



SOCIETY FOR TERRORISM RESEARCH
5th ANNUAL POSTGRADUATE (ONLINE) CONFERENCE
PROGRAMME
*Current Themes in the Study of Terrorism and
Political Violence*

Friday 28th May 2021

Community & Criminal Justice Division



DMU Heritage, n.d.

Welcome

Dear Delegate,

On behalf of the Community and Criminal Justice Division at De Montfort University and the Society for Terrorism Research we are delighted to welcome you to this year's conference. We are excited to be hosting the 5th Annual Postgraduate Conference at De Montfort University in the historic City of Leicester.

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the conference will obviously be different from previous years as it is being run online. However, the aims and objectives of the conference remain the same.

To encourage discussion and debate on contemporary and contentious issues facing practitioners and academic communities alike within the field of terrorism.

As with previous conferences, we also anticipate that this conference will provide a forum where ongoing and emerging academic research in terrorism and counter-terrorism can be brought to the fore, and increase opportunities for academics and practitioners to share their experiences through networking. In turn these opportunities will also encourage enhanced collaboration in this field of research.

We look forward to seeing, what we know will be, some interesting and thought-provoking presentations.

For those of you who use social media, we encourage you to use the official STR twitter hashtag **#STRPG2021** throughout the conference.

We hope you enjoy this 5th postgraduate conference

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "T Bevington-Hughes". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'T' and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Programme Leader & Senior Lecturer in Policing & Criminal Investigation

De Montfort University

Order of the day

08:15 – 08:30 Welcome by STR President Professor Rachel Monaghan

08:30 – 10:00 Panels A & B

10:10 – 11:40 Panels C & D

LUNCH: 11:40 – 12:10

12:10 – 13:40 Panels E & F

13:50 – 15:20 Panels G & H

****Note: Q&A sessions will follow at the end of each panel ****

15:20 Closing Remarks by STR President Professor Rachel Monaghan

**** PLEASE NOTE ALL TIMES SHOWN ON THIS PROGRAMME ARE GREENWICH MEAN TIME (GMT)****

PROGRAMME STRUCTURE

08:30 – 10:00 PANEL A FAR-RIGHT EXTREMISM	
TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER	ABSTRACT
<p>Matei Balan University of Oslo, Norway</p> <p><i>Participatory Culture and Cultural Artefacts in the Politics of the Extreme Right</i></p>	<p>'The rise of the far right' has become somewhat of a catchphrase in the past five years among scholars and journalists who study the phenomenon. Both academic and popular science literature roughly depict the current state of the global far right using a quantitative model. The consensus, it appears, is that there is a surge of radical and/or extremist activity. While it is true that the far right has become increasingly popular with the mainstream and harder to ignore, only a minority of the studies conducted on the activity of the global far right during the past five years concern themselves with the qualities of the phenomenon, i.e. the ways in which extremism and radicalism have changed on the right side of the political spectrum. An even smaller fraction concerns itself with not only how the emergence of Web 2.0 has altered the ideological and operational methodologies of the traditional far right, but how it has birthed a new kind of far right altogether which looks different, speaks different, and is by all means an entirely different phenomenon. It therefore becomes clear that an understanding of the fundamental transformations of the far right is necessary in the attempt to obtain a clearer understanding of why and how the global far right is currently on the rise. This thesis explores how the ecosystem of right wing extremist online subcultures appropriates and circulates obscure and/or pop-cultural artefacts to further a radical political agenda defined by meta-narratives. Building on a set of complementary and interdisciplinary theories, I will conceptualize this new digital extreme right as defined by participatory culture and software interoperability. This conceptualization will be then supported by data collected over the span of one year from two different subcultures of the same extremist ecosystem, the image boards 4chan and 8chan (8kun), and the cluster of far right Telegram channels known as Terrorgram. The analysis suggests that specific patterns occur in the creation and use of both image and non-image-based memes as well as the discussions that occur around them. From these patterns emerge four functions: political mobilization, grassroots disinformation, indoctrination and radicalization, and shaping cultural production and reception. The results provide insights into the heterogeneity and volatility as well as some of the main operational logics of this extremist online ecosystem of subcultures, which play an increasingly significant role in the terrorist threat picture. They will also stress the potential importance for both researchers and intelligence agencies in using case-specific knowledge to counter domestic terrorism, radicalization, and interference in any democratic process.</p>
<p>Jade Hutchinson</p>	<p>Enculturated within the post-digital age, extremists actively engage with and are influenced by social media. Research into online extremism has evolved to</p>

<p>Macquarie University, Australia & Groningen University, The Netherlands</p> <p><i>Captured by the ‘Other’ on Social Media: Contextualising Far-Right Counter Violent Extremism Interventions</i></p> <p>(Co-authors: Alex Trauth-Goik, University of Wollongong, Australia & Dr Debra Smith, Victoria University, Australia)</p>	<p>encompass the expanding catalogue of social networking technology, and its prolific use among far-right extremists in Australia. Australian counter violent extremism (CVE) programs are reliant on emerging scholarship to offer guidance on how to effectively accommodate for the needs of ‘at-risk’ individuals. While CVE programs operate in both digital and offline contexts to divert or disengage people from becoming involved in extremism, little research is dedicated to contextualising CVE in the technological milieu in which violent extremism is becoming increasingly contingent. In this study, we sought to address prevailing concerns regarding the intervention strategies of CVE programs in Australia, specific to the contextual understanding of social networking technology and its influence over a far-right extremist’s morality and ideology. To achieve this, we contextualise the intervention strategies of Australian CVE programs within the digital age and across the literature; we use an interdisciplinary lens to better understand the complex dynamics contributing to the development of contemporary far-right violent extremism; and in doing so, we highlight the importance of integrating a variety of strategies into CVE programs to better accommodate for the technological milieu in which extremists are enculturated.</p>
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08:30 – 10:00 PANEL B EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES AMONGST EXTREMISTS

<p>TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER</p>	<p>ABSTRACT</p>
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<p>Emma Belton University of Queensland, Australia</p> <p><i>Understanding within-group Differences Amongst Violent Extremists</i></p> <p>(Co-authors: Professor Adrian Cherney & Dr Renee Zahnow, University of Queensland, Australia)</p>	<p>This paper examines factors associated with violent extremism and explores within group differences through the development of unique typologies. The paper draws on variables associated with criminological theory to predict group membership. The paper draws on data from the Profiles of Individuals who have Radicalised in Australia (PIRA) dataset. Using bivariate and cluster analysis we compare violent and non-violent extremists and examine whether social control, social learning, psychological perspectives, and crime-related background characteristics, have a relationship to individual level radicalisation. The results of our analysis show that these criminological predictors can be used to identify within group differences in radicalised populations and formulate distinct groups with explicit roles and behaviours.</p>
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<p>Lana De Pelicijn Research Foundation Flanders: affiliated with Ghent University, Belgium</p> <p><i>‘One for all, all for one?’ A Research into the steps toward (violent) extremism</i></p>	<p>A key challenge within the (violent) extremism research field is building a comprehensive understanding of the process toward (violent) extremism and terrorism. Despite the extensive (violent) extremism literature, and the proliferation of different explanatory models, there are still several knowledge gaps that hinder the development of a complete, unambiguous understanding of the phenomenon. More specifically, there is no consensus ‘why’ and ‘how’ an individual becomes sympathetic to and/or involved in (violent) extremism and is willing to make costly sacrifices for a higher purpose. To address these key questions, we developed an integrated theoretical model of (violent) extremism using the Theory Knitting Approach. According to our integrated theoretical model, the process toward (violent) extremism is, intra-psychically,</p>
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<p>(Co-authors: Dr Stef Decoene, LiSN, Belgium & Professor Wim Hardyns, Ghent University, Belgium)</p>	<p>a non-linear and dynamic process in which for the outside observer four different constitutive elements can be identified: (1) predisposing life experiences, (2) cognitive opening(s), (3) the identification with a violence-justifying in-group, and (4) the identification with a violence-justifying ideology. The hypotheses of our integrated theoretical model of (violent) extremism are currently being tested using qualitative in-depth interviews with a robust sample of (violent) extremist prisoners and family members, combined with the use of vignettes and photo-elicitation interviews. The aim of this presentation is to offer an interim/preliminary evaluation of the key elements of our integrated model, using results based on the first phase of in-depth interviews.</p>
<p>Dashalini Katna Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</p> <p><i>Investigating the Role of Self-Sacrificing Prosociality in Intragroup and Intergroup Contexts</i></p>	<p>Described as a persistent and pervasive global threat, terrorist groups espouse and execute various forms of costly violence including mass shootings and suicide bombings. Why might radicals and terrorists who devote themselves to their groups become willing to shoulder costly actions of extreme aggression, rather than concretely and tangibly bolstering their group's cause and welfare? Exaggerated outgroup fear may dictate decisions to actuate destructive, self-sacrificial actions to harm outgroups, surpassing constructive, self-sacrificial actions to enhance the ingroup's welfare. This research proposed individuals who are highly self-sacrificing towards the ingroup in intragroup settings, as a result of strong group belongingness, would anticipate hostility from the outgroup and consequently harm the outgroup in intergroup settings, relative to exclusively ensuring instrumental ingroup gain or personal gain. This relationship was conceptualized as the Costly Self-sacrificial Aggression framework and tested using four studies. Study 1 (N = 120) predicted self-sacrificial readiness would mediate the relationship between identity fusion and outgroup aggression. Using a minimal group paradigm, participants played an intragroup task that measured their self-sacrificial readiness, followed by an intergroup task which measured personally-costly pursuit of direct outgroup aggression or ingroup benefit. Results supported the hypothesis, insinuating highly self-sacrificing members with retaliatory mindsets may strongly perceive the outgroup as a potential threat and readily self-sacrifice to harm the outgroup. Study 2 (N = 210) replicated the methodology of Study 1 and showed high dispositional vengeance moderated the association between self-sacrificial readiness and outgroup aggression, only when outgroup threat was absent. Studies 3 and 4 utilized real group identities, issues, and perceptions within the U.S. context. Study 3 (N = 299) integrated the findings into a moderated mediational pathway from identity fusion to outgroup aggression, through self-sacrificial readiness and anticipations of outgroup hostility, exacerbated by vengeful thinking. Results revealed indirect effects of U.S. identity salience on punitive policies and posse actions toward outgroups like radical Islamic groups and terrorist outfits, that emerged through increased self-sacrificial readiness and anticipated outgroup hostility. Study 4 (N = 164) tested whether the relationship between self-sacrificial readiness and anticipated outgroup hostility could be attenuated. Serial mediational analyses showed high social identity complexity negatively</p>

	<p>predicted support for restrictive policies toward an ultraorthodox Islamic group, through greater perceived distinctiveness of ingroup memberships, unwillingness to self-sacrifice, and anticipated outgroup positivity. This research identified a critical yet rarely addressed psychological mechanism on mere subjective feelings of outgroup threat, which may manifest as anticipated outgroup hostility among loyalists who become mobilised to self-sacrifice and inflict harm on rival groups. The studies ascertained individual differences and perceptions in intra- and intergroup situations that might heighten intergroup bias for highly self-sacrificing members and propel them toward terrorist processes and trajectories. This research employed a more meticulous and ecologically valid assessment on how ingroup love may translate into outgroup hate. Third, these observations could provide initial and practical insight for security practitioners and policymakers, by suggesting that interventions and policies on countering radicalization and terrorism may consider, inter alia, mitigating the role of anticipated outgroup hostility.</p>
<p>10:10 – 11:40 PANEL C</p>	<p>INSIGHTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD</p>
<p>TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER</p>	<p>ABSTRACT</p>
<p>Adriana Marin Coventry University, England</p> <p><i>The Convergence of terrorism and organised crime: an examination of Hezbollah’s activities in Latin America from a crime-terror nexus perspective</i></p>	<p>The nexus between terrorism and organised crime is not a new phenomenon. The nexus was relatively small-scale, generally active within national borders. However, after the end of the Cold War, the increasing number of weak and failed states, porous borders and improvements within the communication and technological world changed the nature of the crime-terror nexus. This became large-scale, both at the national and international level. Today terrorism and organised crime groups represent an important international challenge. One aspect and source of terrorism that has received less attention in the knowledge base is that of state-sponsored terrorist organisations and their involvement in organised crime. Hezbollah is one of the few terrorist organisations active today that still receives state-sponsorship and maintains close ties to its state-sponsor – Iran. For over three decades, Iran has been providing financial, military, intelligence and advisory support to Hezbollah in a relationship described as “the most robust relationship between a state and a designated terrorist group in history”. However, Iran’s involvement with Hezbollah became problematic over time in the eyes of the international community, and thus powerful countries imposed sanctions on Iran to weaken its financial capabilities to support Hezbollah. These sanctions were based on the concept that if all financial support for a terrorist organisation can be disrupted, then the organisation will be unable to follow its agenda, hence it will result in its shut down. However, over the years Hezbollah has proven itself to be an organisation of global reach which has grown its network across five continents, capable of conducting lethal operations and raising tens of millions of dollars in revenue annually through illicit activities. Within the organisation’s reach, Latin America is one region where Hezbollah has realized enormous success. There is strong evidence of Hezbollah establishing a strong</p>

	<p>base in Latin America, being significantly involved in money laundering operations and drug trafficking in the Latin Tri-Border Area (TBA) - Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil. The Tri-Border region of South America, where these three countries meet, is a breeding ground for drug trafficking, arms smuggling, human trafficking, and the pirating of electronic goods. The same area is also home to a large Lebanese diaspora community, many of whom are deeply involved in the region's organised criminal networks which facilitate Hezbollah's networks of opportunity. For organised criminal groups operating in Latin America, Hezbollah provides an opportunity to expand their markets without having to build a criminal infrastructure in faraway places as it provides the criminal organisations with various channels to distribute their merchandise internationally and bring back profits through complex money-laundering schemes. The scale of these operations has ensured that Hezbollah continues to flourish while on the other side, the growing nexus of terrorism and organised crime allows them to operate with impunity, damaging the credibility of legal institutions and infiltrating formal economies, which in turn leads to increased crime and security challenges.</p>
<p>Tarela Ike University of East London, England</p> <p><i>'It's like being a Christian is tantamount to victimisation': An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Christian experiences of insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria</i></p>	<p>Insecurity is an issue of global concern. Central to this concern is how the Christian self and identity are experienced in relation to the on-going insecurity and terrorist threat in Nigeria. Informed by the principle of interpretative phenomenological analysis of 18 Christian participants recruited from Lagos and Plateau States in Nigeria, this study makes an original contribution by demystifying the various stages of consciousness that informs the feeling of victimisation. These include personal experiences, education and the media - all of which reinforces a sense of being victimised and an object of domination by the perceived Muslims 'superior other'. The study recommends an improved policy outlook which addresses the challenges experienced by the Christians in order to enhance existing Christian-Muslim relations and build public confidence in the government.</p>
<p>10:10 – 11:40 PANEL D</p>	<p>A VARIETY OF PERSPECTIVES</p>
<p>TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER</p>	<p>ABSTRACT</p>
<p>João Raphael Da Silva Ulster University, Northern Ireland</p> <p><i>Activism or Terrorism? The Labelling of Dissent in the U.K. Media</i></p>	<p>Between 1995 and 2001, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) carried out several acts under an umbrella organization named The Family, to advance animal rights and environmental protection. In the most damaging, the organization arsoned the Vail Ski Resort in Vail, Colorado, U.S., on October 19, 1998. Sumner and Weidman (2013) demonstrate that U.S. media largely applied the "EcoTerrorist" label to denote The Family and other ideologically and tactically similar organizations, between 1999 and 2009. However, "Eco-Terrorism" has not only made headlines in the United States. Preceding The Family's campaign, the Animal Rights Militia (ARM) addressed letter-bombs to Margaret Thatcher, then U.K. Prime Minister, and other senior politicians in 1982 in the United Kingdom.</p>

	<p>Still, Hirsch-Hoefler & Mudde (2014) suggest that the “Eco-Terrorism” label has not caught on outside the United States. Instigated by their suggestion, the present research investigates to what extent the U.K. media applied the "Eco-Terrorist" label since 2000.</p>
<p>Mauro Lubrano University of St Andrews, Scotland</p> <p><i>Stop the Machines: How Emerging Technologies are Fomenting the War on Civilization</i></p>	<p>The Fourth Industrial Revolution promises to turn contemporary societies upside-down. Similarly, emerging technologies are opening up countless new applications that assure an overall and widespread improvement of living standards. At the same time, their potential misuse has been a cause of concerns. In particular, the possibility of terrorist organizations adopting such technologies has dominated the debate. Consequently, there is a growing scholarly literature that deals with the motivational and technical factors that could underlie the malevolent resort to emerging technologies. Enthusiasm for emerging technologies is, however, only one side of the coin. The last decade has, indeed, witnessed a re-emergence of forms of Neo-Luddism. Nevertheless, a thorough understanding of these developments is still lacking. This paper investigates and maps the main debates and dynamics in the Anti-Technology Movement in order to understand the rationale behind, and the prospects of, this resurgence. In doing so, it focuses on the two radical fringes, of the Insurrectionary Anarchist Milieu and the Radical Environmentalist Milieu. The paper argues that, although based on different narratives and end goals, these milieus share a similar commitment and similar operational approaches as well as a marked apocalyptic millenarian thinking that has set them on a path to escalation.</p>
<p>Kary Stevick University of St Andrews, Scotland</p> <p><i>Predicting the Worst: State Terrorism Practices in Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide</i></p>	<p>Utilizing an inductive reasoning process, this paper explores the question: is there a distinct difference between policy rhetoric regarding ethnic cleansings vs. genocide? After defining important terms, I delve into six case studies exploring the differences between ethnic cleansing and genocide. Three cases of genocide are studied- the Holocaust, the Rwanda genocide, and the Holodomor. Three cases of ethnic cleansing that did not escalate to genocide are also studied- former Yugoslavia, the plight Native Americans in the United States during the 18th century, and the expulsion of Germans throughout Europe after World War II. While not all ethnic cleansings escalate to genocide, most genocides follow an attempted campaign of ethnic cleansing. Where is this line? These cases are compared and contrasted in an effort to discover where this line is. This study hopes to add to the literature by promoting the use of inductive reasoning within International Relations and Terrorism Studies. While the author does not argue that this study will help the international community decide whether or not to intervene in ethnic cleansings turning genocidal. By discovering these patterns, or lack thereof, this study hopes to help identify future mass killings, ethnic cleansings, and genocides. It will conclude with a discussion on how the international community may be able to utilize these findings with contemporary campaigns of state terrorism. For example, the treatment of Uyghur Muslims in China. While the author does not argue in favor of earlier intervention by the international community, if there is a continuum between ethnic cleansing and</p>

	genocide this should help the international community better decide where and when to intervene. While this study is still in the process of being carried out, the author believes that no matter the conclusion, exploring the differences and similarities between ethnic cleansing and genocide within a state-terrorism mindset benefits the policy and academic realm.
11:40 – 12:10	LUNCH BREAK
12:10 – 13:40 PANEL E	EXTREMISM IN THE PAST, THE PRESENT & SURVEILLANCE
TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER	ABSTRACT
<p>Annelotte Janse Utrecht University, The Netherlands</p> <p><i>'From Letters to Bombs across Borders. Transnational Ties of West German Right-Wing Extremists, 1972-1978'</i></p> <p>WINNER – Best Student Paper</p>	<p>Recent right-wing extremist attacks have brought to light the deep international ties between perpetrators operating in various parts of the globe, facilitated especially by social media platforms. However, the growing body of literature on the international ties between right-wing extremists has as of yet made little attempts to analyze historical forms of such transnational contact. Preceding the rise of the Internet and its dark places of hateful exchange, offline ties between extremists in the past aimed at producing exactly the same results as their counterparts today: wreaking havoc to defend their own race and people from 'dangerous Others'. The present study aims to enrich our understanding of the historical rise, workings, and international ties of right-wing extremism and sets out to measure their importance. What were the nature and purpose of these channels of communication, and how was contact established in the first place? And what were their consequences? The paper will answer these questions by directing attention to two West German right-wing extremist groups that were active between 1972 and 1978. Zooming in on the <i>Nationalsozialistische Kampfgruppe Großdeutschland</i> and the <i>Gruppe Otte</i> as specific nodes of a loosely organized international extremist network, this research examines the intensifying contacts between these groups and their foreign counterparts, most notably the <i>NSDAP-Aufbau- und Auslandsorganisation</i> headed by the American neo-Nazi Gary Lauck. Specifically, the focus will be on the transfer of ideas and practices as well as cooperation between extremists, in order to assess the contribution of the transnational connections to the development and radicalization of the West German extreme right. In this paper, the transfer of ideas and practices is understood as the cross-border dissemination of ideas about and repertoires of (violent) actions inspired by right-wing extremist perceptions of threat. Transnational contacts of West-German extremists in this period have been rarely analyzed using primary sources; they were mostly described as having limited relevance other than propagandistic purposes. By shedding new light on cross-border interactions to contrast such descriptions, the paper makes a threefold contribution to historical terrorism studies and research into the extreme right. First, conceptually, it examines processes of securitization within the extremist groups and argues that forms of transnational exchange</p>

	<p>sprung from the construction and development of shared perceptions of Communist and Jewish threats. Second, methodologically, this research historicizes the right-wing extremist groups by embedding them in their social and political contexts, tracing changes and continuities through time. Third, empirically, the paper builds on new, original archival research that pairs known case studies to previously unused primary source material, to illuminate that the extremists' exchange extended beyond a postal propaganda service of neo-Nazi material to include political violence.</p>
<p>Jade Hutchinson Macquarie University, Australia & Groningen University, The Netherlands</p> <p><i>Far-Right 'Reactions': A Cross-National Comparative Analysis of Australian and Canadian Far-Right Extremist Groups on Facebook</i></p> <p>(Co-authors: Dr Julin Droogan & Dr Brian Ballsun-Stanton, Macquarie University, Australia)</p>	<p>In recent years, the prolific adoption of social media has focused research on how social media affordances operate and intend influence users. Little, however, is known about which social media affordances most or least appeal to users of extremist groups, how such affordances may influence a user's interaction with far-right themes and narratives, and how this is being experienced across various nations. In this study, we used a mixed-methods approach to conduct a cross-national comparative analysis of over three years of 'Reaction' use across 59 Australian and Canadian far-right extremist groups on Facebook. Here we assessed the level of user engagement with administrator posts using Reactions, and identified the types of posts, themes and narratives that generated the most user engagement specific to each Reaction ('Love', 'Wow', 'Haha', 'Sad', 'Anger' and 'Thankful'). This was paired with an in-depth qualitative analysis of the most popular Reactions used over time ('Anger', 'Love'), and the posts, themes and narratives that attracted the most user engagement (Anti-Other). This analysis sought to gauge why certain Reactions appealed to and may influence sympathetic followers of far-right extremist groups in these countries. Results highlight the 'Anger' and 'Love' Reactions as effective generative mechanisms for user engagement and resonance with far-right themes and narratives, while producing a dangerously broad spectrum of referential meaning with moral and ideological implications.</p>
<p>Séan Looney Swansea University, Wales & Université Grenoble Alpes, France</p> <p><i>Safeguarding Bulk Surveillance under the Investigatory Powers Act</i></p>	<p>One of the primary state responses to contemporary terrorist threats has been to massively increase their capacities for surveillance. While initially clandestine, with the Snowden revelations in 2013, bulk surveillance has been enshrined in law. The UK's Investigatory Powers Act 2016 is a forerunner in this field. The Act divides bulk surveillance into four separate powers; interception, acquisition, equipment interference, and personal datasets. While each of these powers is far-reaching in scope, they are qualitatively different in their application in practice. This presents a problem as the safeguards for these powers are, for the most part, uniform and do not adequately reflect the varying intrusiveness of these powers. Given that the presence of adequate and effective safeguards against abuse is the primary test for a bulk surveillance regime's compatibility with the European Convention on Human Rights, this discrepancy has policy implications. Drawn from PhD research on bulk surveillance of social media, this paper shows this discrepancy between bulk powers in operation and their safeguards through the use of examples from the surveillance of social media.</p>

12:10 – 13:40 PANEL F	SECURITIZATION OF THE TERRORIST THREAT
TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER	ABSTRACT
<p>Marine Guéguin University of Leeds, England</p> <p><i>The securitization of the terrorist threat, of the everyday life and its framing as a continuum process from January 2015 to November 2015: a French case study</i></p>	<p>In the aftermath of the Paris attacks in November 2015, the French political discourse on terrorism shifted in ways that pose serious questions for human rights and civil liberties protection. Through analysis of the depiction of the ‘existential’ threat in French political discourse, the research explores the framing of the terrorist threat after Charlie Hebdo attack in January 2015 and Paris attacks in November 2015. Of critical importance is the shift in the delineation of the threat in discourse from a crime to an exceptional threat, lastly to a permanent threat. The purpose is to analyse the frames given to the terrorist threat allowing and legitimizing the securitizing actors to crystallise emergency powers. The study suggests that exceptional counterterrorism powers have been gradually normalised and securitised through the depiction of the ‘existential’ threat of terrorism in French political discourse. This entails the extension of the ‘Etat d’urgence’ for 6 times in 2 years and the enshrinement of some dispositions of the emergency powers into ordinary law in 2017. Securitization is underpinned through the particular language used within political discourses in order to shape public acceptance and consumption of counterterrorism narratives and policies. In particular, the paper evaluates the securitization theory and bases its argument on the selling of counterterrorism policies as being context-dependant and audience-centred, argued to embody two key components of the securitization of the terrorist threat. Drawing on a specific context, on a binary construction of identities ‘us versus them’, on rhetorical narratives of security, the goal is to persuade the audience of the existential threat and therefore on the necessity of the measures to defeat terrorism – persuasion will therefore lead to one essential component of the success of securitization: the audience-centred process. This paper seeks to contribute to a gap in critical terrorism literature and in particular to empirical research. Indeed, significant yet under-explored, France is a key case for understanding how an ongoing state of exception and quest for security in the name of counterterrorism shapes decision-making and delineates elite discourse. To that end, the paper employs a qualitative approach, in particular, a critical discourse analysis of French political discourses from January 2015 to November 2015. The main purpose of the paper is to examine the progressive evolution of the securitizing language, as a strategic process to serve political interests, shaping a particular depiction of the threat of terrorism and its counter measures. Empirical research will demonstrate that securitization is not merely an illocutionary and single act, but is also depending on intertextual set of discourses, context-dependent and audience-centred: as a co-constitutive and dynamic process. This paper seeks to explain the evolution of the framing of an existential threat in the French political discourse: from a crime, to an existential threat, to an omnipresent threat legitimising the normalisation of the exceptional powers.</p>

<p>Hannah Bieber Uppsala University, Sweden & University of Göttingen, Germany</p> <p><i>Returning ISIS Foreign Fighters in France: The Over-Securitization of a “Low Probability High Impact” Threat?</i></p>	<p>The participation of Foreign Fighters (FF) in wars and conflicts has been a longstanding phenomenon which gained a lot of attention in Europe since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in the early 2010s. As a matter of fact, this conflict is estimated to have attracted some 30000 FF, among whom 5000 were European Union (EU) citizens. France is the member state that has seen the highest number of departees, with a lot of its citizens joining the ranks of ISIS. On the other hand, between 2014 and 2016, the perpetrators of three lethal terrorist attacks in Belgium and France were returning European FF who had spent time in Syria. Thus, the potential threat posed by these individuals has been taken very seriously in the EU, and even more so since ISIS started losing its control over its strongholds. When most EU member states then considered repatriating their citizens who were now prisoners in Syria and Iraq, France openly showed its preference for letting local authorities deal with French FF. However, by 2020, over a hundred of them were brought back. The French government had to justify these decisions through its official communications, which appear to have been reinforcing the idea that ISIS returnees constitute a security threat. By drawing on critical security studies and more particularly the Securitization Theory, this paper will base itself on the assumption that threats are constructed by actors in power through a security rhetoric and will attempt to answer the following research question: How has the French government securitized the issue of returning French ISIS FF since 2017? To do so, it will resort to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and will investigate allocutions from the members of the Macron administration that are available on the government’s official websites, such as the ministry of foreign affairs, the ministry of the interior and the prime Minister’s cabinet. This study is expected to reveal that criminalization lies at the core of these discourses and contributes to constructing returnees as a threat to national security. Putting the data in a broader context, this research will argue that this securitization is a disproportionate reaction to what can be labelled a “low-probability, high-impact threat”. This over-securitization thus has deeper implications, as it might threaten the social cohesion of the country and justify bargaining with human rights. Although this paper will be looking at the specific case of France, its conclusions will have broader implications for counterterrorism discursive practices regarding returning FF in Europe and the West.</p>
<p>Joanne Boyle University of Salford, England</p> <p><i>How should Western Europe prepare for the repatriation of the families of their foreign fighters detained in Syria and Iraq?</i></p>	<p>Western Europe should prepare for repatriating the families of foreign fighters. An estimated 400 women and 700 children detained in Syria and Iraq. This paper will briefly assess the current security and humanitarian situation and how repatriation acts in the best interests of both. The response of Western governments is guided by public pressure influenced by the media in the wake of attacks leading them to focus disproportionately on short term domestic security without conscientious assessment of risk in the medium and long-term. Significant numbers of Foreign Fighters have returned at different times to most European countries for several reasons. Peter Neumann summed these up as the three Ds: Disillusioned, Disturbed or Dangerous (2013). Controlled repatriation would provide the opportunity to establish the</p>

best measures to prepare for this challenging group who are unique from previous returnees as they survived the duration of the conflict and have experienced living under ISIS control with many of the children not knowing another existence. It is likely that all returnees will present at least two of the three Ds and have been both victims and perpetrators. By examining current best practice on repatriation and considering the factors specific to these returnees' experiences including those influenced by age and gender suggestions will be proposed for preparing for successful repatriation. This must take account of the security of those who will be in the immediate environment of the returnee including family, the community they live and ultimately national security. All research and evaluation of good practice points towards localised intervention so successful programs in other regions like Pakistan may not function unchanged in Europe. Just as an approach used in the small Danish community of Aarhus relying on communication between all agencies involved within physical 'info-houses' may not be practical in cities. Recommendations should not be one size fits all yet processes such as profiling, risk assessment, information sharing, and transparency should apply to all repatriations. These can be used to support returnee integration but also for intelligence if concerns arise regarding their support network. Training those agencies supporting returnees crucially schools, mental health, social services, and the police should be prioritised. A safeguarding approach must come first regarding children starting with establishing their identity. Many do not have recognised legal documents or rendered stateless because their parent's citizenship was revoked. Research overwhelmingly supports the view that families play a critical role in rehabilitation and reintegration, yet this can backfire increasing the security risk if the family supports extremist ISIS ideology. These issues should be flagged during profiling to reduce risk and maximise rehabilitation opportunities. The appropriateness of using existing risk assessment tools for assessing risk of violence will also be considered along with alternative suggestions. Finally avoiding stigmatisation is important especially for children who need the opportunity to function normally as soon as possible. The media need to support this alongside all agencies involved enabling them to develop a positive relationship with a country they may initially perceive as the enemy.

13:50 – 15:20 PANEL G	UNDERSTANDING INVOLVEMENT AND NON-INVOLVEMENT
TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER	ABSTRACT
Jennifer Dowling Leiden University, The Netherlands <i>Understanding non-involvement in terrorism: why</i>	Understanding why and how individuals become involved in terrorism is a question that has drawn attention from scholars of political violence, as well as practitioners dedicated to confronting and combatting terrorism globally. Insights from within the field of terrorism studies and beyond its disciplinary boundaries have significantly advanced our understanding of this complex psychological process, and have demonstrated that it is never a one size fits all

<p><i>extremists will never become involved in terrorism</i></p>	<p>approach to understanding why and how individuals come to become involved in this form of political violence. Instead, it has been argued that it is necessary to not only look to factors that manifest at an individual level but also to the broader social and structural contexts in which these processes take shape. Despite all this progress into understanding why individuals become involved in terrorism, there has been less attention devoted to understanding why individuals who follow seemingly similar trajectories do not become involved in terrorism. The challenge lies in understanding why it is that those who adopt extremist views, support the use of revolutionary change and see violence as a legitimate way to effectuate that change will never become involved in terrorism themselves. For instance, in looking to the Provisional IRA (PIRA), one of the most notorious armed groups in history, outside the remit of the PIRA's volunteers there were many within the wider Republican Movement's milieu who supported the use of republican violence but never took the steps to become involved in the armed struggle themselves. Was this down to a choice or calculated personal decision-making? Or could this better be understood by looking to influences at a movement or group level that may have dissuaded individuals from becoming involved? Or better yet could it be explained by looking to broader evolving contextual factors? Similar to understanding why individuals radicalise or become involved in violence Bjørgo and Busher argue that a 'multi-causal, multi-variate phenomenon' is also necessary to understanding why individuals exercise restraint.⁶ With this in mind, this study will streamline the key factors that take shape at various levels of analyses which influence the route to non-involvement. It will be interdisciplinary in nature as there is a lot to gain from existing insights on this subject from terrorism studies, criminology, psychology and beyond these boundaries. These insights will be used to guide a biographical approach which will zoom in on these individuals within extremist milieus to understand why despite providing moral and/or logistical support for an extremist cause did not go onto become involved in terrorism themselves. By looking to a range of individuals from different extremist milieus from national-separatist movements to far-right extremist movements this study hopes to contribute to a promising direction in research which has begun to unpack the variety in radicalisation outcomes, explore differences between violent and non-violent participation, and into understanding what factors might keep individuals from crossing the threshold to engaging in terrorism. This study is also relevant for practitioners tasked with confronting terrorism as it hopes to better understand what keeps people who have already radicalised from becoming involved in terrorism. Additionally, it will inform disengagement initiatives by strengthening our understanding of what might lead individuals to resist or ultimately desist from violent extremism.</p>
<p>Darren Colbourne Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland</p>	<p>This paper examines the relation of rhetorical theory and narrative creation to the militant Irish Republican movement. The splintering of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was predicated on numerous ideological and political changes during the 1950s and 1960s; these shifts were underpinned by modalities of discourse and performative speech that require particular attention. Drawing</p>

<p><i>The Bullets of Rhetoric: Sinn Fein, the IRA, and Troubling Narratives</i></p>	<p>on the work conducted by Ronald Krebs in the field of discourse theory in political science, this thesis discusses the utilization of narrative revisionism performed during the IRAs Border Campaign and later fractioning. Further, it adapts the philosophy of performative speech to show how discourse – spoken and written – was treated as “a weapon” both within the IRA organization and amongst the larger Republican community. This work starts with the relationship between narrative and nationalist discourse, reexamining the connection between Cathal Goulding’s political interests with regards to the question of IRA/Sinn Fein abstentionism. The rhetorical foundations of this example are explored by analyzing how Goulding’s motivations were both presented and timed: ultimately, the thesis argues that Goulding’s “moment” was doomed by its timing and narrative frame. Moreover, this work suggests that the mythology presented by the IRA of the 1960s essentially propelled the organization’s infighting at the start of the Troubles, due to its discursive rooting in left-wing political ideologies which did not consider the sectarian issues of Northern Ireland at the time. The paper concludes with a particular example of performative speech in the study of militant movements. Borrowing from the seminal works of Austin and Searle, an examination of the “naming act” of Free Derry is undertaken. The importance of this process and its relation to Irish Republicanism is explored within the earlier framework of narrative formation and rhetorical power. This work hopes to extend the conversation around terrorism and militancy towards language usage and verbal “coercion”. To better understand the phenomenon of terrorism and how it develops, paying specific attention to the discursive, narrative, and rhetorical methodologies of these groups will be central.</p>
<p>Eke Bont Royal Holloway, University of London, England</p> <p><i>Moral Injury and Trauma in former members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army</i></p>	<p>Moral injury occurs when an individual perpetrates or witnesses a perceived moral transgression, which subsequently results in emotional or psychological distress, identity changes, and/or social issues. It is a concept that originated in the field of military psychiatry but is increasingly being investigated outside of traditional state military contexts. Exploring whether former Provisional IRA members experience(d) moral injury helps contribute to the understanding of the psychological impact of engagement in terrorism, and how this may influence involvement. Following a brief outline of the reasons for applying moral injury to this population, preliminary evidence from the interpretative phenomenological analysis of autobiographical texts and interviews with former members will be presented. This includes a discussion of the potentially morally injurious events and symptoms that were found, such as guilt, disillusionment, and distress related to involvement in attacks that resulted in unintended civilian deaths or injuries. However, resilience was common, and therefore evidence for protective factors for moral injury will also be presented such as a strong belief in the moral justification of using violence. Despite this common resilience to moral injury, other psychological and emotional repercussions of involvement were also evident, emphasising a need for the removal of barriers to treatment for political ex-prisoners to aid reintegration. The utility of investigating the prevalence of moral injury in the Provisional IRA and other terrorist populations will be discussed, including how</p>

	<p>this can aid our understanding of their moral beliefs, and how it may be linked to disillusionment with violence for moral reasons which may influence decisions to disengage.</p>
13:50 – 15:20 PANEL H	RADICALISATION AND DE-RADICALISATION
TITLE OF PAPER/PRESENTER	ABSTRACT
<p>Fahim Nawaz Dresden Leibniz Graduate School & Technical University Dresden, Germany</p> <p><i>Understanding the Determinants of Radicalization: A Systematic Scoping Review of the Scientific Literature</i></p>	<p>Radicalization currently looms as a formidable challenge faced by several nations. While it continues to flare across the world, empirical evidence and consensus regarding its determinants remain scarce. To decipher the factors that cause this phenomenon, this study undertook a systematic review of the empirical literature on radicalization by including 148 English language articles published between 2001 and 2019. The findings suggest that radicalization is a complex process that brews within a certain context through the interplay of personality, sociopolitical and community-related factors. Although the interaction among these factors is increasingly advocated to have the potential to explain radicalization, the specific combinations, linkages, channels, and directions remain largely unspecified within the literature. Such a specification will facilitate the multi-layered analysis encompassing interaction between several factors that may enhance understanding of the phenomenon.</p>
<p>Sören Henrich University of Central Lancashire, England</p> <p><i>A Critical Systematic Review of our Progress: Reflections on the Quality of Psychological Terrorism Research with Focus on Secure Forensic Settings</i></p> <p>(Co-authors: Professor Jane L. Ireland & Dr Michael Lewis, University of Central Lancashire, England)</p>	<p>While the counterterrorism research has been subject of critical debates related to its quality (e.g. Borum, 2015) or its lack of consistent contributions by psychologists (e.g. Horgan, 2017), the body of articles specifically pertaining to explanatory models has grown considerably in the past ten years (e.g. Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018). Reviews are important parts in the effort to combat extremism, as they provide the empirical foundation for practical initiatives and interventions, such as CHANNEL and PREVENT, but also risk assessments in secure forensic settings (SFS). Especially latter is repeatedly discussed in the news, but also by scholars, as so-called breeding grounds for radicalisation. However, even systematic reviews are not consistently adhering to quality standards discussed in the field (e.g. Horgan, 2017). A non-exhaustive overview of recent systematic literature reviews, for example by Schmid (2013) and Gøtzsche-Astrup (2018), portrays this lack of transparent methodology and highlights the multitude of concepts, terms, and definitions the counterterrorism research is suffering from. Hence, a systematic literature review was performed summarising exclusively empirical psychological research pertaining to radicalisation, especially in SFS. Not only did this review follow the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA; Moher et al., 2009), but it also appraised the quality of the 63 studies that fully met the inclusion criteria out of initially 5,514 articles. A thematic analysis based on the inductive Grounded Theory Approach (Martin & Turner, 1986) resulted in eight sub-ordinate themes: <i>attitudes and justifications; criminogenic and protective factor; social influence; mental health issues; aversive events and circumstances; impaired functioning; inconsistencies in sociodemographic; and content of cognitions</i>. These</p>

	<p>overarching categories and the 27 themes they subsume are presented. Amongst other findings, that are contextualised in the wider debate about study qualities, the review showed the limited insight pertaining radicalisation in SFS. Not only does this question the claims so widely circulated that prison and forensic settings are contributing to the risk of extremism, it also highlights the need for further research specific to these settings. Before preliminary findings of a succeeding study specific to radicalisation in SFS are presented, further observations about the current state of psychological terrorism research are discussed. This includes the large proportion of fair ($N = 22$) and poor ($N = 10$) quality research methodology, the repetitive use of same databases, and the overwhelming focus on Muslim communities. Additionally, even literature excluded from this systematic review yields critical insight. Notably, the vast body of terrorism literature is focusing heavily on the events of 9/11, exploring the impact on victims and first responders, and even studies which investigate terrorism directly are often merely anecdotal. Overall, the systematic review reiterates previous criticism, while highlighting factors that are providing a sound empirical basis</p>
<p>Heidi Maiberg Royal Holloway, University of London, England</p> <p><i>However you feed a wolf, she will always look toward the forest?</i></p>	<p>In Anton Chekhov's story "The Petcheneg" (1897), an old man hosts a visitor. During the conversations, the visitor expressed his concern over the possibility of change. According to him, the world has changed greatly due to the development of technology, but the people in their soul have remained the same. Zhmuhin, the host, told his visitor that "People have grown no better, and however you feed a wolf, she will always look toward the forest." In the last years, the importance of deradicalisation, disengagement, rehabilitation, and re-integration has increased in the study of terrorism. There is a growth of researchers focusing on deradicalisation and disengagement who are working to find answers to questions like: 'Why people disengage?' (Chernow Hwang, 2015; Altier, Boyle, Shortland and Horgan, 2017) and 'Whether deradicalisation is possible?' (Rabasa, Pettyjohn, Ghe and Boucek, 2010). Furthermore, the number of deradicalisation and disengagement programs is increasing globally. There are 40-50 active programs worldwide (Koehler, 2017), and as explained by Koehler and Fiebig, they have become a part of the standard counterterrorism and conflict resolution repertoire (Koehler and Fiebig, 2019). Numerous initiatives and programs are using resources like the time of the personnel and their clients as well as using the money and other support mechanisms provided by the states, local governments or other funders. Meanwhile, there is no established certainty on the 'right' or 'the most suitable' methodology for such programs supported by clear and transparent evidence. In short, there is no consensus on the best practices and what are the efficient measures in the long-term (Scherrer, Ragazzi and Walmsley, 2018). This presentation is based on a study that focuses on voluntary-based deradicalisation and disengagement programs, researching how the methods in use are assessed in programs designed for Islamists and far-right extremists. The study aims to explore whether the impact is evaluated and, if so, how the impact assessment is done. This information provides input on the practices of impact assessment as well methods and contexts of</p>

<p>programs that can be used to create recommendations and overviews of the most suitable methods based on the participants of the programs and the context of implementation. Also, it helps to analyse the need for systematically coordinated programs and the target groups that need structured support in deradicalising and/or disengaging, as many people who engage in extremism, stay in the movement only for a few years and leave independently (Bjørge 2009). This presentation will overview the ways how impact of such programs is assessed based on literature review and semi-structured interviews with facilitators of voluntary-based programs in Europe and Northern America and individuals from the same regions who have deradicalised and/or disengaged independently. Analysing implementation of impact assessment not only is helping to categories the ways how it is done but also to understand the mechanisms of deradicalisation and disengagement, but also might provide an understanding whether the wolf will always look toward the forest or not.</p>
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15:20 Closing remarks by the President of the Society for Terrorism Research,
Professor Rachel Monaghan