

Radicalization and terrorism in Europe

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Radicalization

Individuals or groups **intransigent** about basic democratic values such as equality and diversity, as well as an escalating predisposition to the use of **violence** to achieve political ends that undermine democracy

[Source: Council Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA]

A process of personal commitment to a political-military struggle of ultimate **moral** order

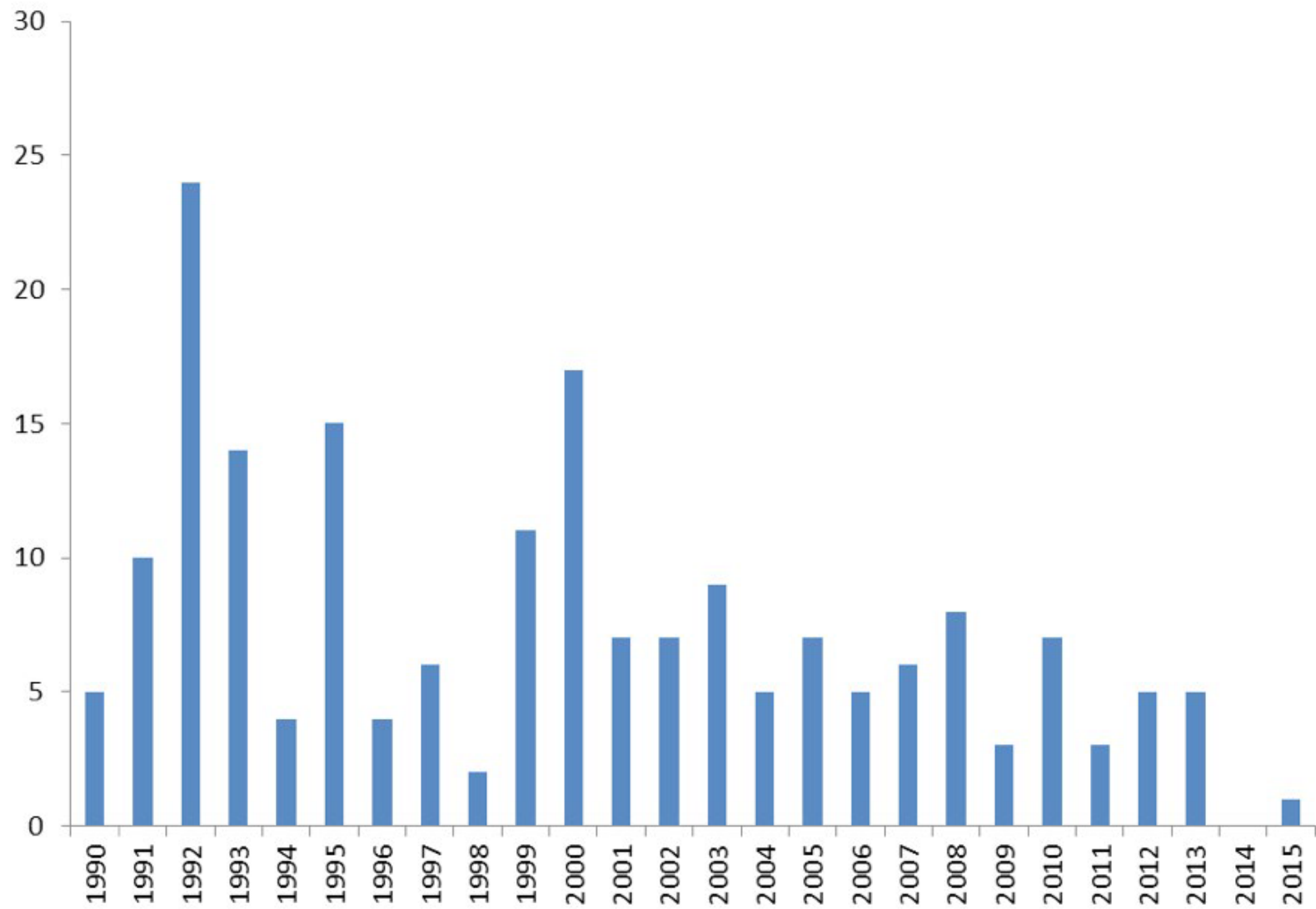
Waves of radicalism and terrorism in Europe

- The anarchist wave (1870-1920)
- The nationalist wave (1920-2010)
- The neo-Marxist wave (1960-1980)
- The fascist-racist wave (1990-today)
- The Islamist wave (1970-today)

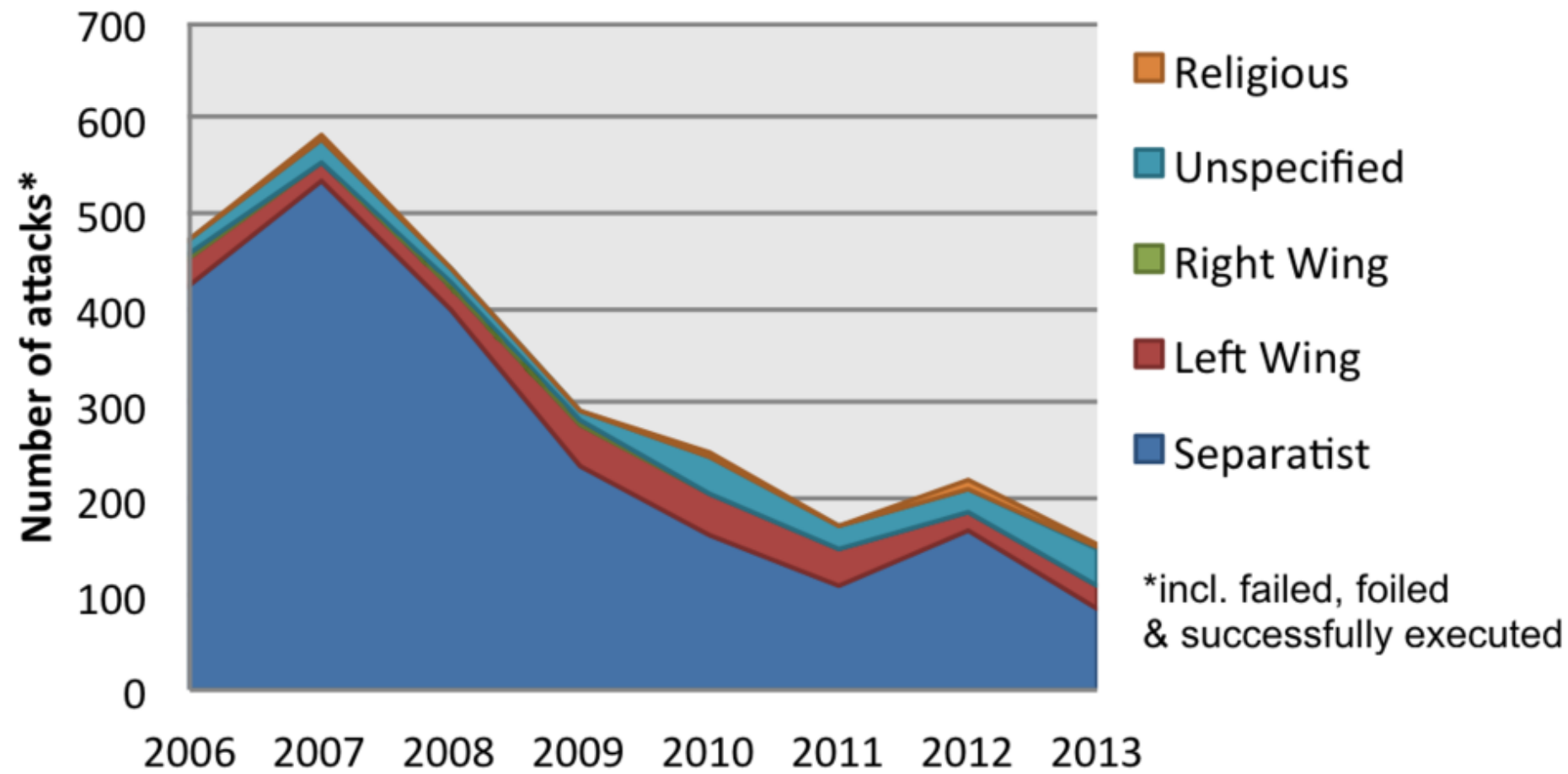
Far-left terrorist groups

- Action Directe (France 1979-1985)
- Communist Combatant Cells (Belgium 1982-1983)
- First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO Spain 1975-2006)
-
- Popular Forces 25 April (Portugal 1974-1985)
- Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof (1970-1998)
- Red Brigades (1970-1978)
- 17N (1974-2002)
- Conspiracy of Fire Cells (nihilists 2008-today)

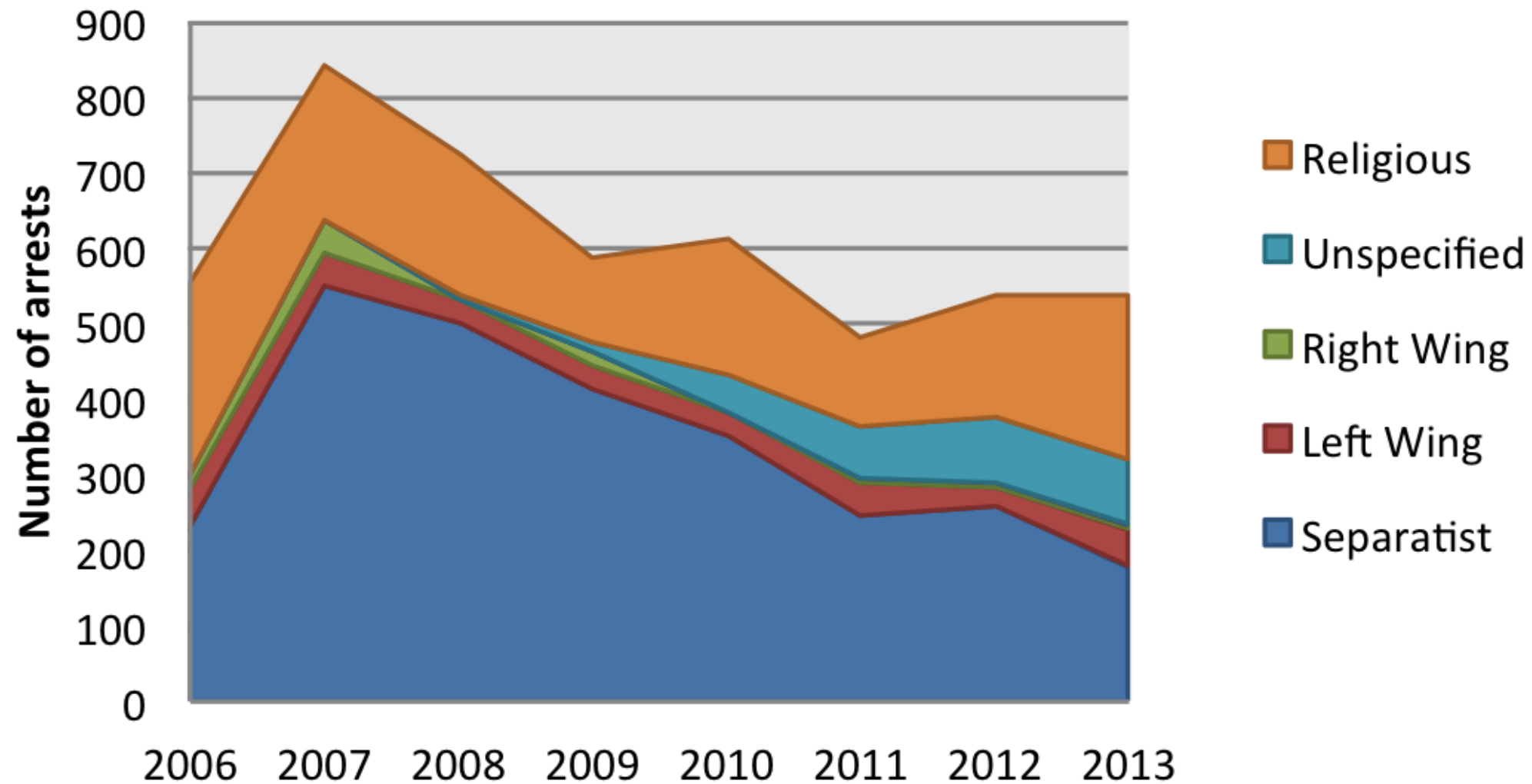
RTV murders1990-2015 (N=190)



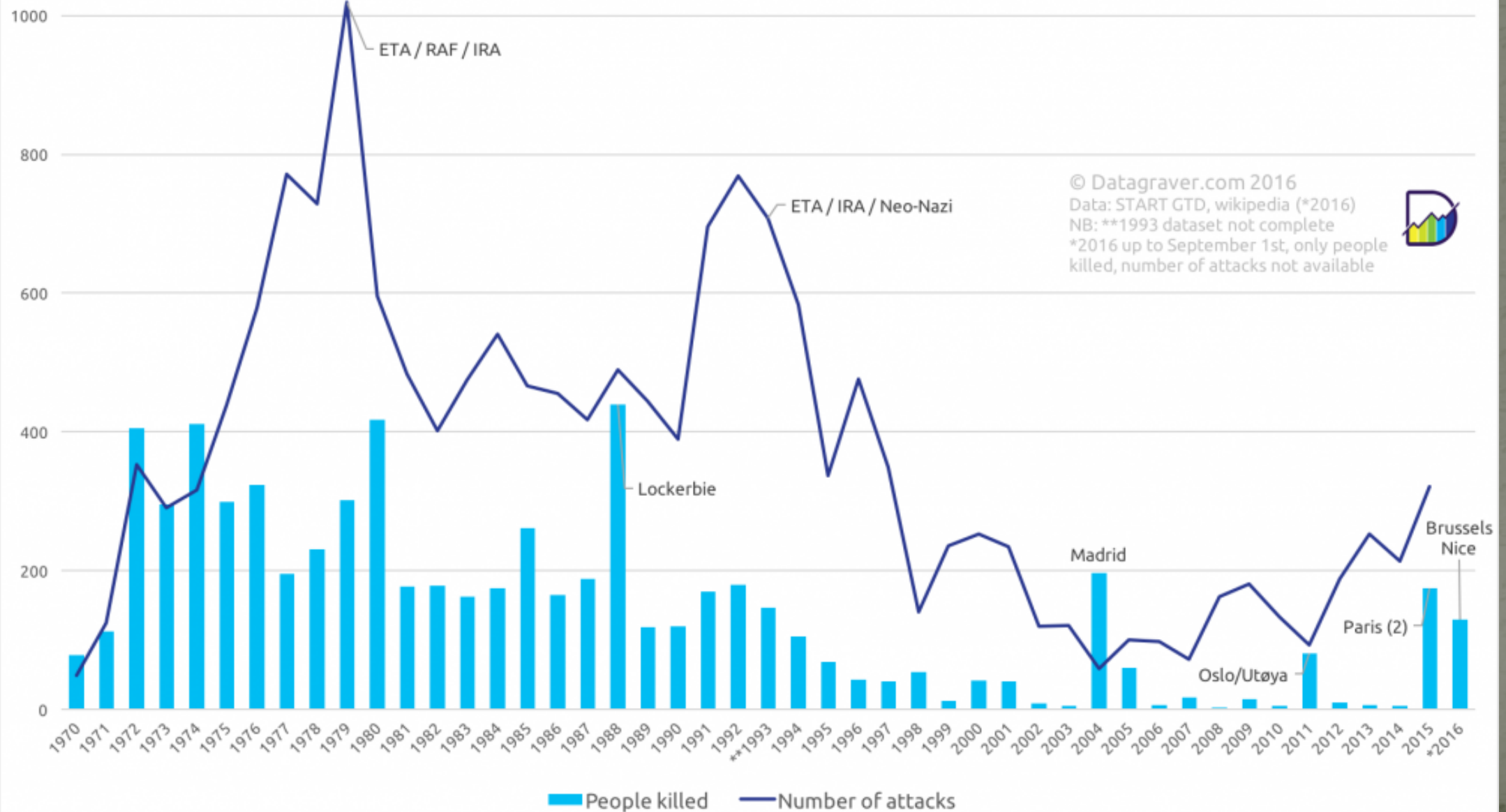
Terrorist Attacks in the EU 2006-2013



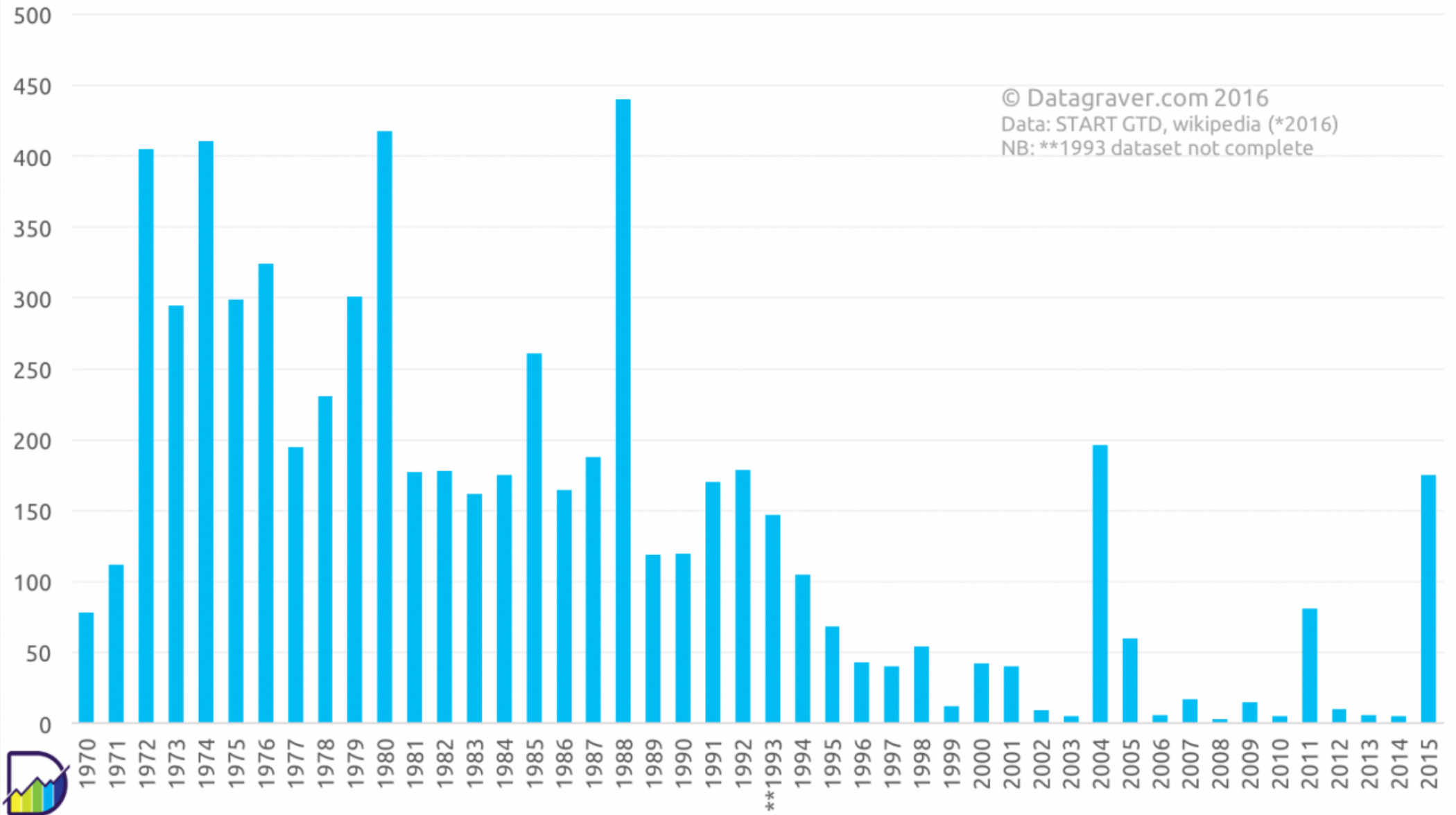
Terrorist Arrests in the EU 2006-2013



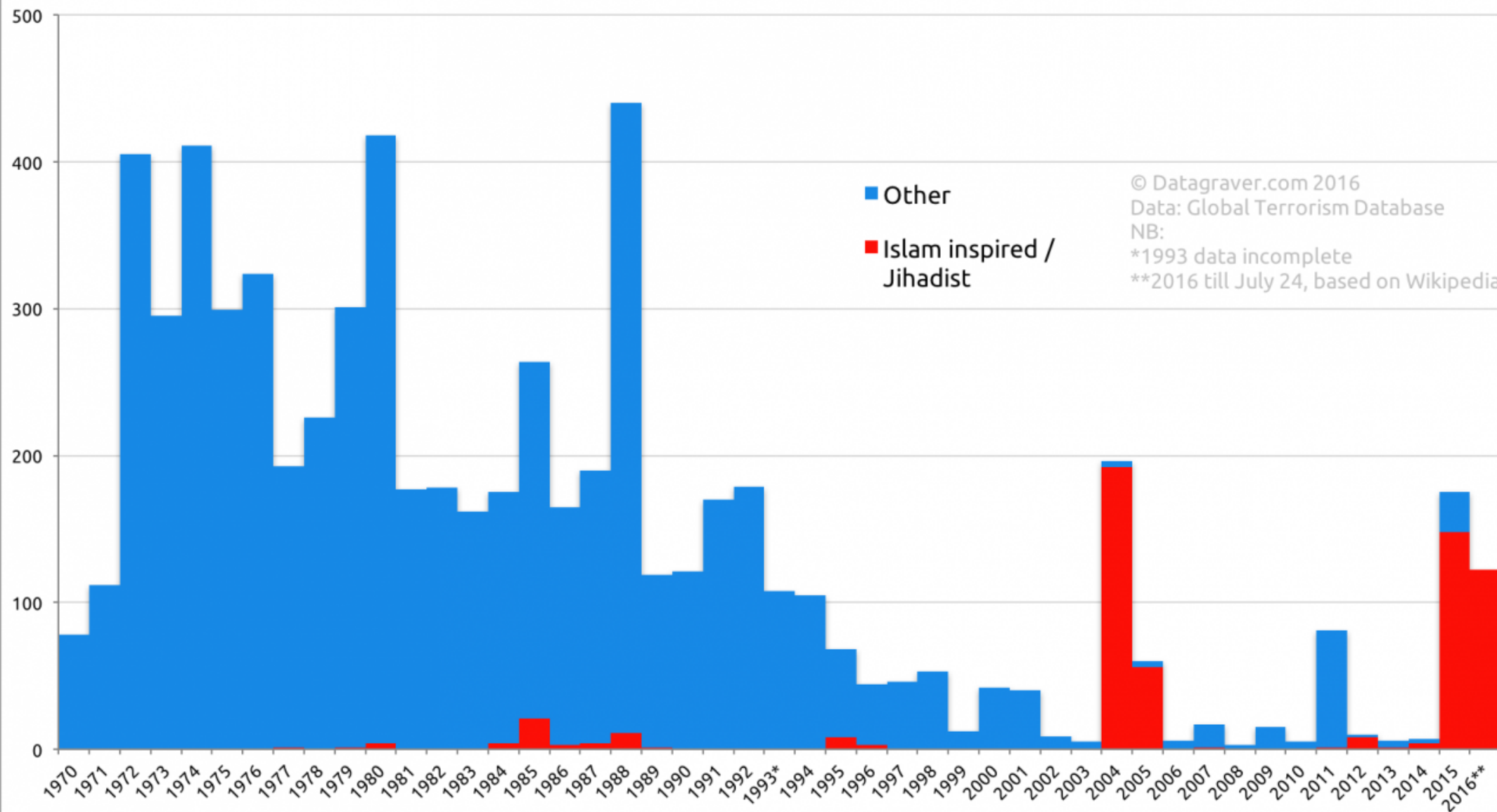
Terrorism in Western Europe 1970-2016*



Deaths by terrorist attacks Western Europe, 1970-2015



People killed by terrorist attacks in Western Europe 1970-2016*

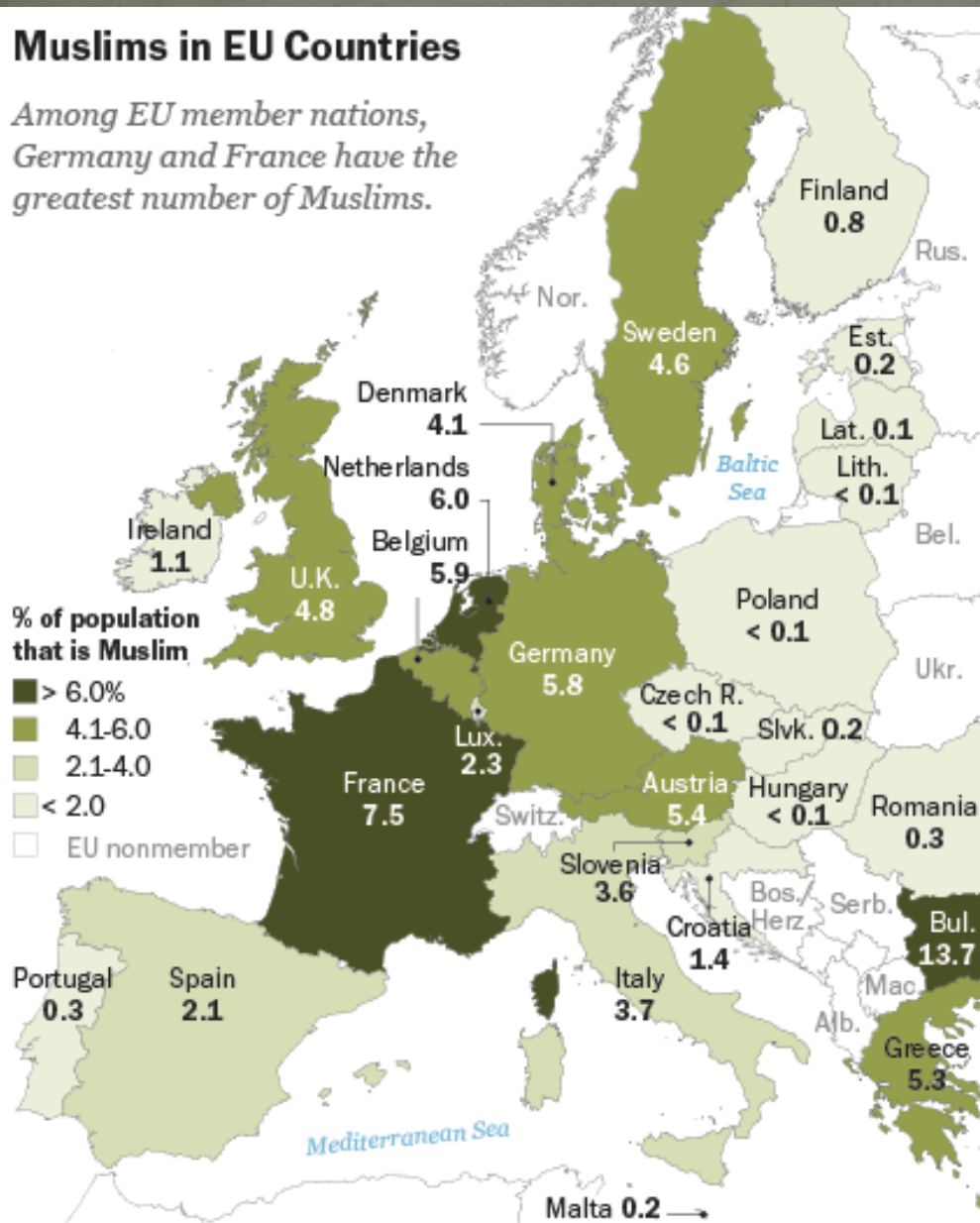


Terrorist Islamist attacks 2014-5 (395 dead in 23 attacks in two years)



Muslims in EU Countries

Among EU member nations, Germany and France have the greatest number of Muslims.

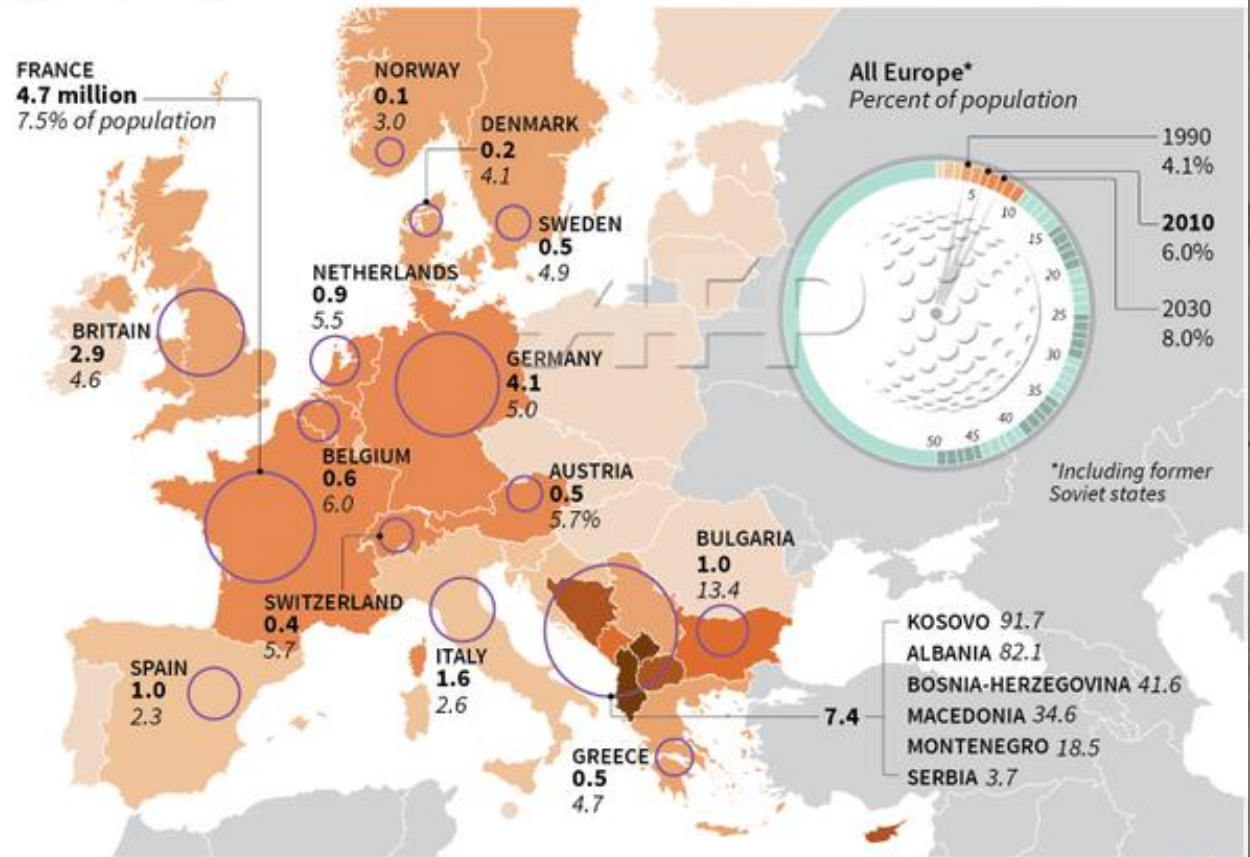


Muslims in Europe

European Union and surrounding countries

Estimates by the PewResearch Religion&Public Life Project, 2010 data

50% up 20-50% 10-20% 5-10% 3-5% 1-3% Less than 1%



Source : PEWforum.org

AFP

Muslim extremist state and quasi-state organizations ('Islamist')

- Islamic republic of Iran (Shiite)
- Muslim Brotherhood (Sunni, Egypt)
- Hezbollah (Shiite, Lebanon)
- Hamas (Sunni, Palestine)
- Isis-Daesh (Sunni Wahhabi)
- Taliban (Sunni, Afghanistan)

Causes of Islamist radicalization

- No one factor can be seen as the cause of the radicalization process.
- A combination of factors leads young Muslims to the planning and execution of terrorist attacks (Precht, 2007).

- Patterns of Radicalization
- Radicalization often begins with people who are **frustrated** with their lives, society, or the foreign policy of 'their' governments.
- A typical pattern is that these individuals, along with other like-minded people, experience together **a series of events** and phases that eventually lead them to terrorism.
- However, only a very **small** percentage end up becoming terrorists. The rest stop at various stages before completing the radicalization process.

- The alarming fact:
- the process of radicalization is happening more **rapidly**, is **wider** and more **anonymously** in the era of the Internet than just a few years ago.
- It increases the likelihood of attacks from **unknown** self-mobilized groups.
- Seemingly **normal** people.

The four phases of the radicalization process:

1. Pre-radicalization
2. Conversion and identification with radical Islam
3. Indoctrination and increased attachment to the group
4. Real terrorist actions or planning

- The process of radicalization is **unique** to each individual, and there does not seem to be a common profile of the 'formation of a terrorist'.
- There are no predetermined steps or escalation of actions and events, although it is likely that the **strong bonds** inside small groups facilitates and accelerates radicalization.
- For many, the process starts when they are teenagers. People seeking a sense of life in a strong Muslim **identity** follow the ideology of radical Islam.
- Often radicalized individuals were beforehand **secular**.
- Generally, radicalization takes place in **loose social networks** of friends and classmates.

Three categories of factors affect the process of radicalization:

Beforehand:

- Muslim identity crisis
- Personal traumas
- The experience of discrimination and relative deprivation
- Living environment and classmates (separation and parallel society)
- Alienation and injustice

2. Activation factors, such as:

- Western foreign policy and aggressive action in the Middle East
- The Jihad's myth and the desire for activism
- The presence of a charismatic person or intellectual 'counselor' in the personal life of a potential terrorist

3. Opportunity Factors(meeting places with like-minded parties), such as:

- The Mosque,
- Internet and satellite channels
- School, universities, youth centers or work
- Prison
- Athletic activities
- Cafes, bars or bookstores

- Terrorism can be seen as a 'sociological' phenomenon where issues such as...
 - belonging
 - identity
 - group dynamics
 - group values
- are important elements in the transformation process.

- Religion plays an important role, but for some is instrumental: it serves more as a vehicle for fulfilling other goals.
- A common denominator seems to be that the people involved are at an existential crossroads and are looking to make sense in their lives.

Two types of radicals

- **Religious** radicals (seeking identity): socially integrated, moralistic, fundamentalist, anti-militarist, friendly to some Western values
- **Political** radicals (seeking justice): socially more isolated, libertarian, politicized, hostile to the West (Doug Saunders, 2012)

Relationship between religious and political radicalization

- Faithful Muslims do not become terrorists
- Muslim identity shields someone from radical radicalization
- Imams do not play any role in recruiting radicals

Features of political radicals

- They are naturalized Westerners, second and third generation Muslims
- The social profile of political radicals varies from members of the bourgeoisie (Khosrokhavar 2005, 185; Roy 2004, 193) to former prisoners (Khosrokhavar 2005, 25)
- Political radicals are experiencing a dual alienation - "a double sense of non-belonging " (Khosrokhavar 2005, 185; Roy 2004, 193)
- They associate personal, subjective experiences with the suffering of the Islamic / Arab world

Process of conversion and recruiting

- The crucial role of social interconnections and friendly circles
(Sageman 2004, 158; Wiktorowicz 2004, 16; Bakker 2006; Neumann and Rogers 2007)
- A process of framing events from a particular interpretation that is at the same time an incentive for framing theory
(Wiktorowicz 2004, 16)
- An interactive escalation process leading to a search for a terrorist network
(Sageman 2004, 115; Sageman 2007; Bakker 2006, 52; Sageman and Hoffman 2008)

Analysis of micro-networks

Four Human Patterns: The Leader, the Protégé, the Misfit, and the Wonderer.
The leader is the one who shapes and constructs the terrorist cycle
(Bokhari et al., 11; Nesser 2004, 10)

Three Motives:

- (1) Meaning, stability, appreciation (polemic life-style). Misfit.
- (2) Search for a community (in search of a Puritan brotherhood). Wonderer.
- (3) Revenge for the suffering of Muslim societies in the hands of the West. The Leader. The Protégé.

(Slootman and Tillie 2006, 84)

Motivation: The notion that an institutional activism will not be productive
(Buijs, Demant, and Hamdy 2006, chapter 6; Buijs 2009, 426)

Fundamentalism in six European countries

- (1) believers should return to the eternal and unchangeable rules laid down in the past;
- (2) these rules allow only one interpretation and are binding for all believers;
- (3) religious rules have priority over secular laws.
- Christian fundamentalism = 3%
- Muslim fundamentalism = 42%
- Christian fundamentalism is a modern dogma
- Islamic fundamentalism could be either traditional or modern

Muslim fundamentalism could denote religious traditionalism, religious radicalization, or political radicalization

Ruud Koopmans (Religious Fundamentalism and Hostility against Out-groups: A Comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe - Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies - 2013)

Combating Islamic Terrorism

1. Social measures such as integration policies, the fight against Islamophobia and racism and the promotion of ethnic behavioral and political action are essential.
2. Development and diffusion of ideas opposing extremism and polarization. School is a critical factor in cultivating such interpersonal ideas.
3. Raising awareness of state / public officials (police officers, social workers, teachers, imams to be ready to grasp the warning signs of radicalization.
4. Denying myths and misconceptions about Western foreign policy through public diplomacy with an emphasis on domestic audiences.

EU counter-terrorism strategy

In 2005, the Council adopted the EU counter-terrorism strategy

Four pillars:

- Prevent
 - Protect
 - Pursue
 - Respond
-
- <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/fight-against-terrorism/>

1. Prevent

- The Council adopted guidelines for the implementation (December 2014)
- ensuring the security of citizens
- preventing radicalization and safeguarding values
- cooperating with international partners

1.a. Key milestones to enhance EU's security

- **Improved firearms controls**

On 25 April 2017, the Council adopted a directive on control of the acquisition and possession of weapons. The directive aims to improve the existing legislation in the aftermath of the latest terrorist attacks in Europe.

The directive includes measures to enhance traceability of firearms and to prevent the reactivation or conversion of firearms. There are also stricter rules for the acquisition and possession of the most dangerous firearms.

1.b. Criminalization of terrorist offences such as:

- undertaking training or travelling for terrorist purposes
- organizing or facilitating such travel
- providing or collecting fund related to terrorist groups or activities

1.c. Reinforced checks at external borders

- The Council adopted a regulation amending the Schengen borders code to reinforce checks against relevant databases at external borders (7 March 2017).
- The amendment obliges member states to carry out systematic checks against relevant databases on all persons when they cross external borders.

1.d. New Commissioner for the security union

- Julian King was appointed as the new commissioner for the security union by the Council, by common accord with the President of the Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker (19 September 2016).
- With this new portfolio, the commissioner will support the implementation of the European agenda on security

1.e. Improved information exchange

- The European Council called for urgently improving the interoperability of information systems in its conclusions (18 December 2015).
- Ministers endorsed a roadmap to enhance information exchange and information management including interoperability solutions (10 June 2016)

1.f. European Counter Terrorism Center

- In January 2016, the European counter terrorism center (ECTC) was launched following a decision from the Justice and Home Affairs Council of 20 November 2015.
- It is a platform by which member states can increase information sharing and operational cooperation with regard to the monitoring and investigation of foreign terrorist fighters and the trafficking of illegal firearms and terrorist financing.

1.g. Fight against online radicalization

- In March 2015, the Council mandated Europol to create a dedicated unit to tackle terrorist propaganda on the internet.
- The EU internet referral unit (EU IRU) was established in July 2015. It aims to identify terrorist and violent extremist content online and to advise member states on the matter, among others.

1.h. Strengthened cooperation with third countries

- In February 2015, the Council decided to step up external action to counter terrorism, in particular in the Mediterranean, Middle East, North Africa, the Gulf and the Sahel:
- cooperation with key partners will be strengthened
- new projects to support capacity building will be launched
- action to counter radicalization and violent extremism will be intensified

2. Pursue

- The EU is working to hinder terrorists' capacity to plan and organize, and to bring these terrorists to justice.
- To achieve these goals, the EU has focused on:
 - strengthening national capabilities
 - improving cooperation and information exchange between police and judicial authorities
 - tackling terrorist financing
 - depriving terrorists of their means of support and communication

In May 2015, the Council and the European Parliament adopted new rules to prevent **money laundering** and terrorist **financing**.

3. Respond

- Preparing, managing and minimizing the consequences of a terrorist attack is the fourth objective of the EU counter-terrorism strategy.
- This is done by improving capabilities to deal with the aftermath, the coordination of the response, and victims' needs.
- Priorities in this area include:
 - developing EU crisis coordination arrangements
 - revising the civil protection mechanism
 - developing risk assessment tools
 - sharing best practices on assistance to victims of terrorism

3.a. Priorities:

- defining the arrangements for the implementation by the EU of the solidarity clause, through a Council decision adopted in June 2014
- reviewing the EU emergency and crisis coordination arrangements, replaced by the EU integrated political crisis response arrangements (IPCR) in June 2013
- revising EU civil protection legislation at the end of 2013

3.b. International Co-operations

- UN and the Global Counter Terrorism Forum
- Council of Europe
- OSCE (Organization for the Security and Co-operation in Europe)
- League of Arab States
- Organization for Islamic Cooperation, among others.

4. Respond

- Preparing, managing and minimizing the consequences of a terrorist attack.
- This is done by improving capabilities to deal with the aftermath, the coordination of the response, and victims' needs.

4.a. Priorities

- developing EU crisis coordination arrangements
- revising the civil protection mechanism
- developing risk assessment tools
- sharing best practices on assistance to victims of terrorism

4.b. Priorities in recent years

- defining the arrangements for the implementation by the EU of the solidarity clause, through a Council decision adopted in June 2014
- reviewing the EU emergency and crisis coordination arrangements, replaced by the EU integrated political crisis response arrangements (IPCR) in June 2013
- revising EU civil protection legislation at the end of 2013

4.c. Engagement with international partners

- The counter-terrorism agenda is present in the relations between the EU and third countries in many forms, including:
 - high-level political dialogues
 - the adoption of cooperation clauses and agreements, or specific assistance
 - capacity-building projects with strategic countries

4.d. The EU cooperates on counter-terrorism with countries in:

- the Western Balkans
 - Africa (the Sahel, North Africa, the Horn of Africa)
 - the Middle East
 - North America
 - Asia
-
- Cooperation with the US is a fundamental component of the EU's strategy.
 - The EU also works closely with other international and regional organizations to build international consensus and promote international standards for fighting terrorism.

In 2016

- 142 failed, foiled or completed terrorist attacks
- 1002 people arrested for terrorist offences

Is Islam anti-democratic?

“Islam is a special case of civilization, hostile to secularism and democracy”
(Huntington, Fukuyama)

In the West:

- Religion: A system of faith, rituals and behavior based on divine discourse
- Liberal Democracy: A regime based on consensus (Lock), popular sovereignty (Rousseau) and individual freedoms (Mill)
- Islam, as a legal system, is at the same time religious and political, and therefore contradictory to liberal democracy

Modernity – Democracy – Secularization – Liberalism

- Modernity: Differentiation – Mobilization – Uncertainty (Eisenstadt)
- Democracy: The equalization of social condition (de Tocqueville)
- Secularization: Dissociation of Church and State (Rousseau)
- Liberalism: Separation of Powers/Liberties (Montesquieu/Mill)

The route to Liberal Modernity

The entry of masses on the Central Political Stage – Great Revolutions (17th – 20th Ce.)

Capitalism (16th – today)

The Scientific Revolutions (17th – 19th Ce.)

Nationalism (19th – 20th Ce.)

Downfall of aristocratic-clerical polities (WW I)

Eradication of Illiberal Modernity (20th Ce.)

In the Muslim World

- Autocratic "modernization" from above
 - Violent militarist regimes
 - Forced state industrialization
 - Forced secularization
-
- Corruption
 - Oppression
 - Exclusion
 - Weak bourgeoisie
 - Incomplete nationalisms
 - Defeats in wars

“Secularization” Means:

- Autocracy
- Colonialism
- Moral corruption
- Poverty, exclusion, marginalization
- Humiliation

But, we forget that...

- All secular democracies once were religious regimes
- Secularization took place by the metamorphosis of religious teachings to secular moral imperatives
- Transition to democracy necessitates the re-interpretation of religious ideas as to secular public sphere
- The transition to democracy occurs through religious politics
- Democratization involves a discourse on the normative role of religion to governance
- Before political reformations, a religious reformation takes place

What history teaches us:

- Every political regime is based on legitimating moral foundations
- The downfall of any regime derives from failing the 'accountability test'
- The change of the regime is based on the reconstruction-modernization of the legitimating moral system
- The reconstruction-modernization of the regime is related to the emergence of new political actors
- Ideology is as important as the socio-economic conditions
- Modernization does not lead *necessarily* to liberal democracy and secularization

In in-worldly religions:

- The modernization legitimizing framework is puritanical - Jacobin
- Puritanism is based on the adoption of the harsh morality of ascetic “Religious High Culture”
- Jacobinism is radical-revolutionary, demands the eradication of sin and promulgates a morally pure individual in morally pure political structures
- The pursuit of moral order is preceding individual liberties

Social conditions which encourage social radicalization

1. Population explosion
2. Explosion of literacy
3. Failure to absorb 1 and 2 by existing social structures
4. Uncertainty
5. The weakening of traditional social structures
6. Collapse of the old religious structure
7. Collapse of the old political structure
8. Generalized disorder / anomie
9. Return to purity principles

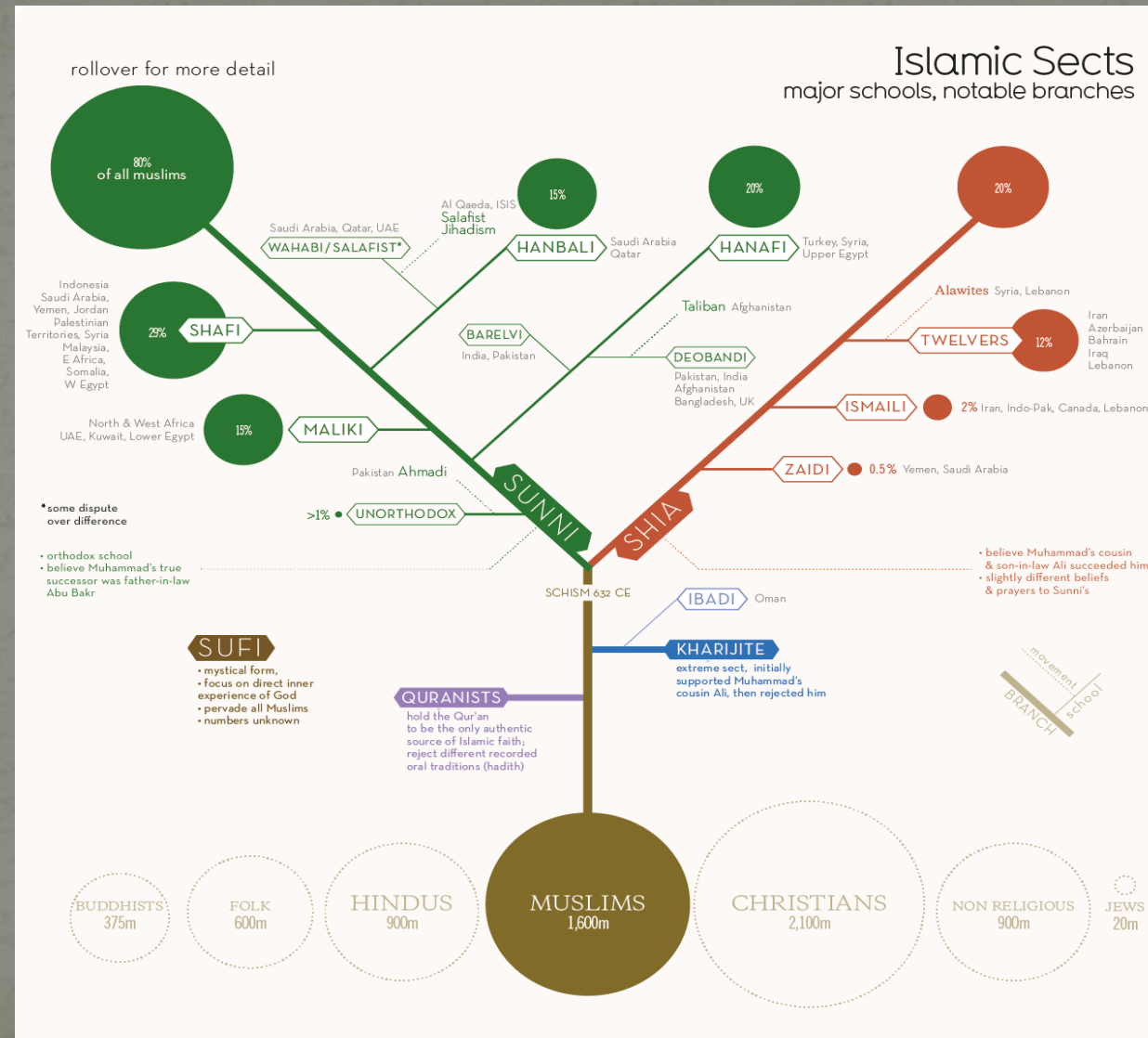
Democratization of Islam – before liberalism and secularization

- Collapse of old political and religious order
- Diversity and Fragmentation
- De-personification of the public sphere
- Meritocratic culture
- Individualist / horizontal mobilization

Muslim secularization is stigmatized due to:

- For Islam secularization means atheism
- Secularization is synonymous to authoritarian political power
- Western secularized practices are seen as hostile to Muslims
-
- Muslim identities have been constructed as opposing secular West

<http://www.informationisbeautiful.net/visualizations/islamic-sects-schools-branches-movements/>

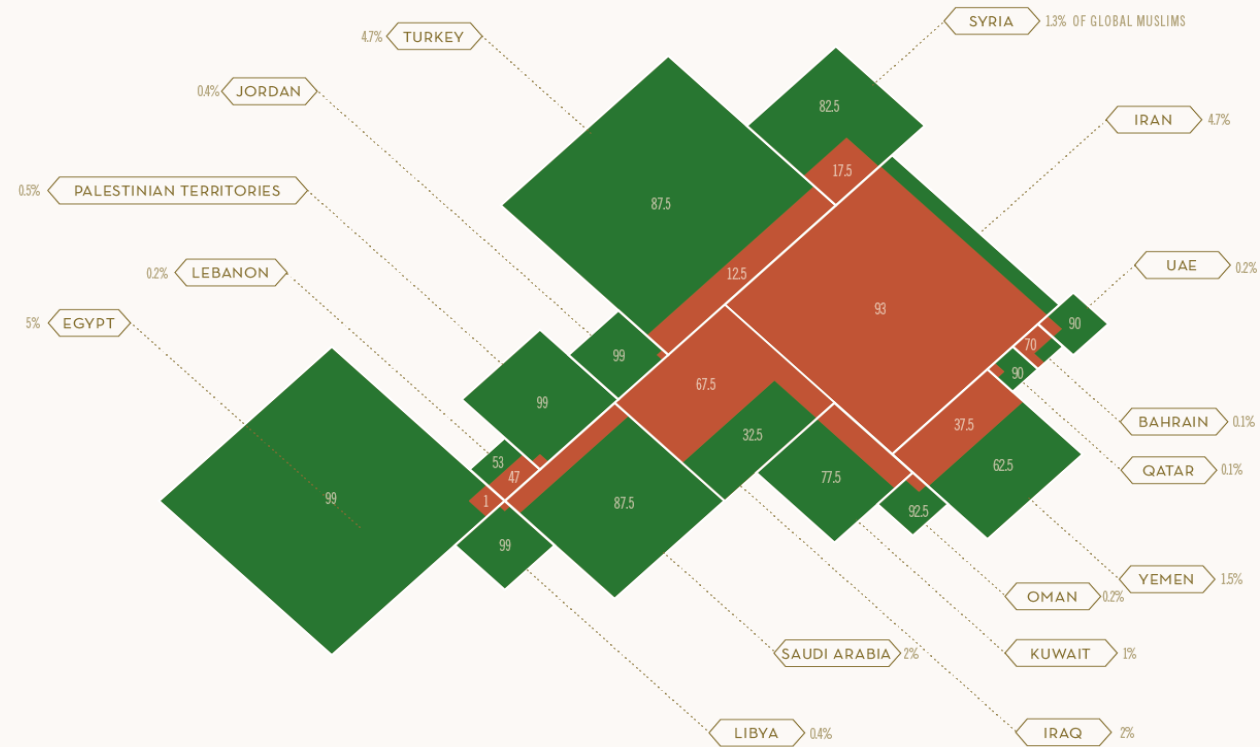


<http://www.informationisbeautiful.net/visualizations/islamic-sects-schools-branches-movements/>

Sunni vs Shia

% balance in key Middle Eastern nations

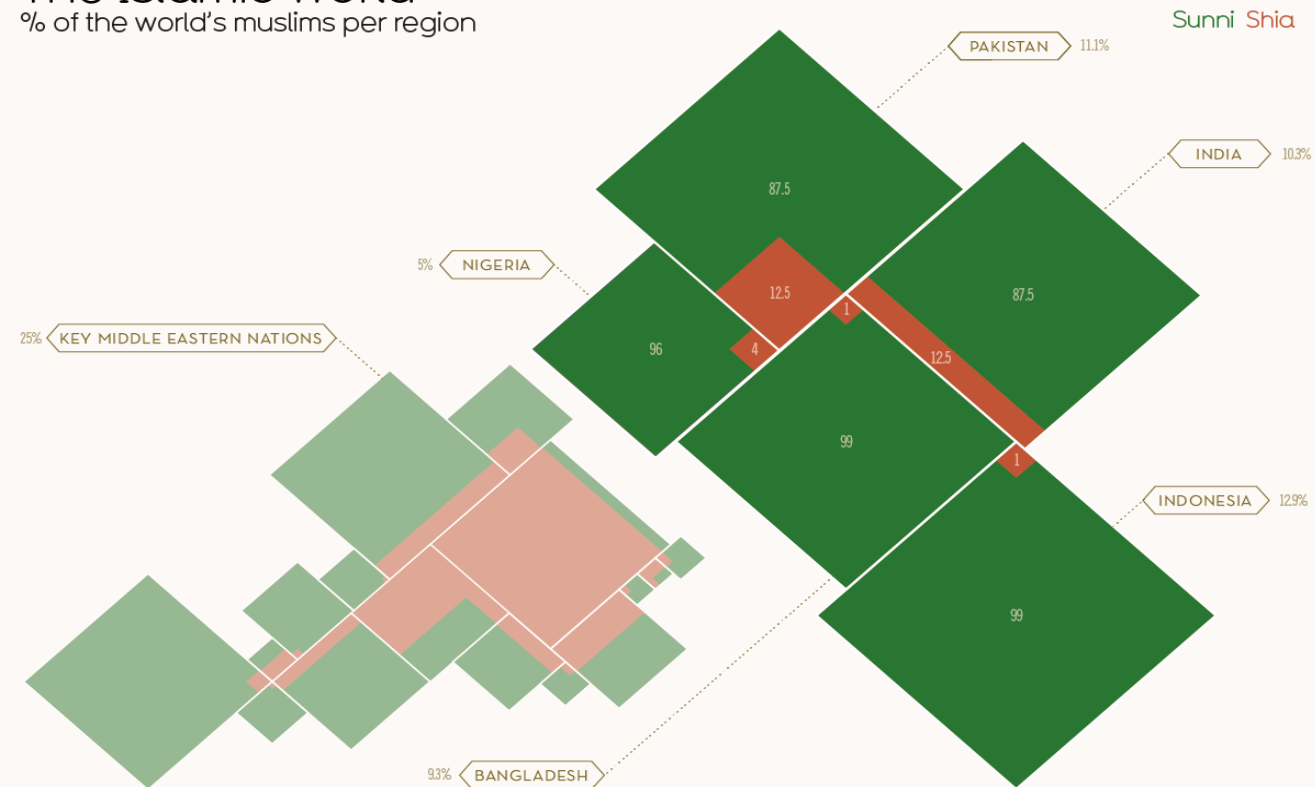
 % of global muslims



<http://www.informationisbeautiful.net/visualizations/islamic-sects-schools-branches-movements/>

The Islamic World

% of the world's muslims per region



concept & design & research: David McCandless
additional design: Fabio Bergamaschi
version: 1.2 // October 2014

informationisbeautiful.net

counting errors due to rounding & use of estimates data bit.ly/KIB_Islam
sources Wikipedia, Gale Encyclopedia of Religion, Pew Research
taken from the forthcoming infographic ultra-tome

knowledge is beautiful