million were killed in the conflict in Spain between 1936 and 1939, a killing rate twice as fast as the contemporary Syrian Civil War (2011–). And from the later 1940s until the later 1980s the prospect of even greater carnage hung over all Europe. My students look stupefied when I tell them that at the age of ten I asked my father in all seriousness why we had not yet built a bunker in our back garden. In the Cambridge of 1981, surrounded by American air force bases, nuclear annihilation did not seem an entirely abstract prospect.

If the Cold War was distinctly edgy, it at least remained "cold" (for Europeans). And it did have the immeasurable benefit of driving the virtuous circle of Franco-German reconciliation; which, in turn, spread bounties of prosperity and stability across the region. Strikingly, there has been no armed confrontation between western European powers since 1977 (that is, the last of the farcical and half-hearted "Cod Wars" between Iceland and the United Kingdom). Nor have there been any coup attempts since 1981 (in Spain). Revolutions that did not follow a major defeat in war have also been unknown for a very long time indeed (since 1848–9, in fact). Even "revolutionary situations" have dried up. No barricades have appeared in any western European capital since May 1968.

Surveyed against this historical backdrop, the comparative stability of states and societies across western Europe in the early 21st century is truly remarkable, even allowing for recent excitements generated by austerity and Brexit. Equally remarkable over the long-term has been the deliberate intermeshing of national fates in the common project of building the European Union. By the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, then, western Europe had apparently come close to a final conquest of public violence: or, at least, its banishment to the very margins of visibility.

II

Yet this extraordinary achievement has had the unintended effect of magnifying the residuum of serious violence that remains in European public life: the terrorism. As far back as 1997 Conor Gearty observed that

"without any great war or massive insurgency to distract us, we have been able to indulge our anxieties about the terrorists' sporadic violence" (Gearty, 1997: 14). Twenty years on, those anxieties wax even larger; and the need to keep a wider sense of proportion is even more urgent.

We thus need to make some very basic analytical distinctions here. Such terrorist attacks – which typically come in spasms, and then fade away – are an existential threat *only* to those individuals highly unfortunate enough to be caught directly in their path. For those individuals maimed or bereaved or traumatised, the effect of such horrors may well be devastating and permanent. They deserve every support going. But societies are complex and resilient entities and their continued existence is in no way fundamentally threatened by such atrocities. It cannot be emphasised enough that

the actual danger of the new international terrorist networks to the regimes of stable states remains negligible. A few score or a few hundred victims of bombs in metropolitan transport systems in London or Madrid hardly disrupt the operational capacity of a big city for more than a matter of hours. Horrifying though the carnage of 9/11 was in New York, it left the international power of the US and its internal structures completely unaffected (Hobsbawm, 2007, 2010: 135).

There are, perhaps, vital lessons we can relearn here from the 1970s, when terrorism accounted for rather more victims across western Europe than it does today. Back then, hijackings, aircraft bombings and hostage-dramas were mesmerisingly new phenomena: the toxic fruits of a dawning age of mass air travel and satellite TV. Even so, the horrors of the day tended not to be discussed as an *existential* threat to civilisation. Any reflective person could see that they did not represent the same type of generalised threat as a nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union.

Any serious discussion of how to build European resilience against terrorism in the early 21st century similarly cannot start from the common assumption that it truly represents an existential threat to all civilised life. Against the prospect of truly existential threats, there can be no resilience: only attempts at the prevention or avoidance of final catastrophe. Resilience, understood here broadly as the ability to get public life largely back to normal, only makes sense against second-order threats. At one level, indeed, public debate needs to catch up here with spontaneous public behaviour. Despite occasional panics, the European masses still commute, fly, and go on holiday. Every such journey is a vote of confidence that existing security measures will probably work well enough. And they are (very nearly always) right.

This last point bears some emphasis. A much-quoted US Department of Justice study from 1976 remarks that "terror is a natural phenomenon; terrorism is the conscious exploitation of it" (Schmid, 2011: 39). This sounds straightforward enough; but in reality the creation of a sustained atmosphere of intimidation "from below" with very limited resources is anything but a simple matter. Carnage must be both repeated and sufficiently varied to create and maintain mass anxiety over the long haul. After all, terrorist atrocity is designed as media spectacle; and all media spectacle, by its very nature, is evanescent. This is not an easy balance to strike or sustain.

Contemporary Islamist terrorism is also notably wasteful of its own talent. For all their variation, all three of the English attacks in the early summer of 2017 fully shared one common feature: that all five of the attackers went out, apparently, with a firm death wish and absolutely no intention of coming back. Even though only the Manchester attacker, Salman Abedi, actually blew his own gangly frame into fragments, it is hard to believe the other four attackers at Westminster and Borough Market did not expect to be gunned down – as they all promptly were. Kamikaze tactics, in short, use up the most committed the quickest. They also have limited appeal – outside of truly desperate contexts such as prolonged military occupations.

Attention has focused most on the recent trend towards what has been called "the weaponisation of ordinary life" – an ugly term for an ugly phenomenon. Put simply, it refers to the use of everyday objects such as knives, trucks and cars as means of destruction. This apparent turn towards primitivism – increasingly evident since the Bastille Day truck massacre in Nice (2016) – is often interpreted as indirect evidence of counter-terrorist success: those who would build bombs if they could are instead forced to improvise. Such tactics are seen as evidence of desperation and reduced capability. The rather hopeful conclusion drawn is that this development might yet prove to be transitory.

So it may: there are fashions in terrorist tactics (as in everything else in public life). And the interpretation is not itself far-fetched: at least in accounting for the genesis of this development. But we should not be too optimistic. We are in some danger of missing the intrinsically *hybrid* nature of these attacks. Weapons may indeed seem primitive, but the way they are used directly leverages the social media revolution to maximum resonance. A rather simple van attack in central London can be relied upon to generate dramatic images of carnage simply because it can be reliably assumed that any crowded street will be full of literally hundreds of camera phones today in a way that it would not have been even 15 years ago. This tactical turn is no anachronistic throwback, in short. It belongs firmly to the present networked moment; it is unlikely to disappear soon.

And there is a much deeper danger here as well. This "weaponisation of ordinary life" dramatically lowers the bar to more-or-less spontaneous retaliation using similar means. Such tactics are, of course, inherently transferrable – they can be imitated without any training or preparation. Here the far-right vehicle attacks on identifiably Muslim crowds in both Malmö (11 June 2017) and London (19 June 2017) are genuinely disturbing because they point to the potential for tit-for-tat cycles of inter-communal violence that bypass the state entirely. Where the targeting logic is widely obvious, and where potential victim categories are easily identified, then the stage is at least potentially set for violence to generate its own momentum. Within these parameters it takes very few people to kill just enough people to scare very many people indeed: a classic small input/large output dynamic. Arguably, the potential to spark a sustained far-right backlash is amongst the most ominous features of the current crisis of Islamist terrorism.

Hence the urgent need for so-called "deradicalisation" strategies, then, to be applied across the board: to the far-right as well as Islamist sub-cultures. But we should expect no automatic miracles from the over-stretched

and heterogeneous agencies of European governments tasked with the unmaking of (potential) killers. Such strategies are never easy since, at heart, they attempt to persuade the most discontented to dream one type of dream, and not another.

And rival siren voices will always be hard to drown out entirely. Social media is the ultimate theatre of dreams. Against this most flattering of backdrops, society's also-rans and misfits walk tall as righteous avengers – of a beleaguered Christendom, or an oppressed Islamic umma, according to their own consumer choice. Suicide merely adds romantic glamour. Ever since 1774 (when Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* first sparked a fashion for self-destruction across Europe), it has been clear that suicide can be wildly appealing to the young.

III

From an historical perspective, then, how deep is our current terrorist predicament?

We must be careful not to exaggerate. All violent rebels in early 21st century European societies can operate only in the interstices of state power. Given the complexities of coordinating complex bureaucracies both within, and between, European states, these interstices may on occasion yawn far wider than is comfortable: the Brussels connections to the November 2015 massacres in Paris are a disturbing case in point. But we should not confuse lamentable security coordination with fundamental weakness. There is no terminal crisis in Europe. Neither state nor society is about to implode; although the most serious danger remains the emergence of reciprocal cycles of nativist and Islamist violence. Simple tactics are the simplest to copy, after all.

Yet, like the late 19th century anarchist threat (whose praxis it often resembles), Islamist terrorism will surely eventually fade of its own accord. Who now remembers, reveres, or reviles Santiago Salvador? Yet his bomb at the Barcelona Opera House on 7th November 1893 efficiently slaughtered more than Salman Abedi managed at Manchester Arena on the night of 22nd May 2017. Or, to choose another example, who now has heard of the dynamite bombing of the British parliament on 25th January 1885? Yet at the time *The New York Times* could declare: "All England Frightened". More recent headlines about more recent attacks from the same newspaper ("nation still reeling" – June 4th 2017) may one day seem equally quaint.

That said, we should be equally clear-eyed that this particular type of Islamist terrorism is very unlikely to fade anytime *soon*: it would be wiser to think in terms of decades, rather than months or years. Even after its disappearance, the ISIS caliphate is likely to long continue as a sort of Islamist Iliad: a legend and an inspiration for future generations about how to build the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. Thus did the Bolsheviks long revere the memory of the Paris Commune of 1871. And terrorism will most likely continue to emerge, in part, from ongoing turmoil adjacent to Europe. Whatever the future holds for Iraq/Syria, it is a safe bet that there will be no tidy endings here. A hundred years on from the fall of the Ottoman Empire the aftershocks continue to be felt far afield.

Most uncomfortably of all, though, if contemporary Islamist terrorism does not represent any existential threat *to* the survival of European civilisation, it certainly constitutes an obstinately recurrent phenomenon *within* it. Murderous ideologies encourage murder: that much is clear. But in itself this observation explains little as to why such ideas should command *any* degree of social support, however marginal. To understand the deep roots of such an appeal we need social history more than religious or intellectual history. As Olivier Roy (2017:1) observes right at the beginning of his elegant analysis of the global appeal of Islamic state: "there is something terribly modern about the jihadi terrorist violence that has unfolded in the past twenty years or so". Indeed, there is: in both the solipsism of its volunteers and the sophistication of its media manipulation, this is violence that authentically belongs to early 21st century Europe. Such a spectre cannot be easily or quickly exorcised: it is already a part of our civilisation, and of us.

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T his structural integrity checklist was originally published in the handbook "Structural quality standards for work to intervene with and counter violent extremism" by the Ministry of the Interior, Digitisation and Migration of Baden-Württemberg (Koehler, 2017). This checklist was designed to help policymakers and practitioners assess existing PVE and deradicalisation programmes' quality, to identify needs for improvement and to develop structurally sound intervention programmes from scratch. An in-depth discussion about each element and a grading scale can be found in the monograph "Understanding Deradicalization" (Koehler, 2016).

This checklist provides an evidence-based collection of structural integrity factors that need to be considered in the development of PVE and deradicalisation programmes, as well as in the assessment of existing programmes. This approach does not assess or measure the actual impact of a programme but creates the basis for maximising the chance of impact as based on a solid programme design. Based on the Correctional Programme Checklist (Latessa, 2013) this checklist can be either used to grade an existing programme's structural quality (evaluative use – each item must be graded from "weak" to "strong" to achieve a cumulative numerical scale) or to systematically develop a new programme. The following version of the checklist mainly helps to design new programmes. Each of the 64 structural items was placed within one of six main structural quality fields, which should be filled with specific content during a programme's development. It is not possible to define this content upfront, as each PVE programme must address various different contextual factors, such as, for example, political and social environment, stakeholders' goals and interests, available funding, target group, and time frame. Practitioners and policymakers are advised to seek expert involvement (both from academics and experienced PVE practitioners) to systematically discuss each item, define qualitative terms (e.g., "sufficient") and connect them to a detailed model of practical operation. It is crucial to choose the adequate PVE programme type according to goals, target group and envisioned approach (for an overview see: Koehler, 2016). After that, the checklist below guides programme developers through the key aspects of PVE programme design.

Structural elements

Running and developing a programme

- Senior management and project leaders are sufficiently trained
- Senior management and project leaders have practical experience
- Involvement in selection and training of staff
- Sufficient supervision of staff by superiors
- Senior managers have their own experience of the advisory activities
- Programme is structured on the basis of solid theory
- Thorough consultation of academic literature in the development phase
- Project in line with the current state of research
- Approach evaluated by external experts
- Inclusion of pilots
- Acceptance of the project among leading experts in the field
- Funding situation appropriate with regard to the aims
- Financial situation stable over the past two years

Organisation

- Clearly defined objectives
- Reception, documentation and categorisation system in place for new cases
- Lowest possible threshold for initial contact
- Personal point of contact for the initial contact
- Interdisciplinary team of caseworkers
- Availability of psychological expertise
- Former extremists available as advisers
- Former extremists deployed under a framework of particular quality standards
- Integration of the victim perspective
- Perspective of the local authorities included
- Specific caseworker training at a sufficient level
- Selection of personnel according to expertise, practical experience and ethical values
- Regular team meetings and case discussions
- Supervision
- Assessing personnel according to quality of their casework
- Firm methodology for risk analysis and classification of security relevance
- Firm counter-extremism mechanism (identification of radicalising factors, corresponding selection of methods, impact assessment and documentation or recalibration)

Participant classification

- Target group clearly defined and appropriate to the programme aims
- Definition and consistent application of exclusion criteria
- Performance of risk analysis
- Defined risk levels using in-house procedures
- Assured staff application of risk analysis
- Mechanism for identifying radicalising factors anchored in staff training
- Treatment methods adjusted to individual radicalising factors

- Adequate case documentation system capturing relevant case evolution
- Case documentation system enables internal and external evaluation

Care and advisory services

- Emphasis of services on individual radicalisation
- Methods for boosting cognitive capabilities applied
- Methods of general and vocational education
- Inclusion of place of residence
- Possibility of protective measures
- Intensity of treatment according to risk level
- Availability of handbook for personnel
- Caseworker-participant compatibility
- Compatibility of caseworkers and programme
- Possibility of participant feedback
- Adequate incentives for participation
- Adequate sanction mechanisms
- Negative impacts of treatment are recognised and documented
- Clear criteria for case closure
- Case closure is planned and prepared
- Follow-up
- Ratio of closed to uncompleted cases is measured
- Case monitoring post-closure
- Inclusion of affective circle of family and friends

Quality assurance

- Internal and external quality assurance in place
- Statistics on known examples of relapses
- Complete case evaluation prior to closure
- Regular external evaluations
- Critical and transparent discussion of failures

Transparency

- At the very least fulfilment of the Transparent Civil Society 10 Point Initiative

Building resilience to violent extremism has become a matter of great concern for European cities that have experienced attacks or that fear experiencing them in the future. Mayors, municipal leaders and other local authority representatives are leading efforts to empower city governments across the EU and develop pragmatic and non-ideological policies. As increasing numbers of citizens rank violent extremism as one of their top worries, urban centres have effectively become the front line of the fight against radicalisation. It is in European cities where transnational extremist threats take shape in the forms of hate speech, recruitment networks, radical cells and terrorist attacks, and it is also in European cities where evidence-based plans to counter and prevent violent extremism at local level need urgently to be devised. Cities are obvious settings in which to implement the motto "think globally and act locally".