



# Defence Against Terrorism Review

Dead Men Tell No Lies: Using Killed-in-Action (KIA)  
Data to Expose the PKK's Regional Shell Game  
**Andrew SELF & Jared FERRIS**

Critical Energy Infrastructure Protection against  
Terrorist Attacks in the Context of Gas and Oil  
Pipelines: The Turkish Case  
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Youth Specific Factors in Radicalization  
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The French Counter Radicalization Strategy  
**Romain QUIVOOIJ**

Countering Radicalization and Recruitment of  
so-called Jihadists – Proscription of Radicalization Hubs  
**Daniel H. HEINKE**

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Terörizmle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi  
(TMMM)

Devlet Mahallesi İnönü Bulvarı  
Kirazlıdere Caddesi No:65 06582  
Çankaya/ANKARA

Tel: 0 (312) 425 8215  
Faks: 0 (312) 425 6489  
E-posta: datr@coedat.nato.int

Baskı: Başkent Klíše Matbaacılık  
Bayındır Sokak No: 30/E  
Kızılay/ANKARA  
Tel: 0 (312) 431 5490

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*Editor's Note*

Dear Defence Against Terrorism Review (DATR) readers,

Terrorism continues to escalate day by day in various forms all around the world and we all witness and suffer from the terrifying results of such terrorist attacks. As the scope of terrorism is changing all the time, we must be both aware and capable of identifying and then responding accordingly to all the new dimensions, tactics, and techniques that terrorists use and exploit. Therefore, this issue includes five articles from different aspects of terrorism to draw attention to other dimensions, and to enhance our knowledge in this regard.

The issue starts with the article entitled *Dead Men Tell No Lies: Using KIA Data to Expose PKK's Regional Shell Game* written by Andrew Self, a reserve US Army officer, and Jared Ferris, M.A. Candidate at the George Washington University, USA. In their article, the authors draw attention to PKK and its affiliates by using the 'killed-in-action' (KIA) data to analyze the relationship between the different groups. Also, they underline the issues related to cross-organizational deployment of personnel among the affiliates based on the strategic requirements and as a conclusion they state that PKK, together with all affiliates, constitutes a bigger group which actually fights, regardless of the different names used, for a common cause: a unified Ocalanian Kurdish-autonomy.

The second article of this issue is *Critical Energy Infrastructure Protection against Terrorist Attacks in the Context of Gas and Oil Pipelines: The Turkish Case* written by Professor Mesut Hakkı Çaşın who works at Özyeğin University, Turkey. In his article Professor Çaşın discusses the changing nature of modern terrorism and the changing trend to attack economic targets. He also highlights that in the very last decade it has become more attractive to terrorists to attack critical energy infrastructure – especially oil and gas pipelines – which enables them to break down the internal stability of the regimes and, as a result, to weaken the concerned state's economy, particularly in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

The third article is *Youth Specific Factors in Radicalization* written by Dr. Daniel Heinke and Mareike Persson. Dr. Heinke is the Director of Policy Planning Staff and Special Affairs Directorate, Ministry of Interior, Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, Germany, and Mareike Persson is a Ph.D. student at the University of Lund, Sweden. In their article, Dr. Heinke and Ms. Persson underline the vulnerabilities of juveniles and adolescents that lead them to radicalization. They emphasize that both biological and psychosocial factors affect young people, therefore, a countering effort should include a multipronged approach, focused on addressing these vulnerabilities.

The fourth article of this issue is *The French Counter Radicalization Strategy*, written by Mr. Romain Quivoij, who works as an Associate Research Fellow in the Radicalization Studies Programme at the Center of Excellence for National Security, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. In his article, Mr. Quivoij examines the French counterradicalization strategy which was initiated in April 2014 and is still in the process of development. He states that the January and November 2015 attacks in Paris, in particular, paved the way towards developing such a strategy in order to deal with the issue of radicalization before it turns into violent extremist activities.

The issue ends with the article entitled *Countering Radicalization and Recruitment of so-called Jihadists – Proscription of Radicalization Hubs* written by Dr. Daniel Heinke. In his article, Dr. Heinke highlights that the importance of the investigation and prosecution of criminal offences concerning political and religious extremism for a domestic counterterrorism policy to be effective. Besides, he argues that proscription of some specific extremist organizations could contribute to a total counterterrorism policy as an additional measure,



especially when dealing with the threats posed by radicalization hubs.

All in all, each and every day we will continue to combat terrorism, in every sphere of our daily lives, in every place. The important thing to keep in mind is to realize and analyze such threats, and then respond properly. Therefore, we have to take all necessary measures to keep a step ahead of the terrorists, and to detect and prevent their attacks. Taking lessons from previous experiences, both successes and failures, we have to improve and prepare ourselves accordingly in order to deal with the changing, even transforming, terrorist attacks.

And as a last word, we would like to express our gratitude and our sincere thanks to all distinguished authors, academicians, practitioners and experts who contributed to our journal, to our vigilant referees who spent their valuable time by reviewing the articles and the last but not the least to our readers without whom all these efforts would be worthless.

We hope you enjoy the content of this issue, and we are looking forward to meeting you again in the next issue.

Atasay ÖZDEMİR, Ph.D.  
Editor-in-Chief



## Dead Men Tell No Lies: Using Killed-in-Action (KIA) Data to Expose the PKK's Regional Shell Game<sup>1</sup>

Andrew SELF<sup>2</sup>

Jared FERRIS<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract:** Utilizing over 2,500 individual reports of PKK, PJAK, and YPG terrorist deaths, this article examines the relationship between the PKK and its affiliates, and how these groups interact across time and organizational levels. The first analysis of its kind, it provides a qualitative and quantitative assessment of PKK-affiliate relationships and illustrates a cross-organizational deployment of personnel to match strategic and operational level needs in the different theaters in which the PKK and its affiliates operate. It provides evidence of an intimate and mutually supportive relationship between the PKK and its regional affiliates, challenging the very construct of the PKK as a distinctively different group from its affiliates. Rather, it asserts that HPG, YPG, and YRK armed wings should be analyzed as integrally connected groups fighting in a unified regional strategy for Ocalanian Kurdish-autonomy.

**Keywords:** PKK, PYD, PJAK, Terrorism, Kurdish

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<sup>1</sup> Received 27 May 2015. Accepted 04 March 2016.

<sup>2</sup> BA, MA George Washington University, e-mail: andrew.h.self@gmail.com.

<sup>3</sup> MA, George Washington University.

## Introduction

The Syrian conflict and the need to combat the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL/DAESH) has led the US to reassess its Middle East strategy and increase cooperation with non-state militant actors in the region. In this effort, the US has overtly and covertly increased cooperation with the Democratic Union Party (PYD) and its People's Protection Units (YPG) in Syria. Such support for the PYD and YPG has caused worry among regional allies, namely Turkey, and national security observers alike, given the group's accused association with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), and its militant wing the People's Protection Forces (HPG). The US, EU, and Turkey officially recognize the PKK and HPG as terrorist organizations for the decades-long insurgency waged against the Turkish state. Turkey insists that the PKK, PYD, and an Iranian affiliate, the Party of Free Life of Kurdistan (PJAK) and its East Kurdistan Defense Units (YRK) military wing, are one and the same, claiming differences in names are a semantical attempt to obscure the PKK's role in Syria and Iran. Conversely, US officials acknowledge the historical ties but claim that the PYD and YPG are different under US law and thus, fair-game for military cooperation,<sup>4</sup> even though they designate the PJAK as a terrorist organization for being 'controlled' by the PKK.<sup>5</sup>

Given this point of contention, as well as the relevance and controversy it represents to US strategy, it is thus necessary to understand the relationship between the PKK and its regional affiliate groups. Utilizing statistical data derived from HPG, YPG, and YRK 'killed in action' (KIA) announcements, news reports, battle assessments, and organization research, this article analyzes the nature of the relationship between the HPG, YPG, YRK to identify the levels at which they cooperate and how this relationship has evolved over time. It will illustrate that the PJAK and PYD were political creations of the PKK following the latter's expulsion from Syria in 1998. Significant changes in KIA data correlate to the creation of PJAK and the beginning of the PJAK-Iran conflict, increased violence in Turkey, the Syrian conflict, and the Turkey-PKK ceasefire. As will be shown, the changes suggest the relationship between the PKK and its affiliates is one of strategic and operational unity albeit with some level of tactical level autonomy.<sup>6</sup>

The KIA data, along with supporting evidence, indicates that distinctions between PKK and affiliate personnel are largely superficial with individual fighters repeatedly being shifted between units and fronts to meet strategic organizational needs. The PKK's relationship with its affiliates is not only one of a sponsor giving birth to regional sister organizations, but also one of an inseparable strategic leadership body exercising direct command and control over only nominally distinguishable units. Rather than being separate conflicts, the Syrian and Iranian conflicts represent different military fronts in a unified regional campaign for Kurdish autonomy in which the PKK is overtly

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<sup>4</sup> "US Says PYD Not Terrorist under US Law," *Today's Zaman* (October 21, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> "Treasury Designates Free Life Party of Kurdistan a Terrorist Organization" (Press Release, US Department of Treasury, April 2, 2009), available at <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg14.aspx> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Definition of strategic, operational, and tactical derived from *Joint Publication 1: Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States* (US DoD, March 25, 2013), pg X.

involved. Like a shell game, the PKK leadership in Kandil<sup>7</sup> shifts personnel between its affiliates and fronts, attempting to obscure the true nature of the organization and circumvent international terrorist labels. In this sense, the PKK has no true affiliates, but rather three fronts and three names corresponding to those fronts, consisting of the same personalities, leadership, ideology, and history of terrorism.

Similar to the greater Kurdish movement, the PKK is not a monolithic organization. Since Abdallah Ocalan's imprisonment in 1999, some observers have suggested that two competing centers of gravity have emerged between Ocalan on one hand, and the rest of the PKK's leadership based in Kandil, Iraq.<sup>8</sup> Ocalan's peculiar status as *de jure* leader, despite his continued incarceration, is the subject of debate and deserving of research in its own regard. This article is similarly ambivalent about his direct leadership role after 1999. Even within the leadership in Kandil, there are competing voices and personalities between different generations and commanders. Thus, the personal politics of the PKK are beyond the scope of this article. Research also does not mean to suggest that the PJAK, PYD, and PKK are one monolithic top-to-bottom organization. Instead, the authors aim to construct a functional understanding of the PKK's organization and affiliate relationships, showing how these groups interact and their unity across different levels. This article argues that the leadership between the organizations is interconnected by shared leadership body in Kandil. The scope of this analysis is largely driven by the KIA data, but corroborated by the US Treasury Department's analysis of the PJAK, the International Crisis Group's study of the YPG, interviews with the senior Turkish military officials, ground reporting from reporters and researchers who traveled to Kandil, as well as other evidence referenced throughout the paper.

## Terms and Usage

The PKK's continuous effort to escape its terrorist designation as well as the international and multilingual nature of the conflict has created numerous acronyms that can be confusing, particularly because terms vary significantly between and among countries and there is no consensus on specific definitions and usage. This article will make the following distinctions: For the sake of familiarity, the term PKK will be used although the group has officially changed its name. 'PKK' will refer to the outlawed Ocalanian Kurdish organization in Turkey to which military, student, and political entities belong. 'HPG' refers specifically to those military units of the PKK focused on operations in Turkey. 'PJAK' refers to the greater organization fighting against the Iranian state to which the 'YRK' military wing belongs. 'PYD' refers to the Kurdish political organization in Syria. 'YPG' refers specifically to the military units of the PYD in Syria, including the Women's Protection Units (YPJ). 'KCK' will be used to describe the umbrella organization to which the PYD, PJAK, PKK and their respective military wings belong. The acronyms and their translations are listed below:

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<sup>7</sup> "Kandil" is the Turkish spelling of the region.

<sup>8</sup> James Brandon, "The Evolution of the PKK: New Faces, New Challenges," *Terrorism Monitor* 4 (23) (December 4, 2006), available at [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5D=987&no\\_cache=1#.VUmQsWTF9rj](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5D=987&no_cache=1#.VUmQsWTF9rj) (accessed July 10, 2016).

PKK: Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (The Kurdistan Workers' Party)

HPG: Hêzên Parastina Gel (The People's Defense Forces)

KCK: Koma Civakên Kurdistan (Group of Communities in Kurdistan)

PJAK: Partiya Jiyana Azad a Kurdistanê (The Party of Free Life of Kurdistan)

YRK: Yekîneyên Parastina Rojhilatê Kurdistan (East Kurdistan Defense Units)

PYD: Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat (The Democratic Union Party)

YPG: Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (The People's Protections Units)

KNC: Kurdish National Council (Encûmena Ni?timanî ya Kurdî li Sûriyê)

KDP: Kurdistan Democratic Party (Partîya Demokrata Kurdistanê)

### Methodology and Data

This article applies a mixed qualitative and quantitative methodological approach. A body of interviews with senior military officials and experts in academia as well as a close monitoring of regional events forms the baseline of this paper's understanding of the PKK and its affiliates. A qualitative approach is then used to test the two main theories of affiliation in regards to the PJAK and PYD against a large body of data on HPG, PJAK, and YPG deaths.

Interviews were conducted with senior Turkish military officers, security officials, Kurdish regional experts, and insurgency functional experts in English and Turkish in Washington, DC, Ankara, and Istanbul between December 2014 and April 2015. Every available KIA announcement published in Turkish on the HPG's official website from 2001 to April 2015, totaling 2,096 individuals was collected and analyzed (see appendix III for sample KIA announcements). These announcements were then cross-referenced against incident reports with references to PKK deaths or military clashes in any Turkish language newspaper in an attempt to fill holes in incomplete KIA announcements and verify the accuracy of the HPG's data. For example, if the official data gave only name, code name, date of death, and place of death, Turkish newspaper reports were searched to retrieve information on that individual's place of birth in an effort to compile a more complete and comprehensive data set. Additionally, the data set was compared to Turkish military projections of PKK losses and the only other comparative KIA data set, the 2012 TEPAV report.<sup>9</sup> Compared to the TEPAV report, this data set includes the most recent four years, 2012, 2013, 2014, and 2015 and 734 more HPG deaths. This data set contains 2,096 individuals, 2,084 places of birth and places of death, and 740 places of recruitment. After comparative analysis, the size and completeness of this data set suggests that it is the most comprehensive set of HPG combat-dead data. The authors are confident that this paper utilizes the best data set available and that the data represents every official HPG combat death.

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<sup>9</sup> Erdem Gurkaynak and Nihat Ali Ozcan. "Who are these People of the Mountain?" (The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey, February 10, 2012).

The authors then attempted to collect a data set representing YPG deaths in Syria. There were 664 distinct YPG KIA announcements from November 2013-February 2015 collected. These announcements were all published on the YPG's official site in Arabic. English and Kurdish platforms were also available, but were found to contain fewer KIA announcements. The authors then cross-referenced all names and data across language platforms to ensure that there was no double counting. The YPG only began publishing announcements in November 2013, after the PYD declared the autonomous administration of Syrian Kurdish areas known as 'Rojava.' The YPG backfilled some combat deaths for 2013, but claimed at the end of the year that it had 379 KIA in 2013, but only published 25 announcements for the year. No comprehensive data is available on the YPG combat deaths for 2012. The accuracy of the YPG's claims was compared to Syrian activists reporting, such as the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, and the authors believe the data for 2014 and beyond is accurate and nearly complete. The information provided for some YPG combat deaths is less detailed than the HPG, and for roughly 15 percent of the YPG combat deaths, only the code name and date of death were provided. However, the authors are confident that the sample size is large enough to draw conclusions about the data and to demonstrate a relationship with the HPG data set.

Although complete PJAK KIA announcements were unavailable via web access, 20 web archived PJAK KIA announcements were found in Farsi and reports in the Turkish press. This data should not be considered representative of all PJAK deaths, but rather specific examples of certain demographics playing a role in the organization and evidence of the involvement of key personalities.

## **Background**

Abdullah Ocalan founded the PKK in 1978 near Diyarbakir, Turkey as a Marxist-Leninist organization devoted to the establishment of a Kurdish state. While Kurdish national movements and insurrections were not a new phenomenon in Turkey, the PKK represented a fundamentally new political and militant entity.<sup>10</sup> By 1980, the nascent insurgency's PKK leadership was driven out of Turkey, finding refuge in Turkey's regional and Cold War rival, Syria. In return for safe haven and material support, the PKK provided the Syrian state leverage against Turkey in outstanding water and territorial disputes associated with the Euphrates River and Hatay Province, respectively. While the Syrian state officially denied supporting the PKK, the PKK was allowed to operate freely in Syria and to establish training camps in the Syrian-controlled Beqaa Valley of Lebanon. Despite the government labeling of the PKK as an outlawed organization in 1992, substantial support to the organization continued and, by the mid-1990s, the insurgency reached its peak.<sup>11</sup> Cooperation with Damascus continued until October 1998 when the Turkish government applied enough military pressure to force the Syrian regime to expel the PKK. Ocalan fled and was eventually arrested in Kenya in February 1999, at which point the PKK migrated to the Kandil

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<sup>10</sup> Ali Kemal Ozcan, *Turkey's Kurds: A Theoretical Analysis of the PKK and Abdullah Ocalan* (Routledge, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Raymond A Hinnebusch and Özlem Tür, *Turkey-Syria Relations between Enmity and Amity* (Ashgate Pub., 2013).

Mountains of Northern Iraq.<sup>12</sup> By the end of the PKK's tenure in Syria, the insurgency caused 30,000 casualties in Turkey and cemented its place as Turkey's main foreign and domestic policy issue.<sup>13</sup>

By the time of the group's expulsion from Syria, the PKK brand was toxic. International pressure associated with the so-called 'War on Terror' after 2001 restricted the PKK's operations internationally. Similarly, among much of the Kurdish population outside of Turkey, the PKK was seen as sacrificing the political aspirations of Kurds in Syria and Iran in favor of those in Turkey. In an effort to escape their international terrorist designation and address local objectives in Iran and Syria associated with Ocalan's concept of Democratic Confederalism, the PKK founded PJAK and then the PYD, beginning what can be called a 'franchise era.'

### **Beginning of the PJAK and PKK Franchise Era**

In 2004 the Party of Free Life of Kurdistan (PJAK) was founded and began its armed struggle against the Islamic Republic of Iran aimed at achieving the same Ocalanian brand of Kurdish nationalism that the PKK aspired to in Turkey. Organizational, ideological, and rhetorical similarities to the PKK led government officials in both Turkey and Iran to immediately claim the unity of the two groups and their shared terrorist nature. As Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Be?ir Atalay put it, "the PJAK and PKK are one group with two names."<sup>14</sup> Similarly, in conversations with the Turkish military, officers were adamant about the unity of the organization but reluctant to provide any evidence that could draw more than a dotted-line between organizations after its initial inception.<sup>15</sup> There are reasons for Turkey's claims. Both the PKK and PJAK are declared members of the KCK umbrella organization and share a similar espoused ideology. The US Treasury Department reported PKK leadership controls and allocates personnel to the PJAK and the YRK.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, PJAK has repeatedly declared their independence from the PKK and claim to have strategic, operational, and tactical level autonomy.<sup>17</sup> These comments reflect a desire amongst PJAK and PKK to draw a distinction between the groups, because of both international legal and political implications associated with the PKK's terrorist label and for the PJAK to be seen as a local organization with local objectives separate from the PKK's fight against Turkey. Given contradictory claims by the Kurdish militants, the Turkish, American and Iranian governments, and their mutual interest in distorting the truth, ambiguity still exists regarding the nature of the PKK-PJAK relationship across organizational levels.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "PJAK, PKK One Terrorist Group with Two Names: Turkish Deputy PM," *Trend* (August 26, 2011), available at <http://en.trend.az/world/turkey/1923185.html> (accessed July, 10, 2016).

<sup>15</sup> Author interview with senior military officials in Ankara (January 6, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> "Treasury Designates Free Life Party of Kurdistan a Terrorist Organization."

<sup>17</sup> "Hajji Ahmadi: PJAK Fights for a Confederal Iran," *Chris Kutschera 40 Years of Journalism*, (August/September 2008), available at <http://www.chris-kutschera.com/A/PJAK.htm> (accessed April 29, 2015).

PJAK and PKK KIA data tell an interesting story of the PKK's history in Iran, its role in PJAK's formation, and the continued strategic- and operational-level cooperation between groups throughout the last decade. Prior to 2004, the PKK's armed wing, the HPG, was no stranger to the Iranian theater of operations. After being driven out of Syria in 1998, bases in Iraq and Iran became of increasing strategic importance to the PKK. Geographically, the strategic terrain of the Zagros Mountains constituting the border with Iraq, Iran, and Turkey contained the main movement corridors that enabled HPG combat, sustainment, and regress operations. Additionally, the Kelaresh and Piran camps in western Iran long served as a base of operations for attacks in eastern Turkey. Demographically, Iranian born and recruited Kurds comprised a small minority of HPG fighters, comprising an average of six percent of HPG fighter deaths between 2001 and 2003.

In the founding of the PJAK, one sees an organizational model later emulated in the establishment of the YPG in Syria in which a cadre of locally-born HPG fighters are transferred under the banner of the PJAK in order to form the core of the organization. One of the few analyses that deals explicitly with the connection between PJAK and the PKK claims that PJAK initially received an influx of HPG fighters of Iranian origin.<sup>18</sup> It suggests that these Iranian HPG fighters were simply reconstituted into the sister organization to fight against the Iranian Government rather than Turkey. However, the true composition of the PJAK imports from the HPG and the nature of the relationship between the two groups is more nuanced.

An influx of HPG Iranian nationals is indeed observable in the KIA data. From 2001-2004, one sees the Iranian demographic steadily climbing to a peak of ten percent in 2004 as the PKK reportedly increased recruitment activity in Iran. From 2004-2006, deaths of HPG fighters of Iranian more than halves (Figure 4). After transferring a percentage of Iranian fighters to form PJAK, Iranians were less represented in HPG ranks, and in turn, in HPG casualties. However, the data also suggests the delineation between the HPG and PJAK is not as simple as country of origin. Iranian, Turkish, and Syrian nationals of the HPG alike who had enlisted in the PKK prior to the creation of the PJAK in 2004 were incorporated into the ranks of the PJAK as part of the founding cadre. According to Soner Cagaptay, "the PKK split its members among Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran with the intention of spreading its forces, those who dispersed to Iran formed the Iranian affiliate of the PKK, now known as PJAK."<sup>19</sup> Missing from this analysis is that the inverse is also true with regards to Iranian fighters in the HPG. From 2004-2015, after the founding of the PJAK, 185 Iranian Kurds, both born and recruited in Iran, died fighting in HPG units (Figure 1).

The data suggests that HPG support for PJAK is mutual. After a drop of five percent correlating to the founding of PJAK, Iranian dead within the HPG return to 2004 pre-PJAK levels by 2007. This correlates to a peak in overall HPG deaths (Figure 1). This suggests that, facing mounting pressure on the Turkish front, the PKK made the strategic decision to bring back Iranian-dominated YRK units and reflag them as HPG, or at least report their dead as such.

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<sup>18</sup> James Brandon, "Iran's Kurdish Threat: PJAK," *Terrorism Monitor* 4 (12) (June 15, 2006), available at [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=805&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=181&no\\_cache=1#.VS9YWWTF-gI](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=805&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=181&no_cache=1#.VS9YWWTF-gI) (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Soner Cagaptay and Zeynep Eroglu, "The PKK, PJAK, and Iran: Implications for U.S.-Turkish Relations" (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy Policywatch 1244, June 13, 2007), available at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-pkk-pjak-and-iran-implications-for-u.s.-turkish-relations> (accessed July 10, 2016)



The relationship between YRK and HPG units is one of sister units fighting against distinct targets but in overlapping theaters of operation. After the founding of PJAK and the conflict with Iran, the HPG increased operations in Iran. In the three years prior to the founding of the PJAK, five percent of HPG combat dead were killed on the Iranian side of the border. In 2004, HPG combat deaths in Iran more than doubled to ten and half percent, showing that even after the founding of the PJAK, Iran continued to be an important theater of operations for explicitly HPG-flagged units (Figure 2). However, analysis of the specific incidents of death shows that the majority occurred in what can be seen as shared sustainment areas between the YRK and HPG, with over 90% of HPG deaths in Iran occurring within ten kilometers of the Turkish border with Turkey and Iran. Rather than being combat areas, these areas were instead support zones, so the HPG fighters that died there did not die in offensive operations, but instead were attacked in their known sustainment camps in support roles (Figure 9).

Despite the blurry lines between HPG and PJAK demographics, objectives, and geography, the groups maintain a high level of control of their personnel at the tactical level. In over 2,000 instances of reported deaths, not once did PJAK or the HPG share an individual KIA. In other words, if a fighter died while fighting under the HPG banner, he was claimed as such, despite geographic place of death, nationality, or recruitment location. The same is observable with PJAK KIA. The reason for this may be of a political rather than military nature. By 2004, the PKK brand was in crisis and its brand unpopular; Turkish political pressure succeeded in having the PKK labeled as a terrorist group by the United States and European Union, a designation that carried extensive weight in the wake of the Global War on Terror. The lack of 'double-reporting' of KIA can be seen as a conscious effort to obscure connections between affiliates and the PKK proper.

However, despite this tactical level distinction, at the strategic and operational level there is little difference between a PJAK or HPG fighter. If a Syrian born fighter is recruited in Iran, he may end up fighting and dying in Iraq under a PJAK banner. This was the case of Miriam Waliku, born in 1985 in Aleppo, Syria. She joined the HPG in 2000 in Gara, Iran, four years prior to the founding of the PJAK, and was killed in 2011 in Kandil, Iraq, claimed as a PJAK KIA (see Appendix III). Compare this to the case of Muharrem Omoyimilan, born in Showt, Iran in 1989, recruited presumably by PJAK in Showt in 2006, two years after the PJAK was founded. He was killed by the Turkish military in Çukurca, Hakkari in 2012 and claimed as an HPG KIA.

The relationship outlined between the PKK and PJAK serves as a model for affiliate relationships that one again sees in the case of the PYD (see Appendix II). At the strategic level, the relationship between the HPG and YRK is one of sister units with shared strategic goals. At the operational level, the relationship is one of personnel management and resource allocation between groups, with individual fighters transferred across organizations to fill operational needs. Cross-organizational deployment of fighters is observable, not only at times of transition, such as the standing up of PJAK, but also in response to political and strategic necessity as will be seen in the case of the YPG in Syria. Additionally, theaters of operation generally follow organizational lines, but battle lines are often intersecting and mutually supporting, suggesting a high level of coordination between groups.

## The PKK in Syria

During the PKK's decade and a half in Syria, it established itself as the dominant Kurdish political party and established networks and relationships that allowed for the creation of the PYD in 2003. During the 1980s and 1990s, the PKK was the only organization able to become a "veritable popular" Kurdish political party in Syria, and it was the only party allowed to do so by the regime. By 1987, the PKK had opened political offices in Damascus, Qamishli, Darbasiyah, Derik, Ras al Ayn, Afrin, Aleppo, Kobani (Ayn al-Arab), and Hasaka.<sup>20</sup> The PKK filled a void in the Afrin, Ayn al-Arab, and Jarablus regions left by the traditional Syrian Kurdish political parties which had historically operated in the Jazira and Hasaka regions.<sup>21</sup> Taking up arms offered poorer Kurds, particularly those in Ayn al-Arab and Darbasiyah, a chance of social and political advancement.<sup>22</sup> The HPG's KIA data supports Tejel's argument on the regional distribution of the PKK's influence is Syria, as less than 15 percent of Syrian-born KIA were born in Hasaka and Qamishli, compared to over half in Afrin and Ayn al-Arab (Figure 3).

Harriet Allsopp asserts that during the 1980s, the PKK supplanted Barzani's KDP as the most powerful and popular Kurdish group in Syria. The PKK's rise to prominence was no doubt aided by the fact that it was the only Kurdish party allowed to openly operate in Syria, but perhaps equally as important, the modern Marxist-Leninist rhetoric it brought to Syria was attractive to young Syrian Kurds disillusioned with the tribal hierarchy that had previously dominated Kurdish society in Syria and was maintained by those loyal to the KDP.<sup>23</sup> David McDowell gives a similar historical account and suggests that the PKK enjoyed "almost unanimous sympathy within the Kurdish community in Syria, and was able to recruit young Syrian Kurds with little difficulty."<sup>24</sup> Syrian Kurds that joined the ranks of the PKK were given exemption from mandatory service in the Syrian military, enhancing the PKK's ability to recruit.<sup>25</sup> McDowell asserts that 7,000 Syrian Kurds recruited by the PKK in the 1980s 'disappeared' and were presumed dead.<sup>26</sup> Harriet Allsopp estimated between 7,000 to 10,000 Syrian Kurds who joined the PKK in 1980s were killed or missing.<sup>27</sup>

The cooperation between the PKK and the Syrian regime was pivotal for the PKK, but also in stark contrast to the status of Syrian Kurds who were themselves severely disenfranchised and persecuted by the Arabization policies of the Syrian government. While the PKK received support from the Syrian regime, the same regime was actively denying Kurds Syrian citizenship and seizing Kurdish property for reallocation to Arab peasants.<sup>28</sup> Other than the PKK, all other Kurdish groups were banned and their leadership persecuted by the regime. It appears that during this time of

<sup>20</sup> Jordi Tejel, *Syria's Kurds: History, Politics, and Society* (Routledge, 2009), p. 77.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Harriet Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria: Political Parties and Identity in the Middle East* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 42.

<sup>24</sup> David McDowell, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2005), p. 479.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

cooperation between the PKK and Syria, the PKK made no effort to target the Syrian state or mobilize its own Kurdish population against it. Similar to the KDP in Iraq, the PKK concentrated its efforts on the Kurdish movement in Turkey so as not to agitate their benefactor in Damascus.

Over time, the PKK's hyperfocus on achieving Kurdish objectives in Turkey and cooperation with the Syrian regime, eventually led some Kurds to distrust the PKK as a representative of Syrian Kurdish demands.<sup>29</sup> In the early 1990s, criticism of the PKK's strategy, ideology, and cooperation with the Assad regime grew. The dynamics that fed its popularity eventually cultivated disillusionment, as Syrian Kurds once again felt their own grievances were subservient to those of Kurds elsewhere in the region. The low point came in 1996, when Ocalan claimed in an interview, likely under pressure from the Assad regime, that Syrian Kurds were actually refugees from Turkey and called on Syrian Kurds to join the PKK's fight in Turkey, essentially dismissing the grievances of Syrian Kurds.<sup>30</sup>

### **The PYD and Syrian Kurds 2003-2011**

After the Assad regime expelled Ocalan and the PKK from Syria in 1998, the regime cracked down on the remaining PKK networks in Syria, ending a tenuous era of cooperation between the Syrian state and the PKK that had characterized the previous decade. Although Syrian Kurdish support for the PKK waned in the 1990s, there was still a reservoir of support for the PKK in Syria. In an attempt to rejuvenate local support and escape Assad's new oppression of the PKK, remnants of the organization in Syria founded the PYD in 2003, resuming PKK activities under this new banner. During the PKK's period in Syria, it established recruiting, training, financial, and smuggling networks that were almost certainly transferred to the PYD. However, the PYD denied, and continues to deny, any organizational connections to the PKK. The PYD is an explicit member of the KCK, the umbrella organization created by Ocalan and led by senior HPG officials, but the PYD claims it only shares Ocalan's ideological vision. The PYD also mirrors the PKK in its ideology, rhetoric, symbolism, strategy, and organizational structure.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, according to Tejel, "Syrian PKK militants" created the PYD for two reasons, "escaping state repression and maintaining the support of the PKK's thousands of members and sympathizers."<sup>32</sup>

Because the PKK was outlawed, the PYD was established covertly, and much of its leadership is shrouded in organizational secrecy and government misinformation. The current PYD party co-chair, Salih Muslim, was a founding member of the PYD. He is the most well-known of the PYD's leadership, and was arrested by the Assad regime several times and served time in jail for illegal political activity, like many other PYD members.<sup>33</sup> His connections to the PKK came later

<sup>29</sup> Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, p. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, p. 40; Tejel, *Syria's Kurds*, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, pp. 40, 209.

<sup>32</sup> Jordi Tejel, "Syria's Kurds: Troubled Past, Uncertain Future," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, (October 16, 2012), available at <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/10/16/syria-s-kurds-troubled-past-uncertain-future/e2nt> (accessed July 10, 2012).

in his political career, as he originally supported Mustafa Barzani's movement in Iraq, before becoming disillusioned with Barzani's lack of attention given to the Syrian Kurdish cause.<sup>34</sup> In 2010, he was elected PYD chairman and was exiled from Syria, where he relocated to the PKK's base in Qandil, joining the majority of the PYD leadership there.<sup>35</sup> Little information is known about Muslim's PYD co-chair, Aysa Abdullah, but another senior PYD official, Aldar Xelil, reportedly lost a hand fighting with the PKK.<sup>36</sup>

### *The Numbers*

After the founding of the PYD, Syrian Kurds continued to join and fight for the PKK, although to a lesser degree. Writing in 2012, Tejel claimed, "[e]ven today, by some estimates, Syrian Kurds account for up to 25 percent of the PKK's guerilla fighters."<sup>37</sup> The ICG also reported in 2012 that one-third of "rank and file" PKK fighters are of Syrian origin.<sup>38</sup> James Brandon, an analyst who visited the PKK's camp in Qandil in 2006, suggested some 20 percent of the PKK's fighters are Syrian.<sup>39</sup> The HPG's KIA data shows those recent estimates may be erroneously inflated, at least among Syrians in combat roles. From 2001 to 2015, Syrian HPG fighters comprised an average of only 13 percent of combat deaths (Figure 5), a figure substantiated by other similar studies such as TEPAV's in 2012.<sup>40</sup> When looking at pre-Syrian Civil War trends, Syrian KIA reached a high point of 20 percent in 2005, and an average high of 16 percent between 2001 and 2010 (Figure 4).

Although Syrians continued to fight in the PKK, the PKK's departure from Syria appears to have affected the recruitment of Syrian Kurdish fighters. The year of Ocalan's arrest, 1999, was a major recruitment for the HPG as a whole, and some thirty percent of all Syrian HPG combat deaths were recruited in that year alone. But in the years after the immediate spike, very few Syrians were recruited. Only six percent of the Syrian KIA joined in 2003 or later (although, 15 percent are unknown), compared with one-third of Iranians (23 percent unknown) and one-quarter of Turkish KIA (39 percent unknown). Almost all the unidentified recruitment years came from fighters killed after 2011, and even if the majority of those likely joined after 2003, Syrian recruitment still dropped significantly compared with the 1980s and 1990s, and compared with fighters of other nationalities.

<sup>33</sup> "Group Denial: Repression of Kurdish Political and Cultural Rights in Syria," (Human Rights Watch, November 2009), available at [http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/syria1109webwcover\\_0.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/syria1109webwcover_0.pdf) (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>34</sup> "Saleh Muslim Mohammed," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Syria Crisis Blog*, at <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48726> (accessed April 27, 2014).

<sup>35</sup> Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, 208; "Syria's Kurds: A Struggle within a Struggle," (International Crisis Group Middle East Report 136, January 22, 2013), available at [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Syria/136-syrias-kurds-a-struggle-within-a-struggle.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Syria/136-syrias-kurds-a-struggle-within-a-struggle.pdf) (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>36</sup> Eirka Solomon and Daniel Dombey, "Chaos in Syria and Iraq revives Kurds' Nationalist Ambitions," *Financial Times* (October 23, 2014).

<sup>37</sup> Tejel, "Syria's Kurds: Troubled Past, Uncertain Future."

<sup>38</sup> "Turkey: The PKK and a Kurdish Settlement" (International Crisis Group Europe Report 219, September 11, 2012), available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/turkey-cyprus/turkey/219-turkey-the-pkk-and-a-kurdish-settlement.pdf> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> James Brandon, "The PKK and Syria's Kurds," *Terrorism Monitor* 5 (3) (February 21, 2007), available at [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=1014#.VTCa32TF9rh](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1014#.VTCa32TF9rh) (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>40</sup> Ozcan and Gurkaynak, "Who are these People of the Mountain?"

## The Syrian Civil War

The start of the Syrian Civil War and the responses by the PKK, PYD, and the PJAK, offer the best evidence in support of the theory that all three organizations are run out of Kandil and are strategically indistinguishable from the PKK. After protests erupted in Syria in March 2011, by April, Saleh Muslim had returned to Syria from exile in Kandil. Muslim quickly began organizing political and military activities.<sup>41</sup> Multiple sources agree that around the same time the PKK sent one thousand militants, possibly two thousand, to Syria to establish the PYD's armed wing, the People's Protection Units (YPG).<sup>42</sup> One such individual was Khebat Derik, the founding commander of the YPG. He was a founding member of the PKK and senior PKK commander before forming the YPG.<sup>43</sup> Although the PYD denied the PKK transferred militants from Qandil to Syria, two major indicators in the trends in KIA data show that they did in fact send a number of militants into Syria. Similar to the establishment of the PJAK, the percentage of Syrian KIA as a percentage of HPG losses experienced its sharpest decline in a decade, dropping from 14 percent in 2010 to nine in 2011, and the pre-uprising average of 16 percent was nearly halved to nine percent over the duration of 2011 to 2015 (Figure 4). At the same time, the PJAK called for a ceasefire on the Iranian front and the percentage of Iranian HPG KIA increased four percent, as the total number of Iranian KIA from 2011 to 2015 almost matched the entire 2001 to 2010 total. These figures support reports that the PKK deployed some of its Syrian militants into Syria to form a core cadre of the YPG. Facing a need for personnel on the new Syrian front, the PKK followed the same model evident in the creation of PJAK, sending a core cadre of primarily Syrians to stand up the new YPG units. While at the same time, facing fierce fighting on the Turkish front, the PKK redeployed previous YRK units back to Turkey where one sees their deaths reported under the HPG. To what extent this statistical increase is the result of fewer Syrian nationals or more Iranian nations is unclear and is likely the result of both. Nonetheless, raw numbers of dead Iranians increase and Syrians decrease.

The YPG was initially formed after the 2004 Qamishli riots as the PYD's armed units, but activated itself and stood up the first formal units in 2011 after the uprising, and only then announced itself in July 2012 as the YPG after regime forces withdrew from many of the Kurdish-dominated areas.<sup>44</sup> The YPG proclaims independence from any Syrian political party and denies

<sup>41</sup> "Syria's Kurds: A Struggle within a Struggle."

<sup>42</sup> "Turkey: The PKK and a Kurdish Settlement;" David Enders, "Competing Senses of Liberation, Dread Rule in Kurdish Areas of Syria," *McClatchy* (August 15, 2012), available at <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2012/08/15/162398/competing-senses-of-liberation.html#storylink=cpy> (accessed July 10, 2016); Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, 208; Wladimir Van Wilgenburg, "The Kurds and the Future of Assad," *Atlantic Council Menasource* (June 2, 2014), at <http://www.atlantic-council.org/blogs/menasource/the-kurds-and-the-future-of-assad> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>43</sup> "Matry Khebat Derik" [Arabic], *Martyrs of the Movement for the Freedom of Western Kurdistan*, at [http://pakrewane-nazadiye.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=645:2012-05-06-13-52-40&catid=62:2012&Itemid=83](http://pakrewane-nazadiye.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=645:2012-05-06-13-52-40&catid=62:2012&Itemid=83) (accessed April 29, 2015); Arjen Derik, "Khebat Derik (Botan) Legendary Commander between the Lines" [Arabic], *Ronahi Newspaper* (January 24, 2014); "Remember the Martyr Khebat Derik" [Arabic], *YPG Rojova* (January 14, 2014), available at <http://ypgrojava.com/ar/index.php/2013-08-30-22-53-29/631-2014-01-14-10-24-35> (accessed April 29, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> "Flight of Icarus? The PYD's Precarious Rise in Syria", (International Crisis Group Middle East Report 151, May 8, 2014), available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Iraq%20Syria%20Lebanon/Syria/151-flight-of-icarus-the-pyd-s-precarious-rise-in-syria.pdf> (accessed July 10, 2016); Danny Gold, "Meet the YPG, the Kurdish Militia That Doesn't Want Help from Anyone," *Vice* (October 12, 2012), available at <http://www.vice.com/read/meet-the-ypg> (accessed July 10, 2016); Sara Hussein, "YPG: The Kurdish Militia Battling ISIS Jihadists," *Agence France Presse* (October 09, 2014), available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2014/Oct-09/273442-ypg-the-kurdish-militia-battling-isis-jihadists.ashx> (July 10, 2016).

any coordination with the PKK.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, the YPG asserts itself to be the national defense force for all the people of Rojova, regardless of nationality, religion, or other differences. Despite this, the YPG “retained their connection to the PYD and facilitated YPD activities and policies.”<sup>46</sup> For instance, the YPG continued to fly PYD flags at checkpoints.<sup>47</sup> The ICG argues that the PKK’s leadership in Kandil has authority over the YPG, and that the YPG’s “senior ranks consist of PKK fighters with Syrian nationality who trained in [K]andil, fought in Turkey, and in some cases speak Turkish.”<sup>48</sup> The ICG also reported that as the YPG expanded and increasingly clashed with other groups, Iranian and Turkish PKK fighters later came to Syria, often in command positions. As will be shown, an analysis of the HPG and YPG combat death trends supports these theories and exposes the PKK’s shell game.

The PYD established local defense and municipal councils, and originally had its strongest popular backing in areas around Ayn al-Arab, Aleppo, Afrin, and Derik, the same areas the KIA data shows the majority of Syrian HPG fighters came from (Figure 3). The PYD employed a similar strategy as the PKK by avoiding clashes with the Assad regime, with the exception of a few instances of clashes between the YPG and regime forces over the course of the war. The PYD’s first goal was to establish dominance over other Kurdish parties, particularly the KDP-backed KNC. The PYD/YPG filled the void left by the Syrian state after regime security forces withdrew from Kurdish areas in July 2012, and then proclaimed the establishment of Rojova (Western Kurdistan) in November 2013, a self-governing administrative body consisting of three non-contiguous areas of Afrin, Ayn al-Arab, and Jazira. The Assad regime has acquiesced to each of the PYD’s more assertive steps: the return to Syria in 2011, the takeover of Kurdish areas in 2012, and the announcement of Rojova in 2013. Some observers have suggested a tentative agreement and level of cooperation, as the regime benefits by not having to defend or govern Kurdish areas, saving much needed manpower, while the PYD is allowed to rule and expand.<sup>49</sup>

The PYD and YPG have gone to great lengths to downplay their connections to the PKK. They have done so for two reasons: first, in hopes of securing international and regional support. Secondly, in order to maintain a Syrian identity to increase the PYD/YPG’s and Rojova’s support beyond just PKK supporters. Because the PKK’s reputation was damaged in the 1990s, the PYD desires to present itself as a truly Syrian Kurdish party. The YPG needs large numbers of recruits, and the support of the vast majority of the population under the territory it controls in order to defend against other Syrian militant groups.

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<sup>45</sup> Aron Lund, “Syria’s Kurdish Army: An Interview with Redur Khalil,” (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Syria Crisis Blog, December 25, 2013), at <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=54016> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>46</sup> Allsopp, *The Kurds of Syria*, p. 214.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> “Flight of Icarus? The PYD’s Precarious Rise in Syria,” *International Crisis Group*, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

### New Opportunities: ISIL/DAESH, Ayn al-Arab, and Sinjar

The PYD and the YPG mutually gained international recognition during the Syrian Civil War. The YPG mainly clashed with other Syrian insurgent groups, including the Free Syrian Army (FSA), Jabhat al Nusra, and the ISIL/DAESH, but also on occasion with regime forces. Not coincidentally, the YPG spread from the historical PKK strongholds in Ayn al-Arab, Aleppo, and Afrin, into the Kurdish heartland in the Hasaka province. As the YPG successfully defended the three Rojova cantons from increasing attacks, the YPG's popularity rose, and the PYD's along with it.<sup>50</sup> The YPG came to be seen as sole protector of Syrian Kurds, even by those that disagreed with the PYD's political program.<sup>51</sup>

After ISIL/DAESH swept across northern Iraq in June 2014, it began attacking the YPG in the Ayn al-Arab region by the first week of July, and July 2014 marks an observable shift in the YPG KIA data. Although, ISIL/DAESH only made initial forays into the territory around Ayn al-Arab in July before launching a full-scale offensive in September. From October 2013 until July 2014, less than three percent of the YPG's combat deaths were non-Syrian, with over 80 percent known to be Syrian and 16 percent unidentified (Figure 7). In the period from July 2014 to February 2015, roughly 16 percent of combat deaths were Turkish-born fighters and another four percent were Iraqi or Iranian, while only 65 percent of the deaths were known to be Syrian and another 15 percent unidentified (Figure 8). September 2014 is also important, as the PKK overtly deployed some 400 fighters that month, reportedly from Kandil, to reinforce the YPG in Ayn al-Arab.<sup>52</sup> In addition, dozens of Turkish Kurds, possibly even hundreds, are believed to have crossed the border to support the YPG in Ayn al-Arab after the YPG called upon all Kurds for assistance.<sup>53</sup> However, despite the PKK openly sending hundreds of fighters to Ayn al-Arab, the HPG did not announce a single combat death from Ayn al-Arab. Rather, the YPG announced all the KIA" from Ayn al-Arab. Moreover, the PKK did not acknowledge sending fighters to Syria until September, but almost twenty percent of the non-Syrian combat deaths occurred in July and August. This indicates the PKK did in fact have non-Syrian fighters in Syria before the siege of Ayn al-Arab, despite the PYD's insistence otherwise. This is yet another example of the PKK's conscious effort to obscure its role in outside of Turkey and its intrinsic connection to the PYD and YPG.

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<sup>50</sup> "Flight of Icarus? The PYD's Precarious Rise in Syria."

<sup>51</sup> Wladimir van Wilgenburg, "Syrian Kurds Win Support in Battle With Al-Qaeda Forces," *Al-Monitor*, October 25, 2013, at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/al-qaeda-fight-prompts-kurds-support-pkk.html#> (accessed July 10, 2016); Wladimir van Wilgenburg, "Syrian Arab Village Welcomes Kurdish Fighters," *Al-Monitor* (October 13, 2013), at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/syria-welcomes-kurdish-fighters.html> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>52</sup> "Turkish Security Forces Clash with Kurds as PKK Sends Aid to Kobani," *Today's Zaman* (September 21, 2014), available at [http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa\\_turkish-security-forces-clash-with-kurds-as-pkk-sends-aid-to-kobani\\_359364.html](http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa_turkish-security-forces-clash-with-kurds-as-pkk-sends-aid-to-kobani_359364.html) (accessed July 10, 2016); Constanze Letsch, "'Their Fight is our Fight': Kurds Rush from across Turkey to Defend Kobani," *The Guardian* (September 26, 2014), available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/26/kurds-rush-across-turkey-defend-kobani-isis-syria> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>53</sup> Letsch, "'Their Fight is our Fight';" Diaa Hadid, "Kurds Head to Syria from Turkey to Fight ISIS," *Associated Press* (September 21, 2014), available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2014/Sep-20/271368-300-kurds-cross-from-turkey-to-syria-to-fight-isis.ashx> (accessed July 10, 2012).

The case of Arzu Adiguzel exemplifies the PKK's involvement in Syria and its attempt to hide that fact. Adiguzel, code name Yivan Amed, was a female YPG fighter born in Diyarbakir, Turkey.<sup>54</sup> She died on August 14, 2014 and was claimed exclusively as an YPG KIA. According to the YPG's announcement, she joined the YPG in Diyarbakir on February 17, 2011, several months before the PYD returned to Syria and formerly stood up the first YPG units. Local Diyarbakir media reports provide a picture of her to go along with the story of her death. The picture shows Adiguzel dressed in the typical HPG uniform alongside a picture of Ocalan and an HPG flag, not the in the YPG/YPJ style of uniforms or with the Rojova/YPG flags. She is not the only YPG fighter to either have joined in Turkish cities, despite there are no known YPG recruiting offices in Turkey, or that joined in the years before the YPG was publicly formed. In fact, according to their KIA announcements, one Syrian YPG fighter joined in 1994 and another joined in 1995, before the PYD was even established.<sup>55</sup> There would be no reason for Syrian or Turkish Kurds to join the YPG before the PYD returned to Syria, because there was no formal YPG to join. The likely scenario is that fighters such as Adiguzel joined the HPG, but were sent by the leadership in Kandil to fight in the YPG flagged units in the Syrian theater. This directly contradicts the PYD and YPG's claims of autonomy from the PKK.

Similar to the example of the HPG-YRK relationship, rarely do fighters die on the wrong side of the border, suggesting that the concept of regional theaters of operation is at play in the Syrian case. Since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, not one HPG fighter was reported to have died in Syria. Similarly, only 21 out of an estimated one thousand YPG combat deaths reported occurred in Iraq. In press statements and KIA announcements, the YPG acknowledged fighting around two main fronts in Iraq, one near Mount Sinjar, particularly in the village of Snuny on the north side of the mountain not far from the border, and the other near the town of Rabia, an official border crossing and on the highway to Mosul, near Sinjar.<sup>56</sup> These are the only known instance of YPG fighters engaging in combat outside of Syria, all of which occurred under the exceptional circumstances of ISIL/DAESH's siege of Sinjar and just across the Syrian border.

The YPG claimed to cooperate and fight alongside with the HPG around Sinjar, although evidence suggests the YPG and HPG maintained operational strategy in conjunction with the concept of clearly defined theaters of operation along international borders. In fact, in an examination of the battle of Sinjar, many HPG fighters are documented to have died on the opposite side of Mount Sinjar just days before their YPG counterparts. The proximity in location and time suggests close coordination between units resulting from a unified PKK command structure based in Qandil. At the same time, the distinct difference in location of deaths and reporting of death suggests some tangible distinction between units at the tactical level as no claimed HPG and YPG combat deaths

<sup>54</sup> "Martyrs Resistance Sinjar" [Arabic], YPG Rojova (August 21, 2014), "YPJ'li Arzu Adigüzel için mevlit verildi" [Turkish], *Diha Haberleri* (August 24, 2014); "Amed'de Taziyeler Kabul Ediliyor" [Turkish], *Sterk*, (August 23, 2014).

<sup>55</sup> "Martyrs Resistance Sinjar" [Arabic], YPG Rojova (August 08, 2014); "The Names of the Martyrs of the Resistance Tel Tamir," YPG Rojova (November 15, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> "A Statement Issued by the General Command of the People's Protection Units" [Arabic], YPG Rojova, (August 07, 2014); "A Statement Issued by the General Command of the People's Protection Units" [Arabic], YPG Rojova (August 16, 2014).



near Sinjar occurred on the same day. Both YPG and HPG flagged units did operate near Mount Sinjar, but in different locations around Sinjar in order to maintain the tactical autonomy of the units, while under operational command from Qandil.<sup>57</sup> In Iraq outside Sinjar, YPG units focused around Rabia, while the HPG operated mainly in Makhmour and Kirkuk.<sup>58</sup> The locations of the deaths suggest that the YPG units came from Hasaka while HPG units came from Qandil. Although some media reports from Sinjar at the time were murky and occasionally inaccurate in the usage of PKK versus YPG labels, this analysis is substantiated by ground reporting.<sup>59</sup>

The sieges of Ayn al-Arab and Sinjar, the US-led international fight against ISIL/DAESH, along the broader Syrian Civil War, provided the PKK with new opportunities. The PKK's success against ISIL/DAESH, through the YPG in Syria and the HPG in Iraq, has provided PKK with a taste of what its rival the KDP achieved, but what it never did: territorial control and international legitimacy. In Ayn al-Arab, the US not only provided close airport for YPG fighters, but also dropped weapons and ammunition to the YPG by air.<sup>60</sup> The PYD gave the US a "guarantee" that the weapons would not be given to the PKK or used against Turkey, which is interesting given that at least 15 percent of YPG combat deaths in Ayn al-Arab were Turkish Kurds.<sup>61</sup> After the YPG's success in Ayn al-Arab, the US provided air support for YPG forces in the Hasaka province as well.<sup>62</sup>

Prior to Ayn al-Arab, the US only engaged with the PYD through "indirect talks" and back-channels,<sup>63</sup> while denying PYD requests for formal meetings. Yet, in October 2014, US officials held formal meetings for the first time with PYD officials in Paris, France and Dohuk, Iraq.<sup>64</sup> In February 2015, French President Francois Hollande held a much publicized meeting in Paris with PYD co-chair Aysa Abdullah, YPJ/YPG commander Nesrin Abdullah, and another PYD

<sup>57</sup> Ralf Hoppe, et al, "New Alignments: The Kurds' Lonely Fight against Islamic State Terror," *Der Spiegel International* (October 29, 2014), available at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/kurdish-fight-against-islamic-state-could-fundamentally-change-region-a-999538.html> (accessed July 10, 2016); Aris Roussinos, "'Everywhere Around Is the Islamic State': On the Road in Iraq with YPG Fighters," *Vice News* (August 16, 2014), available at <https://news.vice.com/article/everywhere-around-is-the-islamic-state-on-the-road-in-iraq-with-ypg-fighters> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>58</sup> Mitchell Prothero, "U.S. Airstrikes Helped, but Kurds from Syria Turned Tide against Islamic State," *McClatchy* (August 11, 2014), available at <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2014/08/11/236000/us-airstrikes-helped-but-kurds.html> (accessed July 10, 2016); Franz-Stefan Gady, "The PKK Rumbles in Northern Iraq," *National Interest* (September 1, 2014), available at <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-pkk-rumbles-northern-iraq-11169> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>59</sup> Roussinos, "Everywhere Around Is the Islamic State."

<sup>60</sup> Constanze Letsch, "US Drops Weapons and Ammunition to Help Kurdish Fighters in Kobani," *The Guardian* (October 20, 2014), available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/20/turkey-iraqi-kurds-kobani-isis-fighters-us-air-drops-arms> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>61</sup> Verda Ozer, "PYD 'Promised' US to not Give Arms to PKK," *Hurriyet Daily News* (December 08, 2014), available at <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/pyd-promised-us-to-not-give-arms-to-pkk.aspx?PageID=238&NID=75307&NewsCatID=359> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>62</sup> Tom Perry, "Syrian Kurds See Deeper Coordination with U.S.-led Alliance," *Reuters* (March 4, 2015), available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/04/us-mideast-crisis-syria-northeast-idUSKBN0M01DC20150304> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>63</sup> Jake Hess, "Washington's Secret Back-Channel Talks with Syria's Kurdish 'Terrorists,'" *Foreign Policy*, October 7, 2014, available at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/10/07/washingtons-secret-back-channel-talks-with-syrias-kurdish-terrorists/> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>64</sup> Hannah Allam and Roy Gutman, "In Policy Shift, U.S. Opens Direct Talks with Syrian Kurds," *McClatchy*, (October 16, 2014).

representative.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, in March 2015, Sinem Muhammed, the PYD's representative to the EU was received in Washington, D.C. by State Department officials,<sup>66</sup> while Aysa Abdullah reportedly plans to visit Washington soon.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, Salih Muslim also led a PYD-delegation to the first and second rounds of the Syrian peace talks in January and April of 2015 in Moscow. The PYD was also invited to the UN-sponsored Geneva III Syria peace conference to be held in the summer of 2015, after it was spurned invitations to the first two conferences.<sup>68</sup> Thus, the PYD gained political recognition in addition to international military support.

These cases illustrate the success of the PKK's shell game, as the nature of the PYD did not change after Ayn al-Arab, but the illusion of an independent PYD/YPG allowed the international community to support it in the fight against ISIL/DAESH. A similar scenario occurred in Iraq, where the US indirectly provided airport for the HPG fighters battling ISIL/DAESH during the siege of Sinjar.<sup>69</sup> Although the air support for the HPG was more indirect than support for the YPG, where the YPG called in requests for airstrike, US military and intelligence officials also meet with HPG representatives on several occasions in Iraq for "informal" meetings.<sup>70</sup>

## Conclusion

While the PKK's history of establishing regional affiliates is no secret, KIA data shows that this franchising included an initial shift of personnel along demographic lines. Equally as important, and yet almost entirely overlooked, is the PKK's history of bringing these sister units back into the fold to fight in HPG units against the Turkish state. In this context, the recent growth of the numbers and capabilities of the YPG gives credence to Turkish fears that these units represent a strengthening of the PKK that will likely later be directed again in Turkey and that the 2012 ceasefire has only served as an opportunity for the PKK to focus on the Syrian front free of Turkish military pressure. The KIA data illustrates a high level of military coordination between the HPG, PJAK, and YPG military units across organizational levels, coordination that could not have been achieved without unity of command.

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<sup>65</sup> Fehim Tastekin, "Hollande-PYD Meeting Challenges Erdogan," *Al-Monitor* (February 12, 2015), at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/02/turkey-france-kurdish-guerillas-elysee.html> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>66</sup> "Syria's Kurdish PYD official blames Turkey for cold ties with Washington," *E-Kurd* (March 16, 2015), at <http://ekurd.net/syrias-kurdish-pyd-official-blames-turkey-for-cold-ties-with-washington-2015-03-16> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> Tastekin, "Hollande-PYD Meeting Challenges Erdogan."

<sup>68</sup> "PYD officially invited to Geneva III Conference," *ANF News* (April 28, 2015), available at <http://www.kurdishinfo.com/pyd-officially-invited-to-geneva-iii-conference> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>69</sup> Leela Jacinto, "Strange Bedfellows: Terror Groups, Kurdish Factions Unite against ISIS," *France 24* (August 15, 2014), available at <http://www.france24.com/en/20140815-kurds-isis-pkk-terror-group-iraq-turkey-usa> (accessed July 10, 2016); Thomas Seibert, "PKK Kurdish Terrorists Are Fighting IS Terrorists With U.S. Help," *The Daily Beast* (August 16, 2014), at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/08/16/pkk-kurdish-terrorists-are-fighting-isis-terrorists-with-us-help.html> (accessed July 10, 2016).

<sup>70</sup> Jacinto, "Strange Bedfellows;" Amberin Zaman, "Fight against IS Helps PKK gain global legitimacy," *Al-Monitor* (September 16, 2014), at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkey-kurdistan-iraq-syria-us-isis-pkk-global-legitimacy.html#> (accessed July 10, 2016); Jesse Rosenfeld, "U.S. Advisers May Be Working With Terrorist-Labeled PKK to Fight ISIS," *The Daily Beast* (April 10, 2015), at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/10/us-advisors-may-be-working-with-terrorist-labeled-pkk-to-fight-isis.html> (accessed July 10, 2016).

Far from just being a PKK offshoot or affiliate, PJAK and the PYD are part and parcel of the organization. KIA data exposes the PKK's effort to franchise and rebrand to be a shell game played with personnel and shows the strategic and operational unity of the PKK. The American desperation for a strategic partner in the battle against ISIL/DAESH and the Syrian regime has led it to cooperate with a dangerous bedfellow. The US recognizes PJAK as an entity under the control of the PKK and sanctions the group for it, but it insists the PYD is distinct and offers it military support. To what extent the US is aware of the true nature of the PYD or is content to embrace semantic ambiguity is unclear. What is clear is that the PKK is intimately involved in Syria. Whether the strategic decision to cooperate with the PKK is in the best interest of the United States is a decision for policymakers beyond the scope of this article. However, if the US is to cooperate militarily with the PYD in Syria, it should be cognizant about what it is doing: supporting a group which it has consistently labeled as a terrorist organization—the PKK.

Appendix I- Figures<sup>72</sup>

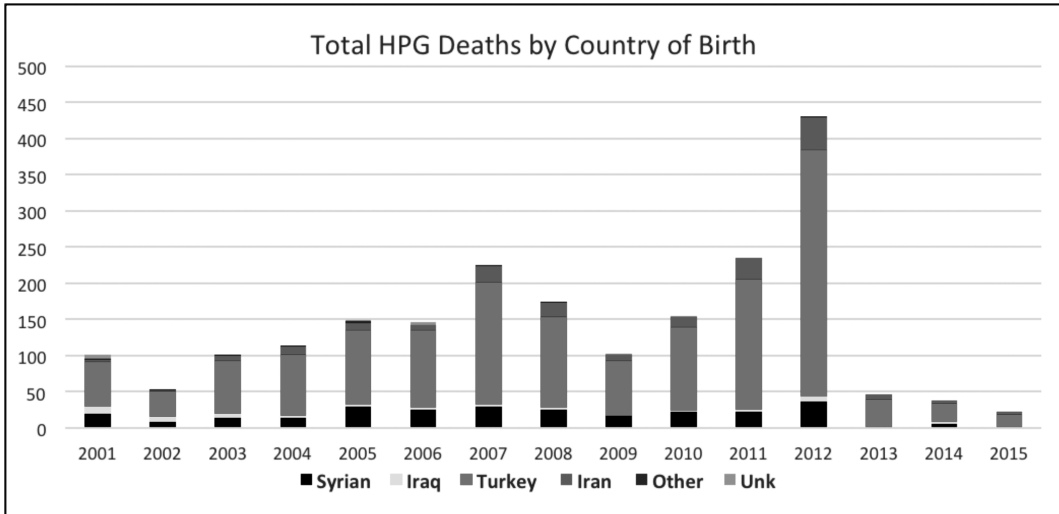


Figure 1-Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], *HPG Sehit*, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).

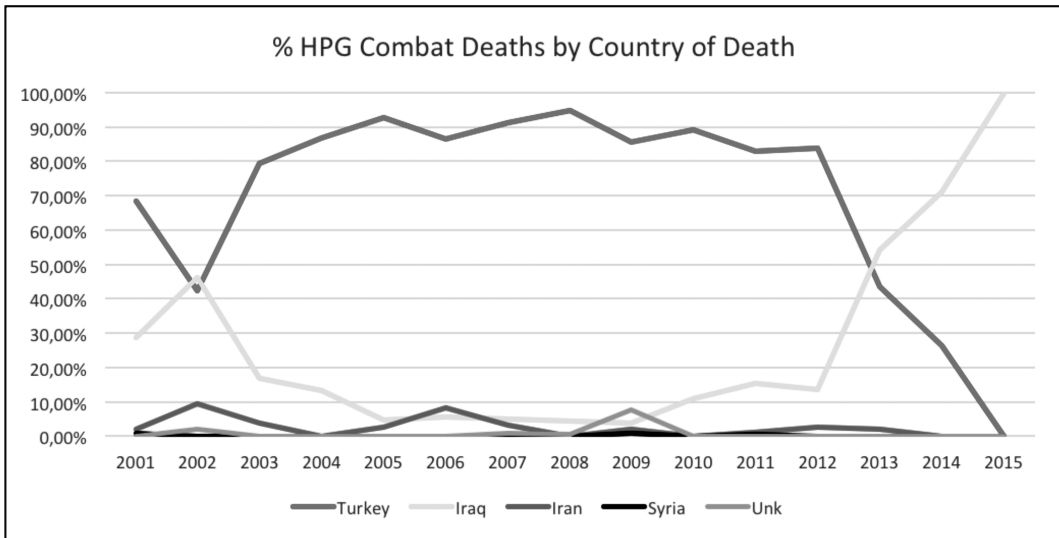


Figure 2-Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], *HPG Sehit*, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).

<sup>72</sup> All figures were created by the authors using data derived from information provided by YPG’s official website (<http://ypgrojava.com/ar>) and the HPG’s website (<http://www.hpg-sehit.com/>).

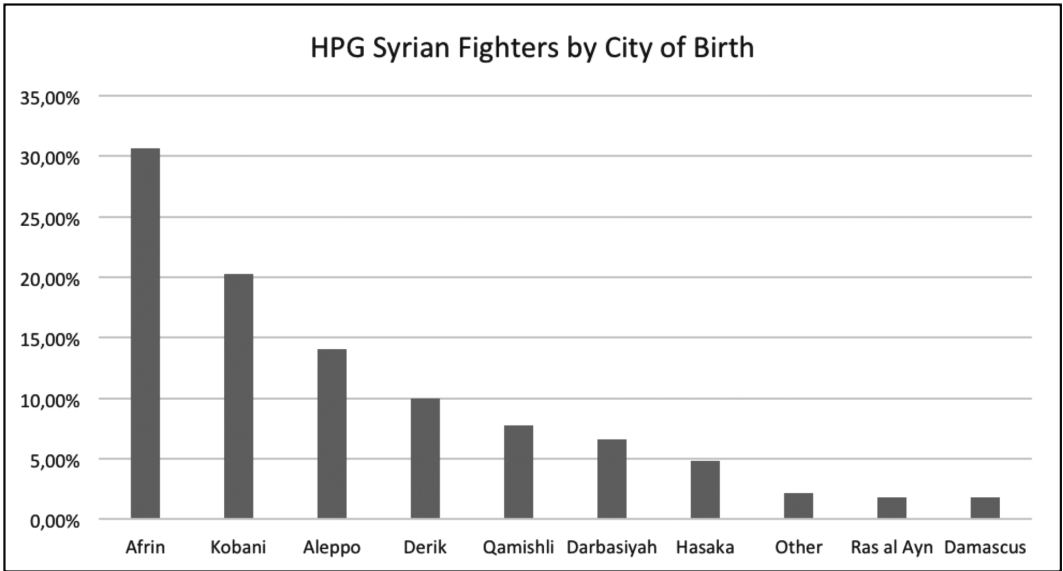


Figure 3- Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], *HPG Sehit*, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).

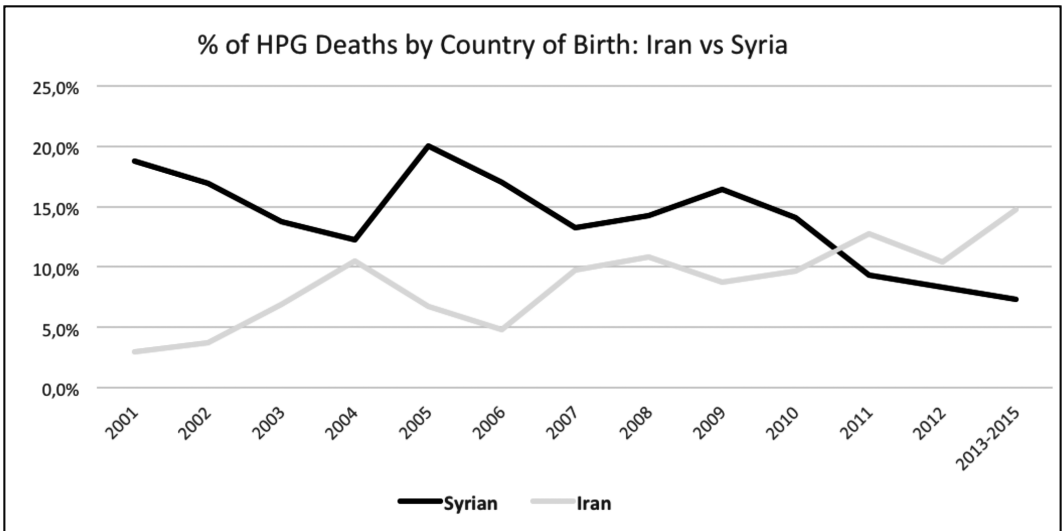


Figure 4-Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], *HPG Sehit*, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).

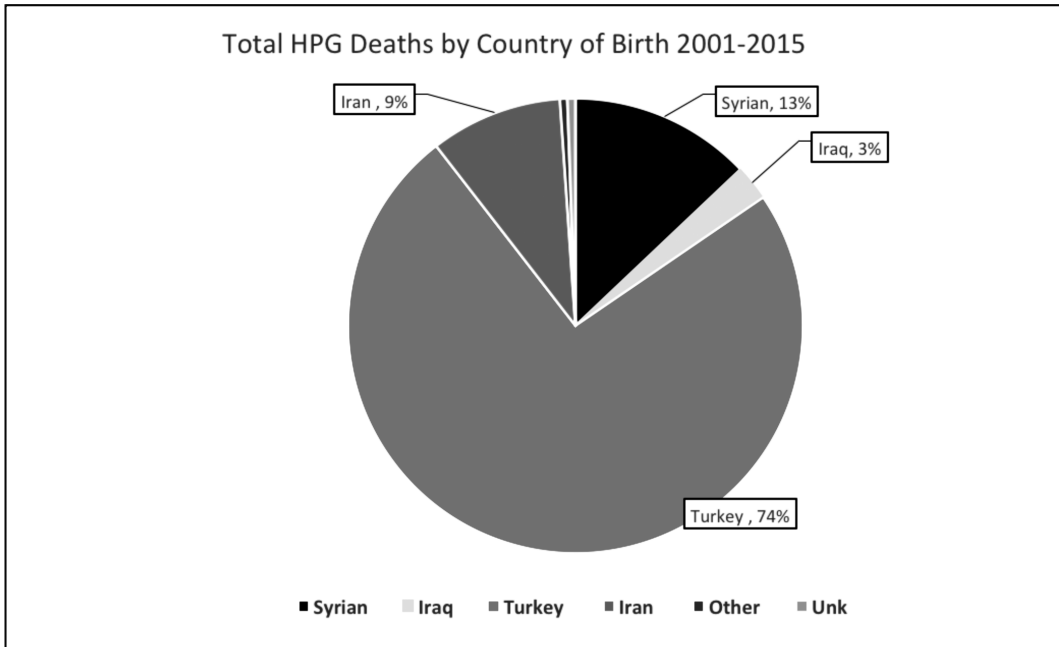


Figure 5-Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], *HPG Sehit*, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 1, 2015).

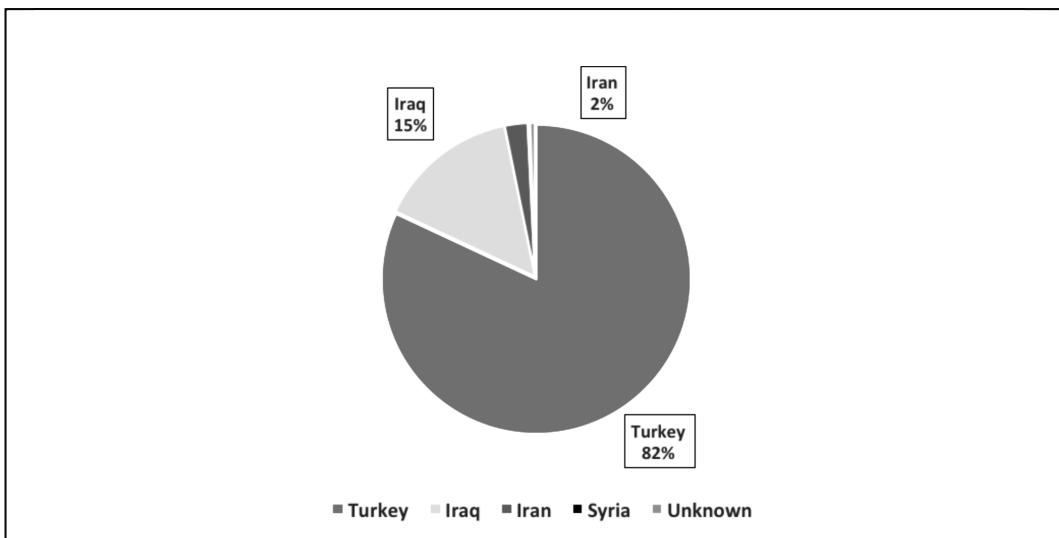


Figure 6-Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], *HPG Sehit*, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).

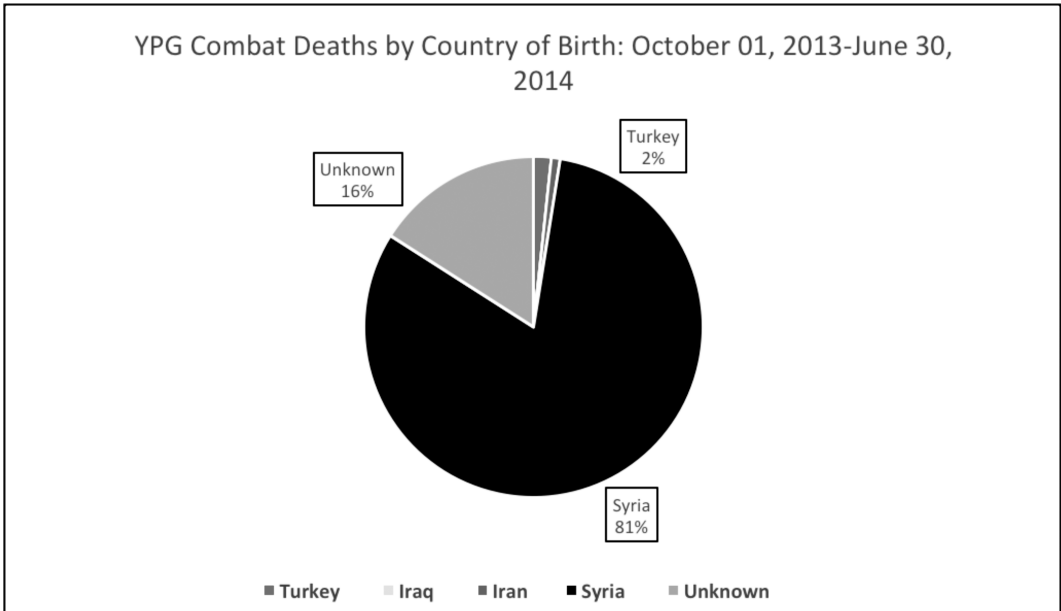


Figure 7-Source: “Martyrs” [Arabic], *YPG Rojava*, at <http://ypgrojava.com/ar/index.php/sport> (accessed May 01, 2015).

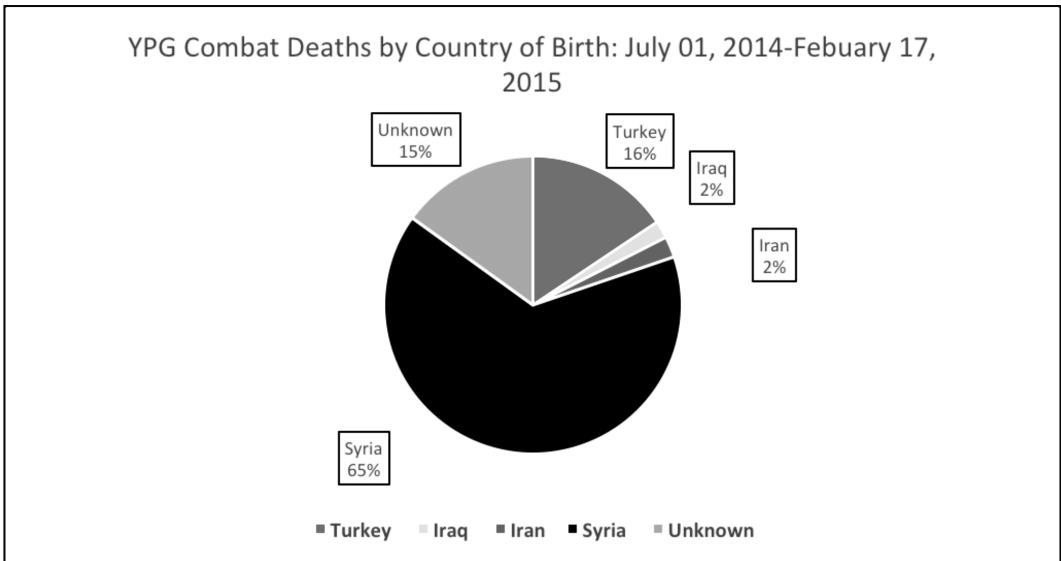


Figure 8-Source: “Martyrs” [Arabic], *YPG Rojava*, at <http://ypgrojava.com/ar/index.php/sport> (accessed May 01, 2015).



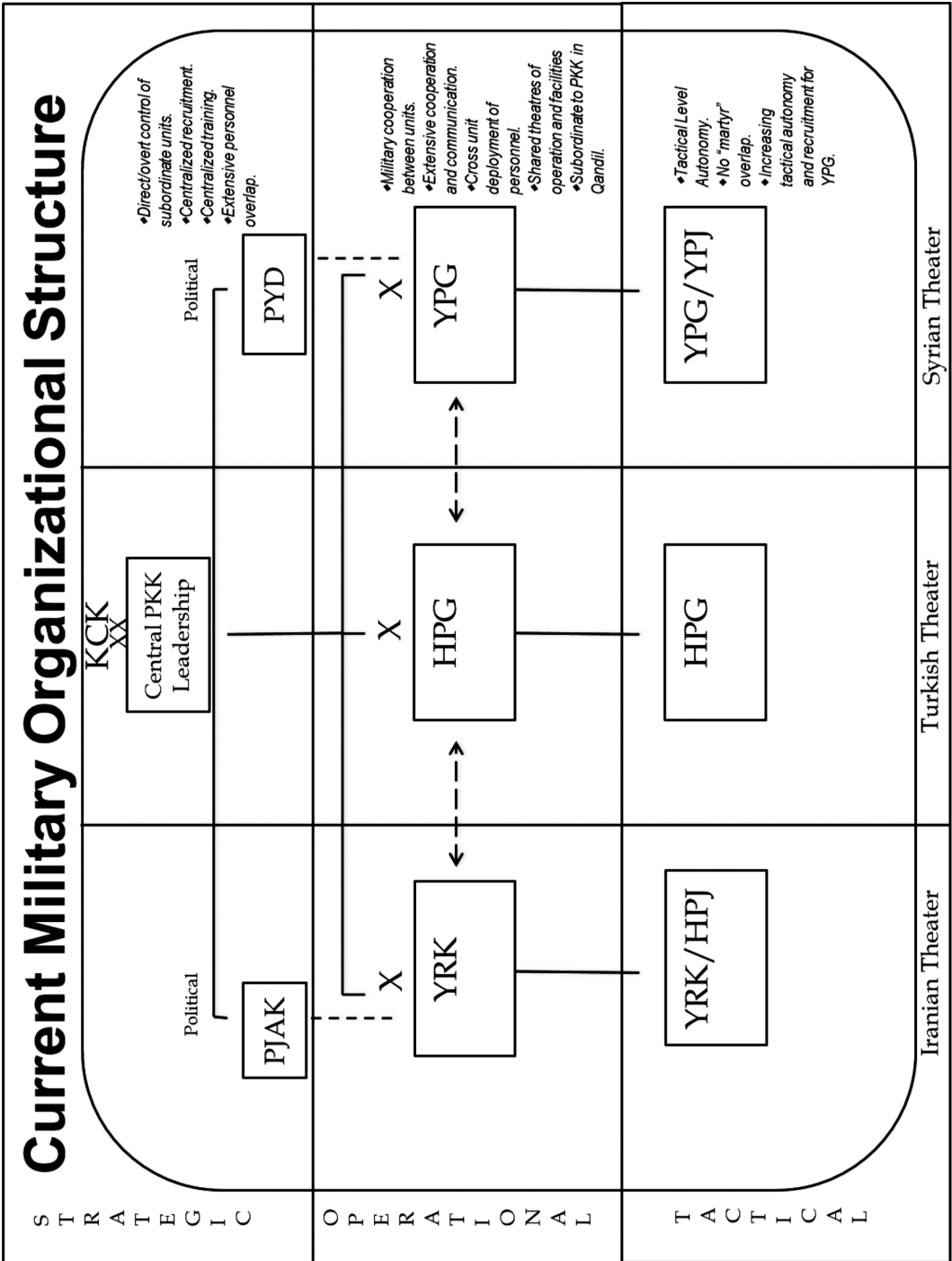
Figure 9: Map of HPG Combat Deaths in Iran  
 Large Circle: 20+ Deaths

Small Circle: 1-5 Deaths

Source: “Imprint of the Martyrs” [Turkish], HPG Sehit, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).



Appendix II- PKK Military Organizational Structure Chart



### Appendix III- Sample KIA Announcements



Adı Soyadı: Nebahat Demir  
Kod Adı: Mahabat Penaber  
Doğum Yılı ve Yeri: 1985/Silopi, Şırnak  
Katılım Yılı ve Yeri: 1999 - Mahmur  
Şahadet Yılı ve Yeri: / 13 - 15 Şubat 2012 / Besta, Şırnak

#### HPG

Source: "Imprint of the Martyrs" [Turkish], HPG Sehîr, at [http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111](http://www.hpg-sehit.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=3&Itemid=111) (accessed May 01, 2015).



"نلم و نلم خاتونانگی: مریم و لیکو  
کد مازمانی: اویندار گار  
تاریخ و محل تولد: 1985 - حلب غرب کردستان  
تاریخ و محل بیوستن: 2000 گاره  
تاریخ و محل شهادت: 2011/07/17 قندیل"

#### PJAM/YRK



قوسر کمال : الحركتي الاسم  
جوکو و بیری کمال : الحقیقی الاسم  
غریبی : الام اسم  
رمضان : الاب اسم

#### PJAM/YRK

Source: "Joined the Convoy of Martyrs"  
[Arabic], YPG Rojava, (April 16, 2015),  
<http://ypgrojava.com/ar/index.php/sport/1749-2015-04-16-13-39-50> (accessed May 01, 2015).

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## Critical Energy Infrastructure Protection against Terrorist Attacks in the Context of Gas and Oil Pipelines: The Turkish Case<sup>1</sup>

Mesut Hakkı CAŞIN<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract:** *At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the changing nature and capabilities of international terrorist organizations and organized crime syndicates led to increased attacks and sabotage against critical infrastructure and energy pipelines. Oil and gas pipelines, which are used to transport energy from resource states to consumers, make attractive targets for terrorists worldwide. In particular, attacks against critical energy infrastructure have recently increased in the Middle East, Asia and Africa where it is not very easy to completely eliminate self-radicalized individuals and terrorists groups. Terrorism is becoming more focused on economic targets and causing economic damage. The energy infrastructure will increasingly become a target, and the financial infrastructure may well follow.<sup>3</sup> Terrorist organizations have always been interested in targeting oil and gas facilities because striking pipelines, tankers, refineries and oil fields accomplishes two desired goals: undermining the internal stability of the regimes they are fighting, and economically weakening foreign powers with vested interests in their region. In the past decade alone, there have been scores of attacks against oil targets primarily in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. These attacks have never received much attention and have been treated as part of the ‘industry’s risk.’<sup>4</sup> In this article, we begin with a general discussion of trends in energy security of modern states and pipelines. Then, we shall highlight some trends in the changing nature of the modern terrorism and the main reasons for targeting critical energy facilities.*

**Keywords:** *Pipelines, energy, protection, infrastructure, attacks.*

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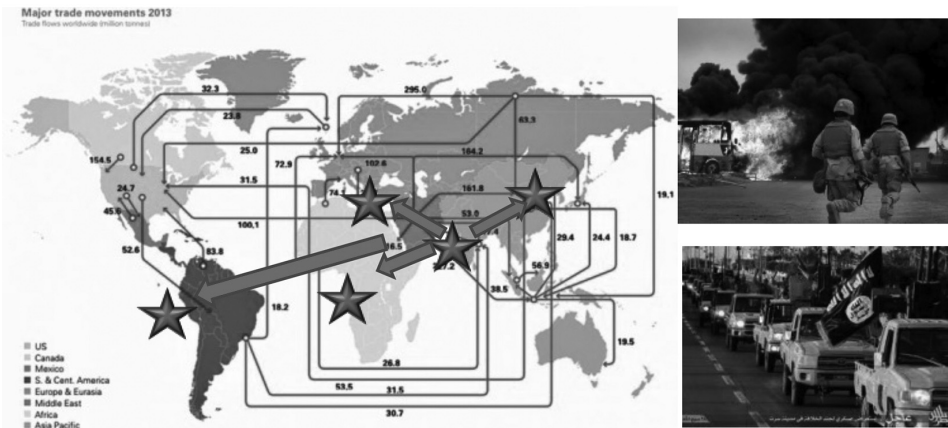
<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr., Özyeğin University.

<sup>3</sup> Raphael Perl, “Tendencies in Global Terrorism,” in *Countering Terrorism: Biological Agents, Transportation Networks, and Energy Systems* (Summary of a U.S.-Russian Workshop, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 2009), available at <https://www.nap.edu/read/12490/chapter/5> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Gal Luft and Anne Korin, “Terror’s Next Target,” *The Journal of International Security Affairs* (December 2003), available at <http://www.iags.org/n0111041.htm> (last visited 11 Sep 2016).

## Why Pipelines Affect the Energy Security of Modern States?

In order to better understand the relationship between the oil and gas pipelines for the energy security of modern states, we need to understand the balance and effect of energy supply and demand. Thus, industrial states need more energy from supplier states, resulting in more shipping and pipelines, including LNG transportations via transit states, for the flow of energy in a transboundary network. In other words, the EU countries, India, Japan<sup>5</sup>, China<sup>6</sup> and other industrialized Asian countries have higher energy demand so more energy infrastructure is needed. Many scholars estimate that this trend will continue in the medium and long term. The need for natural gas will grow faster than any other fuel, with demand rising by about 65 percent by 2040. Natural gas will overtake coal as the No. 2 energy source by 2040, when oil and natural gas will account for about 60 percent of the global demand for energy.<sup>7</sup> The future may prove the presence of shale gas reserves in other regions, but Europe and Asia will depend on imports from Russia, the Middle East and Australia for the foreseeable future.



- Using energy from source states to oil-gas pipelines and connecting critical energy infrastructures make **attractive targets for terrorists worldwide**,
- as has been seen recently in **Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Africa which it's not very easy** it is to eliminate the self-radicalized terrorists and groups threat completely.

Figure 1 - Energy as an attractive target<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Although Japan's dependence on oil has decreased in the past three decades and its share of total energy consumption has declined from about 80% in the 1970s to 44% in 2013, oil still remains the largest source of primary energy in Japan. "Japan: Overview", *U.S Energy Information Administration* (30 January 2015), available at <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=JPN>, (last visited 30 September 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Futures outlook projects annual growth in the world economy to average 2.9 per cent from 2010 to 2040, with emerging economies leading the way, and China and India growing roughly at three times the speed of the OECD countries. "Energy Perspectives Long-term Macro and Market Outlook", *Statoil*, (June 2011), available at <http://www.statoil.com/en/NewsAndMedia/News/Downloads/Statoil%20-%20Energy%20Perspectives.pdf>, (last visited 30 September 2016).

<sup>7</sup> "The Outlook for Energy: A View to 2040", *ExxonMobil*, (2013), available at [http://www.esso.co.th/Thailand-English/PA/Files/2013\\_co\\_eng.PDF](http://www.esso.co.th/Thailand-English/PA/Files/2013_co_eng.PDF), (last visited 30 September 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Prof.Caşın's own slides.

Europe is still heavily dependent on imported natural gas. This is particularly important when considering the fact that primary energy sources are imported from areas outside Europe that are either difficult to reach or geopolitically unstable. The overview of the oil and natural gas market, and the related risks and incidents, clearly indicate that even today the risks associated with energy supply are many. War and civil conflicts might have been replaced, to some extent, by weather conditions and monopolistic practices, but they are still playing a crucial factor in the supply of energy. Therefore, risks may have altered their nature, but their impact on international markets and global energy supply remains of great importance.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, energy security, a relatively new term in the international relations jargon, looks at how states secure adequate and reliable energy supplies at stable prices. By this point, energy insecurity is the product of the contradiction between a general trend of increasing energy consumption and a contradictory trend of decreasing energy reserves, and it acquires policy salience at the intersection of three dimensions connected by multiple and multidirectional links: growth, sustenance and the environment. In a world of tightening markets for oil and gas, animated by the explosive economic growth of new powers, the energy dimension of the rivalry between economic powers appears to be increasingly salient. Vital fuels such as oil, which is at times are used as a political instrument, enjoy a special place in the economic policies of producing countries and the security – economic strategies of consuming countries.<sup>10</sup> Paradoxically, the proliferation of energy security discourse has, on the one hand, established the legitimate association of energy and security while, on the other hand, prevented a closer conceptual and normative attention to energy security.<sup>11</sup>

In the study of energy security, ‘geopolitical’ approaches can be useful in illustrating the logic of interaction that shapes the behavior of some actors.

Securitization theory can also shed some light on the combinations of securitizing actors or on the linkage between referent objects, existential threats, target audiences and the policies designed to maintain reliable sources of energy.

Essentially, however, both approaches have fixed definitions of security; as a result, they afford only a limited understanding of the effects security and energy have on each other, and in particular, the fact that the domain of energy produces distortions and misperceptions in the meaning of security, not just in the increase in threats, subjects and objects of security policy but in fundamental concepts. As an ‘umbrella term’, energy security “covers many concerns linking energy, economic growth and political power.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Haris Doukas, Alexandros Flamos and John Psarras, “Risks on the Security of Oil and Gas Supply”, *Energy Sources, Part B: Economics, Planning, and Policy* 6(4) (2011), available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15567240903047442> (last visited 11 Sep 2016).

<sup>10</sup> Elaheh Koolae and Mandana Tishehyar, “China and Japan’s Energy Security Approaches in the Central Asia: A Comparative Study,” *China Report*, 45(4) (2009), available at <http://chr.sagepub.com/content/45/4/267.abstract> (last visited 11 September 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Energy security means the security of everything: resources, production plants, transportation networks, distribution outlets and even consumption patterns; everywhere: oilfields, pipelines, power plants, gas stations, homes; against everything: resource depletion, global warming, terrorism, ‘them’ and ourselves. At its maximum, this logic invests every single object of any kind with and in security. At least potentially, the result is a panoptic view of security that legitimates panoptic security policies. Felix Ciuta, “Conceptual Notes on Energy Security: Total or Banal Security?” *Security Dialogue* 41(2) (2010), available at <http://sdi.sagepub.com/content/41/2/123.abstract> (last visited 11 September 2016).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*



The vast majority of these hydrocarbon fuels will be shipped across the continent via a dense network of pipelines. The integrity of this network, however, is threatened, not only by mechanical failures, but also by targeted terrorist attacks. A typical pipeline for the transport of natural gas or oil can extend hundreds of miles and have thousands of sensors, valves, pumps, and controllers. They are typically monitored by cameras, enclosed by fencing, and routinely inspected. However, every security system has its weaknesses.<sup>13</sup> Like any physical system, pipelines are vulnerable to vandalism and terrorist attacks. The physical plant of these facilities may be damaged by explosives or by other mechanical means, disrupting flows and causing a release of pipeline contents. Alternatively, computer-controlled systems, which are often called SCADA (Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition) systems, may be ‘cyberattacked,’ or both physical and cyberattack may happen at the same time. Some pipelines may also be indirectly disrupted by other types of terror strikes, such as attacks on regional electricity grids or telecommunications networks, which could in turn affect dependent pipeline control and safety systems. Since pipelines supply fuel for vehicles, power plants, aircraft, heating, military bases and other uses, serious disruption of a pipeline network poses additional ‘downstream’ risks.<sup>14</sup>

### **Terrorism Threat Management and Security of Energy Pipelines**

Terrorism is the ultimate way to paralyze people who are willing to resist and destroy the ability to plan a strategic response. Such power is gained through sporadic acts of violence that create a constant feeling of threat, incubating a fear that spreads through the public sphere. Melting invisibility into the population, tailoring their actions for the mass media, the strategists of terror create the illusion that they are everywhere and therefore that they are far more powerful than they really are.<sup>15</sup> Defining the correct nature of new terrorist trends can be an important indicator of level and types of terrorist activity, can help states and the international community to formulate responsive counterterrorism strategies, and can assist both policymakers and the energy sector to allocate resources effectively.

Unfortunately, we think this new paradigm has gone through a rapid transformation within the last three decades. The nature of the terrorism has become more sophisticated, its geographical impact is now much wider and fatalities have increased by means of computers and social media propaganda, cyber war, suicide bombing attacks, etc. Therefore, questions critical to the concept of energy are:

- Why do terrorist organizations aim to attack critical energy facilities and pipelines?
- What do they want?
- What can they do?
- Why is critical energy infrastructure protection against terrorist attacks important?

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<sup>13</sup> Pierre Bertrand, “Ensuring Pipeline Physical and Cyber Security,” *Plant Engineering* (20 May 2015), available at <http://www.plantengineering.com/single-article/ensuring-pipeline-physical-and-cyber-security/a0f2373b0adc20ac7cc40aef5a52b2a8.html> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Paul W. Parfomak, “Pipeline Security: An Overview of Federal Activities and Current Policy Issues,” (CRS Report for Congress, 2004), available at <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/RL31990.pdf> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>15</sup> Robert Greene, *The 33 Strategies of War* (Profile Books, 2006), p. 435.

There is an absence of readily available, widely disseminated research and academic discussions on this topic. Thus, in order to understand the motivation of terrorist organizations to use energy as a strategic instrument and to target critical energy infrastructure, various dimensions and future prospects of terrorism against critical energy infrastructure (CEI) as a subset of critical infrastructure (CI) should be elaborately discussed. Terrorists use energy as a new kind of weapon to wage an economic warfare against nation-states.

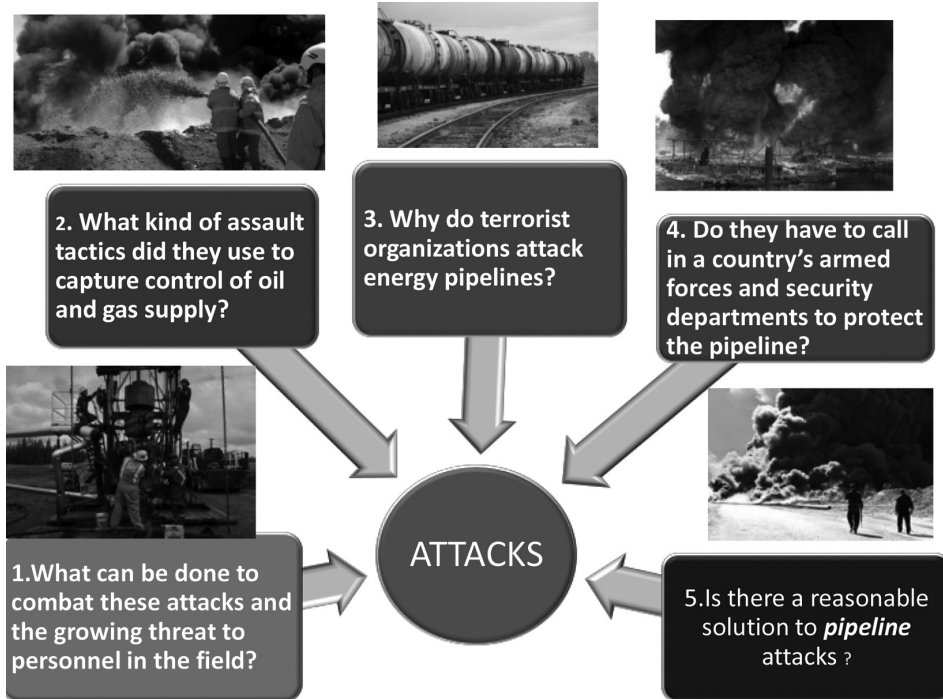


Figure 2 - Main Questions about Pipeline Attacks<sup>16</sup>

In modern, industrially-developed societies, information technologies may be viewed by terrorists as both a target and a means of attack. The CEI network as such could be of enormous value to terrorists, inasmuch as it provides a cheap and effective means of interaction and communication, serving as a source from which information may be obtained. Cyberattack scenarios may be particularly effective if used in combination with physical actions against critically important targets.

Electromagnetic terrorism involves the use of strong electromagnetic pulse (EMP) transmitters and high-voltage pulse generators that can damage flight control systems, telecommunication systems, electromagnetic devices at nuclear power plants, information systems, technical systems of environmentally hazardous facilities, and electrical power generating facilities.<sup>17</sup> Remember that the terrorists' primary objective is the sowing of insecurity and disillusionment within the target's

<sup>16</sup> Prof.Caşın's own slides.

<sup>17</sup> Perl, "Tendencies in Global Terrorism."

general population so that the incumbent administration is widely perceived as ineffective or even impotent to secure its citizens' safety in the face of an ever growing threat of environmental poisoning or bricks-and-mortar infrastructure damage. The rationing of terrorist-damaged basic household resources and exponentially increasing financial losses caused by oil spills in environmentally sensitive waterways and estuaries or suspicious fires at liquid natural gas terminals at the height of the winter heating season could potentially turn such nuisance attacks and public inconvenience major disasters.<sup>18</sup> However, except war and conflicts, such as 1973 oil embargo by OPEC and the 1991 Gulf War, the threat to critical energy infrastructure has received little attention from the international community. The production and delivery of oil and gas energy resources depend on critical infrastructure such as pipelines, refineries, processing plants, rigs, terminals, electrical energy pylons, substations, pump stations, vessels, and tankers. In terms of environmental protection, some scholars said that 'there is no such thing as an environmentally sensitive pipeline' and that embracing natural gas pipelines is a tacit acceptance of sometimes 'extreme and pernicious environmental and social risk'.

Of course, as is the same as all CI networks, oil and gas pipelines have been a favored target for terrorist organizations due to their economic values and consequential political impacts. One of the most important issues is the operation and control of oil and gas upstream, midstream and downstream pipelines. Pipelines themselves also exacerbate dependence on particular suppliers. The high capital cost of equipment and materials, political visibility of pipeline corridors, and barriers to enter into the gas market make it difficult to attract private investors and necessitate specialization. Once built, natural gas pipelines become vital to the overall economy and since the consequences of energy shortages can be quite severe, pipelines often become a lever that suppliers and transporters can use to extract rents from users:

- Oil and gas pipelines, globally, have been a favored target of terrorists, militant groups, and organized crime.
- Pipelines can be intentionally damaged.
- Pipelines may also be vulnerable to cyberattacks under the state's or non-state actor's supervisory control.

Because any point in the natural gas fuel supply chain can be targeted for attack from the drilling platform to production wells, to the refinery, and to the pipeline, its pumps and compression stations, or the power plant. Reliance on natural gas increases the risk that any incident will have catastrophic results that undermine the region's true national security interests. Physical plants can be damaged with explosions or by mechanical failures, computer control systems can be attacked via the Internet, regional electricity grid failures can affect dependent pipeline control and safety systems, and so on. Only one component failing can cascade into a complete systems failure, and natural gas pipelines can be particularly vulnerable to sabotage and attacks since any malfunction can release a large gas cloud and induce dangerous fires and explosions.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Joseph W. Foxell, "How Is the Terrorist Threat Changing?", *American Foreign Policy Interests* 31(6) (2009), available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10803920903417621> (last visited 11 Sep 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin K. Sovacool, "Reassessing Energy Security and the Trans-ASEAN Natural Gas Pipeline Network in Southeast Asia," *Pacific Affairs* 82(3) (2009), available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25608917> (last visited 11 Sep 2016).



Figure 3 - Classification of Terrorist Attacks against Oil and Gas Pipelines <sup>20</sup>

Terrorist organizations have always been interested in targeting oil and gas wells, facilities, and energy industry personnel. Striking pipelines, tankers, refineries, storage tanks, gas and oil fields accomplishes two desired goals:

- Undermining the internal stability of the regimes they are fighting, and
- Economically weakening foreign powers with vested interests in their region.

There are several ‘soft’ targets that terrorist groups can attack and achieve multiple results at the same time, all while minimizing the risks involved to the group carrying out the attacks. Because the goal of any terrorist act is to create maximum resonance in society with minimum cost and minimum risk, the use of explosives for terrorist purposes has become widespread.<sup>21</sup> Management

<sup>20</sup> Prof. Caşın’s own slides.

<sup>21</sup> From the standpoint of the likelihood of technological terrorist attacks, such acts at enterprises using large volumes of flammable substances in their technological processes (gas stations, compressed gas facilities, oil refineries, chemical plants, and so forth) represent a serious potential danger. If explosives are detonated at enterprises using explosive or flammable substances, the following attack scenario is possible: (a) release and dispersal of large volumes of flammable substances, (b) their mixture with air in the necessary proportions and formation of an explosive cloud, and (c) its subsequent explosion. The detonation of explosive clouds over a city could lead to significant destruction and fatalities. See Nikolai A. Makhutov, Vitaly P. Petrov, and Dmitry O. Reznikov, “Characteristics of Technological Terrorism Scenarios and Impact Factors,” in *Countering Terrorism: Biological Agents, Transportation Networks, and Energy Systems* (Summary of a U.S.-Russian Workshop, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 2009), p. 65, available at <https://www.nap.edu/read/12490/chapter/8> (last visited 27 September 2016).

of transmission pipelines can be divided into two areas: regulation of the pipeline itself and management of the land uses surrounding the pipeline. Accident reports highlight the role of local decisions in areas near transmission pipelines. Building and construction standards can help communities reduce vulnerability to the effects of pipeline hazards. Use of building codes and fire safety standards ensure conformance to specific criteria that are necessary to withstand hazards. Buildings which comply with such standards have improved resistance to earthquake and flood hazards, therefore building or construction standards can be part of an overall approach to reducing community hazard vulnerability, whether through natural or man-made means.<sup>22</sup>

### **PKK Terrorism Threat and Turkey's CIS and Energy Politics**

Meanwhile, Turkey is becoming an increasingly important energy hub in the Middle East, trading with Europe, Russia, Iran and Iraq, which may simply add more fuel to the fire. Two oil pipelines run from Iraq to ports in Turkey, in addition to a natural gas pipeline which runs through Turkey from Iran. The PKK is not unaware of this, and has accordingly attacked the natural gas pipeline. An oil pipeline was sabotaged one day later as well, but no group has yet taken responsibility for that attack.<sup>23</sup> In any case, this move shows that the PKK closely follows regional developments and is in search of new roles and potential supporters. By targeting the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, the PKK might have been attempting to find new strategic partners. Turkey has two strategically important transborder pipelines, aside from the ones serving domestic needs: the Kirkuk-Yumurtalık and BTC pipelines. The BTC route emerged as the most efficient option for the transportation of Azerbaijani gas and oil to the West. It was eventually expected to be expanded to carry the rest of the Caspian basin resources.<sup>24</sup> This unique location has reinforced Turkey's potential role as an energy hub. Likewise, the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) stressed in its recent report that Turkey is becoming an increasingly important transit hub for oil and natural gas supplies as they are transported from Central Asia, Russia and the Middle East to Europe and other Atlantic markets.<sup>25</sup> Turkey already has achieved some of its potential in becoming an important hub for oil and gas transportation through pipelines, and the country plays a critical role for Europe as it diversifies suppliers of natural gas. This goal, however, is a challenging one to accomplish. Turkey launched raids against Kurdish rebel bases in northern Iraq, at the same time and it began cracking down on the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL/DAESH).

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<sup>22</sup> Anna C. Osland, "Using Land-Use Planning Tools to Mitigate Hazards: Hazardous Liquid and Natural Gas Transmission Pipelines," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 33(2) (2013), available at <http://jpe.sagepub.com/content/33/2/141.abstract> (last visited 11 Sep 2016).

<sup>23</sup> Hana Levi Julian, "Turkey Accuses Kurdish PKK Terror Group of Teaming with ISIS", *The Jewish Press* (30 July 2015), available at <http://www.jewishpress.com/news/breaking-news/turkey-accuses-kurdish-pkk-terror-group-of-teaming-with-isis/2015/07/30/> (last visited 11 September 2016).

<sup>24</sup> Nihat Ali Özcan, "Energy Security and the PKK Threat to the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline," *Terrorism Monitor* 6(18) (22 September 2008), available at [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=5170#.V-ppbtR95kh](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=5170#.V-ppbtR95kh) (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>25</sup> "Turkey: International energy data and analysis", *U.S. Energy Information Administration* (06 August 2015), available at [https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis\\_includes/countries\\_long/Turkey/turkey.pdf](https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis_includes/countries_long/Turkey/turkey.pdf) (last visited 30 September 2016).

In July and August 2015, PKK terrorists sabotaged various oil and gas pipelines three times. In July, the Iran-Turkey natural gas pipeline in the southeastern province of Ağrı, which delivers an estimated 10 billion cubic meters of gas annually, was sabotaged and had to be shut down for five days. Turkey's Energy Ministry said the pipeline, which supplied gas from Iran covering almost one fifth of domestic demand, was blown up 15 km inside the Turkish border.<sup>26</sup> The blast took place in the Doğubeyazıt district, where the pipeline that carries natural gas from Iran to Turkey passes through. A major explosion occurred after the attack, causing panic and fear among residents of nearby villages. Energy Minister Taner Yıldız confirmed that an act of sabotage caused the explosion, and suggested PKK militants were to blame. He said the fire was quickly brought under control.<sup>27</sup>

PKK again attacked the Kirkuk-Yumurtalık oil pipeline on July 29, 2015. The sabotage bombing took place 18 kilometers inside the Cizre district of Şırnak province, next to the border with Iraq. The Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipeline has a maximum operational capacity of 400,000 barrels per day, but actual flows average around 300,000 barrels per day due to attacks on the pipeline, which frequently disrupt the operation, according to the Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq's reconstruction. The Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipeline has a storage capacity of 1.6 million barrels per day.<sup>28</sup>

The PKK terrorist organization had attacked Turkey's Shah Deniz pipeline carrying natural gas from Azerbaijan early on, but the blast did not impact supply as flow had already been halted for maintenance, the Energy Minister said.<sup>29</sup> A group of 20 PKK terrorists attacked the pipeline going through the village of Yabasan in the district of Sarıkamış in southeastern Turkey's Kars province. The Governor of Kars, Günay Özdemir, confirmed that the terrorist attack was carried out by the PKK.<sup>30</sup> The PKK terrorist organization is known to have launched many attacks in the region, to target the pipelines. On the terrorists' third attack launched from two points, an explosion occurred at the pipeline, with flames rising as high as 150 meters. The locals in the area panicked, but the fire teams were able bring the fire under control later in the night.<sup>31</sup> "This night at 01:15 [22:15 GMT] there was a diversion at the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipeline in the province of Kars. We see the intention by the terrorist separatist group [PKK] to encroach on the needs of our citizens living in the region, leaving them without a source of energy. This will not go unpunished", Yıldız said in a statement.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Alex Barker, Geoff Dyer and David O'Byrne, "Turkey Urged to Show Restraint in Attacks on Kurdish Militants," *Financial Times* (28 July 2015), available at <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/4a9cd402-3503-11e5-bdbb-35e55cbae175.html#axzz3kHoshJpQ> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>27</sup> "Turkey-Iran gas pipeline blown up in Agri province", Anadolu Agency, (28 July 2015), available at <http://aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-iran-gas-pipeline-blown-up-in-agri-province/22218> (last visited 30 September 2016).

<sup>28</sup> "KRG Condemns PKK Attack on Turkey's Oil Pipeline," *Middle East Monitor* (1 August 2015), available at <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/europe/20168-kr-g-condemns-pkk-attack-on-turkeys-oil-pipeline> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>29</sup> Orhan Coskun and Ece Toksabay, "PKK Attacks Turkey's Halted Shah Deniz Gas Pipeline," *Reuters* (4 August 2015), available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/04/us-mideast-crisis-turkey-pipeline-idUSKCN0Q90Y120150804> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>30</sup> "PKK attacks natural gas pipeline in Turkey's Kars Province", *TRT World* (25 August 2015), available at <http://www.trt-world.com/turkey/pkk-attacks-natural-gas-pipeline-in-turkeys-kars-province-6604> (last visited 30 September 2016).

<sup>31</sup> "PKK Terrorists Attack Pipeline in Turkey's Northeastern Kars Province", *Daily Sabah* (24 August 2015), available at <http://www.dailysabah.com/nation/2015/08/24/pkk-terrorists-attack-pipeline-in-turkeys-northeastern-kars-province> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>32</sup> "Blast at Turkey Gas Pipeline Diversion by PKK Militants - Energy Minister," *Sputnik News* (4 August 2015), available at <http://sputniknews.com/middleeast/20150804/1025385394.html> (last visited 27 September 2016).

The pipeline to Ceyhan restarted early on August 5 after staying offline for more than a week due to the sabotage. The third incident occurred on August 4, as PKK militants attacked the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipeline, which has a capacity to transport 8.8 billion cubic meters annually, in Sarıkamış. In order to prevent future sabotage, Turkey will deploy thermal cameras and horseback patrols to heighten security around key oil and gas pipelines to safeguard the strategically important energy supplies. While the effectiveness of these measures should be clearer with the passage of time, increasing attacks raise the question of possible physical risks, a key element in energy security. In light of the recent attacks, the risk for companies who are supplying or transporting through Turkey has increased quite a bit. However, when looked at in terms of international energy security risk scores and international energy security rankings of countries that allow companies to benchmark their potential energy security risks, Turkey's energy security risk can still be considered to be at a reasonable level.

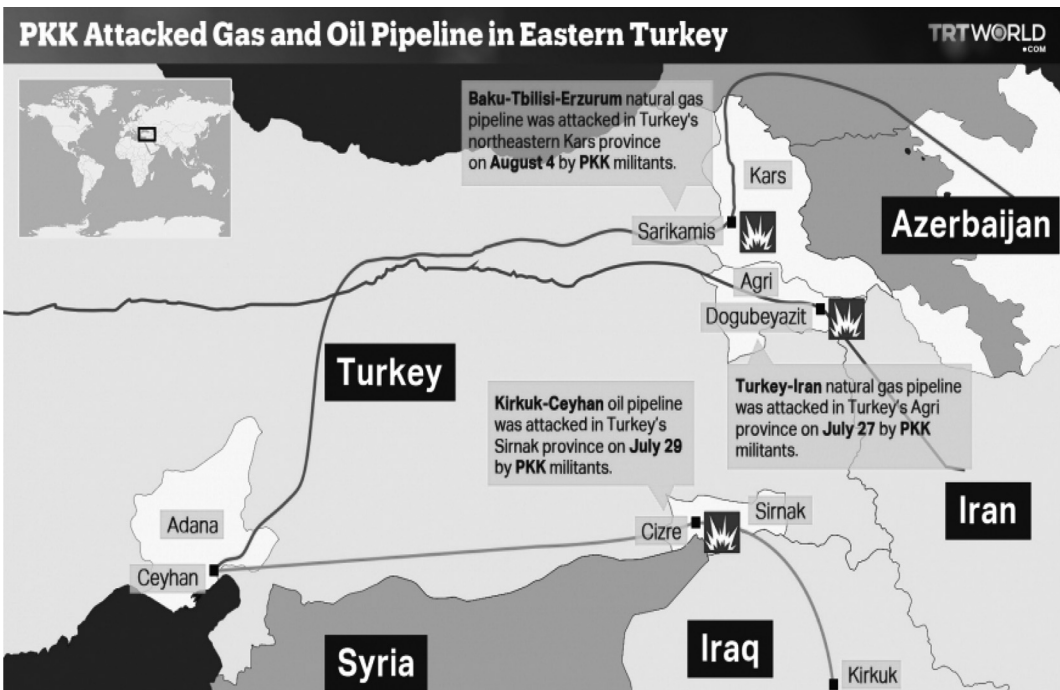


Figure 4 – PKK Attacked Gas and Oil Pipeline in Eastern Turkey<sup>33</sup>

According to the International Index of Energy Security Risk 2015 Edition Report,<sup>34</sup> published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Turkey's energy security risk score was 1,087. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) average risk index is calibrated

<sup>33</sup> Available at [http://beta.trtworld.com/sites/default/files/styles/inline/public/images/2015/08/08/trtworld-gallery-fid-29621.jpg?itok=dabvVA\\_i](http://beta.trtworld.com/sites/default/files/styles/inline/public/images/2015/08/08/trtworld-gallery-fid-29621.jpg?itok=dabvVA_i) (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>34</sup> Available at [http://www.energyxxi.org/sites/default/files/energyrisk\\_intl\\_2015.pdf](http://www.energyxxi.org/sites/default/files/energyrisk_intl_2015.pdf) (last visited 30 September 2016).

to a 1980 base year figure of 1,000 with a higher number meaning higher risk. The OECD average score was 912. Brazil's score was 1,307, Indonesia's was 1,164, Japan's was 1,088 and Italy's was 1,043. Moreover, according to the rankings for 25 large energy-consuming countries, Turkey is 14<sup>th</sup> while the Netherlands is 16<sup>th</sup>, Brazil 23<sup>th</sup> and Ukraine 25<sup>th</sup>. The latest figures show that compared to other important energy player countries in the world, Turkey's energy security is not a big concern and the country still maintains its position as a reliable energy partner for Europe and the rest of the world.<sup>35</sup>



Figure 5 – Desert Falcons. Victims of Advanced Targeted Attack<sup>36</sup>

## Main Elements of Protection for Pipelines

We think some critical international and national steps can be implemented for the transport and careful management of hydrocarbon energy pipelines. In this way, the risk of terrorism would be greatly reduced, creating a better economic and technical situation. Oil and gas pipelines, globally, have been a favored target of terrorists, militant groups, and organized crime. Pipelines

<sup>35</sup> Ali Ünal, "PKK Scheming to Undermine Turkey's Energy Security", *Daily Sabah* (7 August 2015), available at <http://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2015/08/08/pkk-scheming-to-undermine-turkeys-energy-security> (last visited 27 September 2016).

<sup>36</sup> Available at [http://me.kaspersky.com/en/images/Desert\\_Falcons\\_APT\\_Geography-55-261032.png](http://me.kaspersky.com/en/images/Desert_Falcons_APT_Geography-55-261032.png) (last visited 27 September 2016).



are intentionally damaged and they may also be vulnerable to cyberattacks under the control of state and non-state actors. In early 2013, operators announced plans to build more than 44,800 miles of crude oil, product, and natural gas pipelines extending into the next decade, a 1.7% decrease from data reported the previous year. The majority (nearly 66%) of these plans is still for natural gas, but this segment continues to contract globally relative to crude and products.<sup>37</sup> With such a building plan, questions remain:

- How risk reduction is best accomplished?
- How can critical infrastructure and pipelines be secured?
- How are resource requirements prioritized within the framework of a master plan?
- What network disruptions cause the worst effects?
- What causes a terrorist attack to have national CIP capacity impact?

An efficient, reliable, and safe energy supply can be obtained by reviewing vulnerabilities of local energy systems; detecting weak points; and developing international cooperation efforts, shared technologies, and adequate protection. In order to achievements of cybercrime and cyberespionage – to which law enforcement and counterintelligence have found little answer – hint that more serious cyberattacks on critical infrastructures are only a matter of time.

Finally, a lack of adequate understanding of technological performance, suppression of information on security violations, and lack of recognition of the technical fragility of some systems sometimes create obstacles to objective analyses.

Short-term protection measures are multifaceted. They include, for example, ensuring that Internet connections are secure, checking gas pipelines and electrical grids through unmanned vehicles, and preparing probabilistic vulnerability assessments of the physical infrastructure as a basis for identifying weak spots. Installing more natural gas leak detectors and protection-critical substation components are obvious steps that can be taken. Preventing dispersion of carbon fiber and Mylar chaff may also be important in some situations. All facilities must be prepared for an emergency. To achieve this, measures are taken to improve the facility's level of protection.

Medium-term protective measures include breakaway devices that prevent a cascade and line breakers that switch and reroute when necessary. A secure and private wide-area communication network with backup can be critically important. As final examples, more natural gas storage capacity is needed, along with more efficient electric driver compressors to switch the direction of gas flow. Other measures include background checks for personnel with access to any weapons, as well as access authorization programs for personnel who use computer systems affecting operations safety, general security, and emergency response capabilities. Other recent changes designed to safeguard information include increased background checks of personnel, increased patrols, increased physical barriers, improved vehicle entry checks, improved coordination with the military forces, better security and emergency response training, and restricted site access.

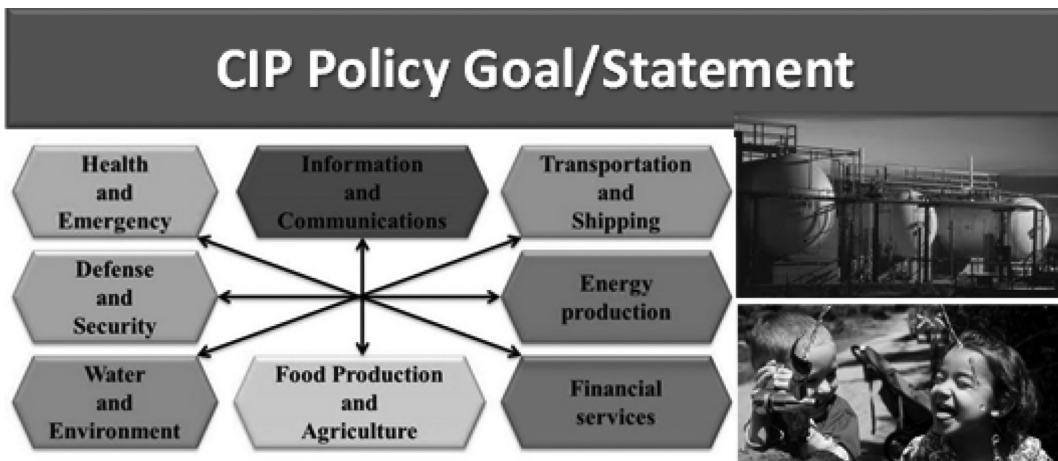
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<sup>37</sup> Christopher E. Smith, "Worldwide Pipeline Construction: Crude, products plans push 2013 construction sharply higher", *Oil&Gas Journal* 111 (2), (04 February 2013), available at <http://www.ogj.com/articles/print/volume-111/issue-02/special-report—worldwide-pipeline-construction/worldwide-pipeline-construction-crude-products.html> (last visited 30 September 2016).

## Environmental Protection against Terrorist Attacks and Modelling Emergency Safety Measures

I will argue below the logic of environmental security dimensions in the energy sector and possible impacts of terrorist attacks against energy pipelines and CIP targets. My argument here is that energy security heavily depends on the energy demands of modern states and transportation via pipelines as well the impacts of possible failures on the environment, especially by the terrorist attacks and other bombings. Restrictions on the locations of buildings within a secure area can keep them out of the hazard zone. Environmental protection regulations should also be followed because pipeline ruptures can expel hazardous liquids into nearby rivers and water supply reservoirs.

In terms of environmental protection, some scholars say ‘there is no such thing as an environmentally sensitive pipeline’, and that embracing natural gas pipelines is a tacit acceptance of sometimes ‘extreme and pernicious environmental and social risk’. Confirming this, natural gas extraction and processing exposes workers to hydrogen sulfide, a gas with toxicity similar to hydrogen cyanide and often inhaled in trace amounts by gas workers. Naturally occurring radioactive material is released from gas drilling, necessitating protective equipment; workers are exposed to heavy metals such as chromium, nickel, iron and lead; and organic solvents and corrosion inhibitors induce a variety of health effects on populations living near gas facilities.<sup>38</sup>



- Prevent or ***minimize damages*** to CI,
- ***protect the people, the economy,***
- the essential human and government services, and the national security.
- In the ***event disasters***, they should be minimal duration and manageable.

Figure 6 - CIP Policy Goal/Statement<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Joel M. Haight, "Occupational Health Risks in Crude Oil and Natural Gas Extraction", Encyclopedia of Energy (Elsevier Academic Press, 2004), pp. 477-487.

<sup>39</sup> Prof. Caşın's own slides.

An analysis of terrorist acts indicates that providing antiterrorism protection for facilities at risk of fire or explosion is the most urgent and important aspect of guarding against terrorism of a technogenic nature. Given these conditions, the effectiveness of management decisions made in eliminating the consequences of acts of technogenic terrorism largely depends on informational and analytical support, coupled with accurate predictions of how fires and emergencies might develop. The rapid development of information technologies has led to the appearance of massive amounts of information, communications, audio, and video data that must be identified, structured, and analyzed in order to make competent management decisions. In this regard, introducing new modern technologies for numerical simulation of emergency situations requires the following:

- Improving the reliability of predictions to prevent and eliminate the consequences of emergency situations,
- Organizing comprehensive monitoring and information-processing efforts regarding the status of facilities, the environment, and natural and technogenic phenomena that cause emergency situations,
- Training specialists in emergency prediction and response,
- Educating the public on actions to be taken in emergencies,
- Developing preventive measures to reduce the risks and lessen the consequences of emergencies,
- Developing mathematical models of the development of fires and emergency situations,
- Optimizing and facilitating timely correction of action plans and measures for preventing emergency situations as well as eliminating their consequences,
- Providing a modern level of technical capabilities to support the work of operations personnel, including network communications technologies and means of collecting, analyzing, and presenting information on emergency situations,
- Improving the management of emergency prediction and response measures,
- Simulating and conducting numerical analyses,
- Managing operations at the fire (emergency), establishment according to proper procedure of accounting of situation changes and use of personnel and equipment, and registration of necessary information,
- Evacuating the public from the danger zone and
- Implementing other measures aimed at ensuring service delivery according to established procedure and increasing the effectiveness of firefighters' actions<sup>40</sup>

Providing a modern level of technical capabilities needs to support the work of operations personnel, including network communications technologies and means of collecting, analyzing, and presenting information on emergency situations. For the management of operations during an emergency, we have to establish proper procedures for accounting of situation changes, use of personnel and equipment, and registration of necessary information. Therefore, information sharing and encouragement must be sustained between all NATO allies, otherwise the efforts in securing our critical infrastructure would fail. Recognizing shared goals and differentiated responsibilities for our next generations is also a must.

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<sup>40</sup> Kopylov and Khasanov, "Use of Predictive Modeling Packages for Effective Emergency Management".

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## Youth Specific Factors in Radicalization<sup>1</sup>

Daniel H. HEINKE<sup>2</sup>

Mareike PERSSON<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract:** *Due to both biological aspects and psychosocial factors within the process of maturation, young people (juveniles and adolescents) are especially vulnerable to radicalization efforts of so-called jihadist ideologues. Counter radicalization endeavors therefore should address the specific developmental situation of youth, using a multipronged approach that combines education, social integration, and individual appreciation with counterideology programs.*

**Keywords:** *Islamism, radicalization, juveniles, youth specific factors*

### Introduction

The number of individuals from Western, especially Western European countries, who decide to join extremist factions claiming an affiliation with Islam in the civil war in Syria and Northern Iraq – most notoriously the terrorist organization that calls itself the ‘Islamic State’ (ISIL/DAESH) – has been steadily increasing over the last two years. Similarly, terrorism by extremists claiming an affiliation with Islam in Western countries has gained momentum in the same period of time, with the mass murders<sup>4</sup> in Paris (January and November 2015), Copenhagen (February 2015) and Brussels (March 2016) being only the most prominent examples in the last eighteen months. The

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<sup>2</sup> Director, Policy Planning Staff and Special Affairs Directorate, Ministry of the Interior, Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, Germany. E-Mail: daniel.heinke@inneres.bremen.de.

<sup>3</sup> Faculty of Law, University of Lund, Sweden. E-Mail: mareike.persson@jur.lu.se

<sup>4</sup> See Richard A. Wright and J. Mitchell Miller, *Encyclopedia of Criminology* (Routledge, 2005), p. 687, for a discussion of the definition.

imminent threat for Western societies resulting from the radicalization of individuals towards a so-called jihadist ideology has become painfully obvious.

It is nevertheless still difficult to identify a ‘target group’ for such a radicalization. Various studies examining and analyzing violent extremists in Western countries (with a focus on shared analysis of investigations of executed or prevented terrorist attacks) have been published in the past years.<sup>5</sup> In a more recent approach, German security authorities collected and analyzed data on 677 of the current estimated total of more than 800<sup>6</sup> cases of individuals that traveled from Germany to Syria out of an assumed extremist motivation, and produced a study summarizing their analysis.<sup>7</sup> However, while the demographic data in this study is useful and interesting, the diversity across the categories confirms the findings already established in the previous studies analyzing homegrown terrorists claiming an affiliation with Islam in the Western world: though highly desirable to prevent future threats, the existing intelligence does not support a reliable socio-demographic profile of so-called jihadists.<sup>8</sup> Race, country of origin, gender, age, relationship status, educational background or prior criminal involvement are of such a diversity that no universally accepted common denominator could be deduced. It is noteworthy that a disproportionately high number of extremists claiming an affiliation with Islam (ECAI) in Western countries are converts to Islam, but obviously this neither insinuates a general tendency towards radicalization among converts nor does it deny the fact that the majority of extremists were born into the Muslim faith (though not necessarily practicing their faith regularly).<sup>9</sup>

That said, it has to be highlighted that juveniles and young adults represent a disproportionately high share by far within both groups. The data collected on the persons who have left Germany for Syria out of extremist motivation supports this perception (reference date: 30 June 2015; total: 677; gender quota: 79 % male, 21 % female<sup>10</sup>): The age range is 15 to 62 years, with an arithmetic mean of 25.9 years. The largest group (188 individuals) belongs to the age bracket 22-25 years, while 139 were aged 18-21 years and 124 were aged 26-29 years. There are significant differences between the groups that departed before and after the proclamation of the Caliphate in June 2014 (coined ‘early departees’ and ‘late departees’, respectively): the mean age of the late departees is three years younger than the early departees (23.7 vs. 26.6 years); and the percentage of minors (i.e. individuals

<sup>5</sup> See Ryan Hunter and Daniel H. Heinke, „Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World”, *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 80 (9) (2011), pp. 25-31; see also Daniel H. Heinke and Ryan Hunter, „Radikalisierung islamistischer Terroristen im Westen”, *Die Polizei* (2011), pp. 293-297) with further references.

<sup>6</sup> As of April 2016.

<sup>7</sup> „Analyse der Radikalisierungshintergründe und -verläufe der Personen, die aus islamistischer Motivation aus Deutschland in Richtung Syrien oder Irak ausgereist sind, Fortschreibung 2015” (Analysis on background and radicalization processes of those persons who have left Germany to Syria or Iraq out of Islamist motivation, Update 2015), (Innenministerkonferenz [Permanent Conference of the German Ministers of the Interior], 2015), p.9, available at [http://www.bka.de/nn\\_205924/DE/Publikationen/Publikationen\\_\\_node.html?\\_\\_nnn=true](http://www.bka.de/nn_205924/DE/Publikationen/Publikationen__node.html?__nnn=true) (accessed 18 April 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Daniel H. Heinke and Jan Raudszus, “German Foreign Fighters in Syria,” *CTC-Sentinel* 8(1) (2015), p. 20; Jessica Stern and J.M. Berger, *ISIS – The State of Terror* (HarperCollins 2015), p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> See Daniel H. Heinke, German Jihadists in Syria and Iraq: An Update, *ICSR Insight*, at <http://icsr.info/2016/02/icsr-insight-german-jihadists-syria-iraq-update/> (accessed 18 April 2016). It should be noted that the share of female departees rose significantly after the proclamation of the caliphate by the ISIL/DAESH on June 29, 2014, from just 15% pre-proclamation to an astonishing 38% post-proclamation.

under the age of 18 years) is considerably higher (12% vs. 5%). This means that considerably more than half of the departed persons were teenagers or not older than their mid-twenties.<sup>11</sup>

This data correlates with the long-term statistical findings of juveniles and young adults being disproportionately represented in other areas of deviant behavior (especially with regard to criminal offenses) as well as in every category of reckless behavior.<sup>12</sup> It seems reasonable to act on the assumption of a common causation within both contexts.

### Caught in the middle – between childhood and adulthood

#### *Biological Aspects*

In criminology, it is universally accepted that juveniles and adults are fundamentally different, both with regard to the lack of maturity of young persons and to a greater sensitivity to punishment, and thus should be treated accordingly.<sup>13</sup> The ability to be steered by norms to a certain behavior is not innate, but grows with age and is adopted during the education and socialization process, which can happen faster or slower, depending on the conditions encountered by the individual.

The lack of maturity comprises a number of aspects, some very obvious, others less so. One essential factor in the limited maturation of a juvenile is purely biological and only fairly recently established scientifically.<sup>14</sup> It comprises the insight that brain maturation in adolescence is still incomplete.<sup>15</sup> Fairly recent neuroscientific findings support the assumption that adolescence is characterized by a unique set of features, thus warranting its consideration as a distinct period of development.<sup>16</sup> It appears that the brain changes characteristic of adolescence are among the most dramatic and important to occur during the human lifespan.<sup>17</sup> New research was able to show continued brain maturation through the end of the adolescent period.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Innenministerkonferenz, "Analyse...", p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel H. Heinke and Mareike Persson, "Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter," *Zeitschrift für Jugendkriminalrecht und Jugendhilfe* 26(1) (2015), p. 49; Jeffrey Arnett, "Reckless Behavior in Adolescence: A Developmental Perspective," *Developmental Review* 12 (4) (1992), p. 339. For specific German data, see Wolfgang Heinz, „Kriminalität von Deutschen nach Alter und Geschlecht im Spiegel von Polizeilicher Kriminalstatistik und Strafverfolgungsstatistik. Aktualisierte Neuauflage Konstanz. Stand der Daten: 2002" (2004), available at <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:352-opus-12944> (accessed 31 August 2015).

<sup>13</sup> This view is recognized on a European level (Christopher Salvatore et al., "A Systematic Observational Study of a Juvenile Drug Court Judge," *Juvenile and Family Court Journal* 62 (2011), p. 20) and reflected in several European Recommendations (e.g. Rec(2003)20 of the Committee of Ministers to member states concerning new ways of dealing with juvenile delinquency and the role of juvenile justice, p.1; Rec(87)20 of the committee of Ministers to member states on social reactions to juvenile delinquency, p.1).

<sup>14</sup> Laurence Steinberg, "A Behavioral Scientist Looks at the Science of Adolescent Brain Development," *Brain and Cognition* 72 (2010), pp. 160-164) describes the field of developmental neuroscience as "having matured from a field in its infancy to one that is now approaching its own adolescence" (p. 160). This notion also points out that most findings in this field have to be considered as preliminary.

<sup>15</sup> The literature about adolescent risk taking is voluminous. For a good overview, see Valerie F. Reyna and Frank Farley, "Risk and Rationality in Adolescent Decision Making," *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* 7 (1) (2006).

<sup>16</sup> Sarah-Jayne Blakemore, "The social brain in adolescence", *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 9 (2008), p. 267, (focusing on the development of the "social brain" covering the understanding of others' emotions, intentions, and beliefs). She reviews evidence that certain areas of the social brain undergo substantial functional and structural development during adolescence.

<sup>17</sup> Steinberg, "A Behavioral Scientist Looks at the Science of Adolescent Brain Development," p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> See Laurence Steinberg, "Should the Science of Adolescent Brain Development Inform Public Policy?," *Issues in Science and Technology* (2012); see also Tomas Paus, "Mapping Brain Maturation and Cognitive Development during Adolescence," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 9 (2) (2005).



The heightened disposition to risk taking in adolescence appears to be the product of the interaction between two brain networks: one is the socio-emotional network that is especially sensitive to social and emotional stimuli and that is remade in early adolescence by hormonal changes of puberty. The other is the cognitive-control network that backs up executive functions such as planning, thinking ahead, and self-regulation; these functions mature gradually over the course of adolescence and young adulthood largely independently of puberty.<sup>19</sup>

A common misperception is the idea that adolescents regularly underestimate risks as the main cause for their verifiable heightened disposition to risk taking. This leads to many interventions with the intent to enhance the accuracy of risk perceptions. In contrast, adolescents apparently even partly overestimate important risks; the popular belief of adolescents feeling generally invulnerable is not backed by empirical findings.<sup>20</sup>

Logical reasoning abilities, combined with improvement in abstract and hypothetical thinking, develop between the age of 11 and 16. The (pure) logical-reasoning abilities of a 16-year-old are comparable to an adult.<sup>21</sup> Anticipatory thinking and the consideration of future consequences of choices, however, are not fully developed at this stage, but continue to improve over the following years.<sup>22</sup>

That means that unlike logical reasoning abilities, which appear to be more or less fully developed by the age of 16, psychosocial capacities that improve decision making and moderate risk taking – such as impulse control, emotion regulation, delay of gratification, and resistance to peer influence – continue to mature well into young adulthood.<sup>23</sup> The latter maturation is not complete until approximately the age of 25.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, psychosocial immaturity in these respects during adolescence may very well undermine what otherwise already might be competent decision making.<sup>25</sup>

In other words, juveniles, adolescents and young adults first mature on an intellectual level and then later on a social and emotional level. Therefore juveniles and adolescents are regularly able to analyze a given situation logically, but may be unable to act accordingly, because of the ongoing

<sup>19</sup> See Laurence Steinberg, “Risk-Taking in Adolescence – New Perspectives from Brain and Behavioral Science”, *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 16 (2007), pp. 56 and 68; Paus, “Mapping brain maturation and cognitive development during adolescence,” p. 60. Both explain this partly because of an increase of white matter in the prefrontal cortex as a result of myelination, the process through which nerve fibers become sheathed in myelin, a white, fatty substance that improves the efficiency of brain circuits. More efficient neural connections within the prefrontal cortex are important for higher-order cognitive functions like planning ahead, weighing risks and rewards, and making complicated decisions.

<sup>20</sup> Reyna and Farley, “Risk and Rationality in Adolescent Decision Making,” p. 34.

<sup>21</sup> Raymond Corrado and Jeffrey Mathesius, “Developmental Psycho-Neurological Research Trends and Their Importance for Reassessing Key Decision-Making Assumptions for Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults in Juvenile/Youth and Adult Criminal Justice Systems,” *Bergen Journal of Criminal Law and Criminal Justice* 2 (2) (2014), p. 144.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth S. Scott and Laurence Steinberg, *Rethinking Juvenile Justice* (Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Compare Armin Raznahan et al., “How Does Your Cortex Grow,” *The Journal of Neuroscience* 31(19) (2011), p. 7176.

<sup>24</sup> Raymond Corrado and Jeffrey Mathesius, “Developmental Psycho-Neurological Research Trends and Their Importance for Reassessing Key Decision-Making Assumptions for Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults in Juvenile/Youth and Adult Criminal Justice Systems,” p. 154 (who even draw the conclusion that one might consider to raise the maximum age for youth justice systems to an age of 24 years (p. 159)).

<sup>25</sup> Steinberg, “Risk-Taking in Adolescence – New Perspectives from Brain and Behavioral Science,” p. 56.

development of their psycho-social capacities.<sup>26</sup> Although estimates vary, many experts agree that the process of structural maturation is not completed until the mid-twenties.<sup>27</sup>

### *Psychosocial Factors*

Such insights provided by neuroscientific research tie in with the established field of developmental psychology. Changes during adolescence obviously do not happen solely on a biological level, but also within a social context. Gender, social background, education, peer influence, situational context and other variables are well known to be influential factors affecting youth development.

Adolescence can be described as a time of experimentation as the adolescent is weaning her- or himself away from adult authority and trying to live autonomously.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, emotional arousal and affective changes increase, which often leads to greater sensations seeking. “The temporal gap between puberty, which impels adolescents towards thrill seeking, and the slow maturation of the cognitive-control system, which regulates these impulses, makes adolescence a time of heightened vulnerability for risky behavior.”<sup>29</sup>

Another crucial aspect to be considered is the sensitivity of juveniles to peer pressure. Peer pressure is a well-known problem among juveniles, who often operate in groups. Even if a person has developed appropriate for his age on an intellectual and emotional level, she/he may find her-/himself in a situation when even if she/he recognizes the morally right choice peer pressure can still result in a wrong choice.<sup>30</sup> Several substantial studies in the social sciences have found that adolescents act differently in the presence of peers.<sup>31</sup> When individuals were alone, there were no age differences in risk taking, but when they were in groups, risk taking increased among the adolescents and college students, but not among the adults.<sup>32</sup> Research showed that both same-sex and opposite-sex peer friendships were more influential in the formation of female and male emotional stability than parent-child relations,<sup>33</sup> resulting in the notion that associating with troubled youth, or “hanging out with the wrong crowd,” is often credited for all problems of young people.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Heinke and Persson, “Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter,” p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> Corrado and Mathesius, “Developmental Psycho-Neurological Research Trends and Their Importance for Reassessing Key Decision-Making Assumptions for Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults in Juvenile/Youth and Adult Criminal Justice Systems,” p. 144; Terry A. Maroney, “The False Promise of Adolescent Brain Science in Juvenile Justice,” *Notre Dame Law Review* 85(1) (2009), p. 152; Bruce Bower, “Teen Brains on Trial,” *Science News* 165(19) (2008), p. 300; Thomas Grisso et al., “Juveniles’ Competence to Stand Trial: A Comparison of Adolescents’ and Adults’ Capacities as Trial Defendants,” *Law and Human Behavior* 27(4) (2003), p. 336.

<sup>28</sup> Andrew von Hirsch and Andrew Ashworth, *Proportionate Sentencing* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Steinberg, “Risk-Taking in Adolescence – New Perspectives from Brain and Behavioral Science,” p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> For further reading, see Ulrika Andersson and Titti Mattsson, *Ungdomar i gäng: social- och straffrättsliga reaktioner* (Liber, 2011)(discussing juveniles in gangs).

<sup>31</sup> Overview at Laurence Steinberg, “Risk-taking in adolescence: What Changes, and Why?,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1021 (2004), p. 56.

<sup>32</sup> Steinberg, “Risk-taking in adolescence: What Changes, and Why?,” p. 56.

<sup>33</sup> Ian Hay and Adrian Ashman, “The Development of Adolescents’ Emotional Stability and General Self-Concept: The Interplay of Parents, Peers and Gender,” *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education* 50 (2003), p. 84.

<sup>34</sup> L. Alan Sroufe et al., *The Development of the Person: The Minnesota Study of Risk and Adaptation from Birth to Adulthood* (Guilford Publications 2005), p. 195.

Both the biological and the psychosocial aspects will have to be considered to be contributing factors within the context of a process of radicalization towards violence promoting an extremist ideology.

### The Radicalization Process

On the surface, the pathways to terrorism seem as varied as the actors themselves.<sup>35</sup> Developing from diverse starting points, extremists can follow many different paths that lead to their ultimate involvement in terrorist activities, either in their countries of residence or through joining terrorist organizations like the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL/DAESH). Radicalization, in other words, is a phenomenon composed of various processes driven by different mechanisms, following different patterns, and enmeshed in a social and political context.<sup>36</sup> However, the existence of a common end point has led many agencies and academics with an interest in radicalization dynamics to assess these different pathways as just variations of a common radicalization process.<sup>37</sup> Consequently much effort has been directed to the identification of common aspects of radicalization in order to understand and, in the end, address and counter this process. Within this research, several analyses of the radicalization of identified radical terrorists have been conducted, mainly based on data from law enforcement agencies and intelligence services (including the German Bundeskriminalamt,<sup>38</sup> the Swedish Security Service,<sup>39</sup> the US Federal Bureau of Investigation,<sup>40</sup> the New York City Police Department,<sup>41</sup> the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service,<sup>42</sup> the Danish Security and Intelligence Service,<sup>43</sup> and the British government<sup>44</sup>). Although the models and explanations developed by these agencies are not entirely congruent, they suggest an underlying base model of the radicalization process. Hunter and Heinke<sup>45</sup> – elaborating on a framework originally presented by Neumann<sup>46</sup> – proposed a unified simplified model of the radicalization process, based upon three definable main components: grievance, ideology/narrative, and mobilization. This model has been confirmed by various agencies' findings over the last years.

<sup>35</sup> Hunter and Heinke, "Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World", p. 27; Randy Borum, "Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories", *Journal of Strategic Security* 4(4) (2011), p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Donatella Della Porta and Gary LaFree, "Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization", *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 6(1) (2012), p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Hunter and Heinke, "Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World", p. 27.

<sup>38</sup> Saskia Lützing, *Die Sicht der Anderen* (Luchterhand, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Säkerhetspolisen, "Report on violence-promoting Islamist extremism in Sweden" (Säkerhetspolisen, 2010).

<sup>40</sup> Not publicly available.

<sup>41</sup> New York City Police Department, "Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat" (New York City Police Department, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst (AIVD), "Violent Jihad in the Netherlands" (AIVD 2006), and "Local jihadist networks in the Netherlands" (AIVD 2010).

<sup>43</sup> Politiets Efterretningstjeneste (PET), "Radikalisering og terror" (Politiets Efterretningstjeneste, no date).

<sup>44</sup> Not publicly available.

<sup>45</sup> Hunter and Heinke, "Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World"; see also Heinke and Hunter, "Radikalisierung islamistischer Terroristen im Westen."

<sup>46</sup> Peter Neumann, "What Motives and Circumstances Lie Behind Persons Affiliating with Violent, Radical-Islamist Groups and Committing Acts of Violence Themselves?" (lecture at the autumn conference of the German Bundeskriminalamt, Wiesbaden, Germany, 19 October 2010).

It has to be pointed out, though, that these components do not reflect an automatism and do not follow a fixed timeline of radicalization. First and foremost: obviously not all individuals who begin this process will complete it. Many stop or even abandon their development at different stages and for different reasons; some reenter later and begin again. Others do not follow the implied sequential development, but sort of ‘jump’ from one radicalization stage to the next.<sup>47</sup> With regard to pondering the possible development, other individuals do not seem to make well-considered decisions within this process, but drift within it like on a slippery slope. On a temporal scale, the individual radicalization process appears to have taken several years in many cases, but developed very quickly in others.

### *Grievance*

The basic prerequisite of the radicalization process (not only within the context of ECAI) seems to be a (mostly rather diffuse) discontent.<sup>48</sup> Relevant issues driving this attitude may include the perceived persecution of Muslims throughout the world; a sense of uprootedness, alienation, or a lack of acceptance; feelings of discrimination (especially among second- or third-generation immigrants); or a general search for identity. It is hardly surprising that young persons are particularly susceptible for such a discontent.

These feelings of uncertainty of oneself during adolescence and early adulthood are common and well-known in developmental psychology. In some cases, though, these emotions can amount to a deep identity crisis. Adolescence is a period full of important changes within the young person’s life – not only biologically, but also emotionally. It is a time of experimentation, while self-regulating factors have not yet fully matured.<sup>49</sup> The characteristics for this developmental stage (as portrayed above), namely a general uncertainty, high vulnerability for risky behavior, the search for identity, the miscalculation of consequences as a result of a deficit in anticipatory thinking, and heightened impulsivity may decisively contribute to a drift into radicalization.

The process of self-discovery (or self-identity labeling) of juveniles usually involves a combination of the influences by both authority figures (e.g. parents) and peer-invoked labels.<sup>50</sup> Especially with regard to young people of the Muslim faith, the situation may be exacerbated by the fact that many communities associated with mosques are exclusively oriented towards the personal situation and conservative convictions of the parental and more senior generations, thus not addressing the questions and needs of juveniles and adolescents. A discrepancy between desirable

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<sup>47</sup> Randy Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4 (4) (2011), p. 43.

<sup>48</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 27; Heinke and Persson, “Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter,” p. 50; Abee Corb and Renee Grozelle, “A New Kind of Terror,” *Journal EXIT-Deutschland*, 1-(2014), p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> Heinke and Persson, “Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter,” p. 50.

<sup>50</sup> Corrado and Mathesius, “Developmental Psycho-Neurological Research Trends and Their Importance for Reassessing Key Decision-Making Assumptions for Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults in Juvenile/Youth and Adult Criminal Justice Systems,” p. 152.

self-identities and negative, externally imposed labels, though, can serve as a major source of adolescent stress, frustration, and anger. These negative emotional reactions can increase the likelihood of anxiety or depression, as well as aggression.<sup>51</sup>

Such grievances, in many cases reinforced by a perceived rejection by society, can cause one to search for a new purpose of life.

### *Ideology*

The process of ideological framing absorbs this diffuse feeling of discontent and directs it towards a defined direction. Their core narrative of ‘us’ - the *ummah* (community) or *ummat al-mu’minin* (the community of the believers) - defending against ‘them’ - the nonbelievers conducting an alleged ‘War against Islam’ - secures a strong bond among the followers while alienating them from Western citizens.<sup>52</sup>

This narrative typically finds its ideological foundation in a form of Salafism, a very fundamentalistic interpretation of the Qur’an.<sup>53</sup> Adherence to this persuasion is viewed as the ultimate distinguishing feature between right and wrong.<sup>54</sup> Interpretations of Salafism range from a solely personal religious conviction with an emphasis on purifying the believer’s way of life to a so-called jihadi orientation that demands its followers to take on the fight against Western governments and ‘apostate’ Muslim (especially Middle Eastern) regimes held responsible for the suffering of all Muslims. This so-called jihadi Salafism emphasizes God’s undisputed – and sole – sovereignty (*hakimiyyat Allah*) and views the Qur’an and the Sunnah of Muhammad as the only acceptable sources to define right and wrong. In consequence, this ideology bans the idea of democracy and man-made law in general as un-Islamic; Western societies are considered sinful and a danger to the right order of mankind.<sup>55</sup>

The propagandists of this extremist ideology are very well aware of the heightened vulnerability of youth (juveniles and adolescents) to the offer of an ‘anchor’ for their lives. Therefore they very often try to establish undisturbed and focused surroundings in which they can educate juveniles (or even children) about their narrative of the ideal society. These surroundings may include social centers, Qur’an classes, or mosques, but may as well be institutions – notably including prisons – exploited by charismatic leaders for their purposes.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> With regard to homegrown terrorism, see Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 28; with regard to so-called Jihadi foreign fighters in support of the ISIL/DAESH in Syria, see Innenministerkonferenz, “Analyse...”, p. 13, and Behnam T. Said, *Islamischer Staat: IS-Miliz, al-Qaida und die deutschen Brigaden*, 2nd Ed. (C.H. Beck, 2014), p. 146.

<sup>53</sup> For a more in-depth examination of Salafism see the introduction by Tilman Seidensticker (*Salafismus*, C.H.Beck, 2014) and the edited volume by Behnam T. Said and Hazim Fouad (*Salafismus – Auf der Suche nach dem wahren Islam*, Herder, 2014).

<sup>54</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 28; Mohammad Gharaibeh, “Zur Glaubenslehre des Salafismus”, in *Salafismus – Auf der Suche nach dem wahren Islam* (Behnam T. Said and Hazim Fouad, Eds., Herder, 2014), p. 106.

<sup>55</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 28.

<sup>56</sup> Margarita Bizina and David H. Gray, “Radicalization of Youth as a Growing Concern for Counter-Terrorism Policy,” *Global Security Studies* 5(1) (2014), p. 74.

The main significance of this ideological framing component within the radicalization process should not be primarily seen on the basis of its actual content, but in its function to provide the followers (the true believers) with an idea of their ‘true purpose’ and a sense of belonging to a transnational community in which he or she is unconditionally accepted. By accepting this highly polarized worldview and its narrow set of rules, the uncertain individual searching for meaning receives simple answers, as well as a comprehensive framework of social and moral norms and values. Terrorist movements or propagandists then can continue with this ideologization by strengthening the perception of global Muslim suppression; the picture of Islam under threat, triggering the belief that the Muslim community and the radicalized individual exist in a state of permanent self-defense with the acceptance of violence as a legitimate response.<sup>57</sup>

### *Mobilization*

In the past, the vast majority of extremists became radicalized mainly through intensifying social interaction with other people of shared beliefs, either through a mutual push toward violence or through a spiritual leader goading individuals to take violent actions. The ‘lone wolf/lone offender’ has served as the rare exception. However, in recent years – and with a seemingly upward tendency, prominent attacks in the United States and Europe were carried out successfully by individuals with few ties to other extremists (very often – though at large misleading<sup>58</sup> – described as ‘lone wolves’), highlighting the threat posed by radicalized persons who are relatively alone.

With regard to the ‘classic’ (i.e. group oriented) form of radicalization, it is not unusual that the described sense of identity and belonging provide such a psychological and emotional reward that exceeds the original ideological motivation. It is obvious that especially this sense of belonging forms both an important pull factor for the primal emergence of these groups and an equally important binding effect during the subsequent development of the group. Through ongoing mutual assertion of the righteousness of shared beliefs, previously existing moral norms and standards are replaced by new ones. Group members increasingly regard violence as an acceptable and legitimate – if not desirable – method to facilitate the common goals of the group. Visual propaganda is intensified, including hate videos with high emotional impact. The contrasting juxtaposition of perceived or factual atrocities against Muslims with ‘glorious’ attacks by so-called jihadist fighters and the acclaimed murder of Westerners (heinous examples of the last months include several beheadings of U.S. and British journalists and development aid specialists by the terrorist organization, ISIL/DAESH<sup>59</sup>) are featured, and all so-called jihadist terrorist attacks against infidels (including both non-Muslims and ‘apostate’ Muslims) are increasingly endorsed.<sup>60</sup> Ultimately, the final threshold to actively engage in the violent fight against the perceived enemies of Islam may be crossed due to the influence of a respected ideologue who calls for the direct participation in so-called jihad, or as a result of the individual’s self-persuasion.

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<sup>57</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 28.

<sup>58</sup> Daniel H. Heinke, Das Missverständnis der “einsamen Wölfe” – Ein Einwurf, *Sicherheitspolitik-Blog*, at <http://www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/2015/08/25/das-missverstaendnis-der-einsamen-woelfe-ein-einwurf/> (accessed 18 April 2016).

<sup>59</sup> Guido Steinberg, *Kalifat des Schreckens* (Knaur 2015), p. 166.

<sup>60</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 29.

With regard to young people, especially juveniles and adolescents, a major factor is the observation that they are – as portrayed above – ostensibly intellectually capable of recognizing the ideology’s pattern of thought, and of realizing the substance of their actions, but that they are not equally capable of long-term anticipatory thinking, and the consideration of the consequences of their choices – not least with respect to the impact on others.

Additionally one has to bear in mind the often heightened need of juveniles to integrate into a group as a result of establishing their identity, and as a result the difficulty in resisting peer pressure, and the importance of conforming to group pressure so as not to lose the acceptance of the group and being left out.

The topic of ‘online radicalization’ presents a steadily increasing concern in this context. Due to their socialization, youth are customarily open to reception of information through digital media, and they are often used to an autonomous search for information on the Internet. To use this angle, extremists use a variety of online resources, serving as a sort of ‘virtual jihad university,’ that can play a role in all three components of radicalization (as discussed above).<sup>61</sup> Key approaches are graphic propaganda videos and professionally produced online propaganda magazines, such as the Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)-produced *Inspire* magazine or the more recent *Dabiq* magazine distributed by the ‘ISIL/DAESH’. *Dabiq* is disseminated not only in the Arabic and English languages, but also in various other languages (in part with a different title to adapt to each main target audience).<sup>62</sup>

In addition to the active participation in terrorist/fighting activities in the war-torn areas of Syria and Iraq, an ensuing serious threat is posed by surviving extremists returning to Western societies. With them, a persistent ideological belief, combined with combat training and experience, as well as a likely desensitization to violence through observed atrocities, creates a high risk of their participation in terrorist attacks.

## Conclusion

Adolescence is a time for the differentiation from adult authorities, for the acquisition of autonomous decision-making capabilities, the development of a specific conduct of life, and for the testing of boundaries. Therefore it is regularly a time for misjudgments – including some that may harm others.<sup>63</sup> In other words, the learning process to make decisions includes the risk to make bad decisions.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid. Samuel Musa and Samuel Bendett, *Islamic Radicalization in the United States – New Trends and a Proposed Methodology for Disruption* (National Defense University 2010)(correctly pointing out that apart from the broader range of distribution modern digital media has also extended the reach of propagandists in a one-on-one interaction that is no longer confined to personal meetings).

<sup>62</sup> Daniel H. Heinke and Hazim Fouad, “Das Dabiq-Magazin als Rekrutierungswerkzeug des IS”, in *Kalifat des Terrors – Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf den islamischen Staat* (Janusz Biene and Martin Schmetz, eds., Sicherheitspolitik-Blog, 2015), p. 9.

<sup>63</sup> von Hirsch and Ashworth, *Proportionate Sentencing*, p. 44.

For the vast majority of juveniles and adolescents such ‘bad decisions’ do not result in substantial and irreversible consequences. However, comparable to the perpetration of serious crimes, the radicalization towards a so-called jihadist ideology poses a defining aberration – an aberration the young person very often realizes only inadequately or too late, but which may have a life-defining impact.

Counter radicalization endeavors therefore should address the specific developmental situation of youth, combining education, social integration, and individual appreciation with counter ideology programs. It should be clear that this is not exclusively a challenge for law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Actually, they play only a minor part. Countering radicalization has to be a multipronged approach involving social (especially youth) services, schools and the local communities – and has to bear in mind that juveniles are not simply smaller adults.



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## The French Counter Radicalization Strategy<sup>1</sup>

Romain QUIVOOIJ<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract:** *Since April 2014, France has been developing a systemic model of counter radicalization covering the areas of detection, prevention and deradicalization. This voluntary approach is innovative, since the French authorities did not focus on counter radicalization initiatives before the deterioration of the Syrian civil war and the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL/DAESH) as a key actor of the global insurgent scene. The January and November 2015 attacks highlighted the urgent need to tackle radical beliefs and convictions related to so-called Salafi-Jihadism<sup>3</sup> before they turn into violent extremist activities. France's centralized tradition led to the implementation of a top-down management system orchestrated by the Interior Ministry. Priority was given to the identification of individuals going through a process of radicalization, the 'profiles' of whom include varied segments of the French population. The French counter radicalization strategy, however, remains hampered by the difficulty in finding common ground regarding the role of religion in the field of deradicalization.*

**Keywords:** *France, Radicalization, Deradicalization, Detection, Profiling*

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<sup>2</sup> Associate Research Fellow, Radicalisation Studies Program, Center of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, isromain@ntu.edu.sg

<sup>3</sup> So-called Salafi-Jihadism is the religious ideology adopted by violent extremist groups such as al-Qaeda (AQ) and Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL/DAESH) that justifies and promotes terrorist violence, using "religious words, symbols and values to sustain itself and grow", according to Assaf Moghadam. It is one of the three branches of the Salafi movement, along the "quietist" branch, which is apolitical and focuses on preaching, and the "activist" branch that advocates the creation of political parties and their involvement in elections. See Assaf Moghadam, "The Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology," *CTC Sentinel* 1(3) (February 2008), available at <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol1Iss3-Art5.pdf> (accessed 10 August 2015).

## Introduction

The number of French people who have been identified as going to Syria since the beginning of the civil war in 2011 reached 910 in August 2015.<sup>4</sup> A substantial increase was observed in around twenty months' time, from 250 French citizens or residents present in Syria in January 2014<sup>5</sup> to 504 French people in October 2015.<sup>6</sup> Security challenges associated with these 'foreign fighters' have become priority issues for the French government. Against that background, the January 2015 attacks led the Prime Minister's office to announce that an estimated 735 million euros would be devoted to counterterrorism measures between 2015 and 2018.<sup>7</sup> Showing continuity with a long-standing 'hard' approach to counterterrorism, the French Parliament adopted an act on security in November 2014, followed in June 2015 by the adoption of a law strengthening the resources of intelligence agencies.

The explosion of cases of cognitive and behavioral radicalization in relation to the Syrian civil war is an unprecedented phenomenon. Unlike other Western European countries such as the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Denmark, France has considerably delayed the design and the implementation of a counter radicalization strategy to prevent radicalization while also providing disengagement and deradicalization mechanisms. Between 1996 and 2012, the absence of large-scale terrorist attacks on French national territory created a temporary feeling of security.<sup>8</sup> The *laïcité*, a key principle of the French Republic adhering to the strict separation between the state and religion, made any official links between public counter radicalization initiatives and religious approaches a sensitive issue. As underlined by Francesco Ragazzi, the French individualistic interpretation of citizenship was an additional impediment to the model of community policing favored by Anglo-Saxon countries.<sup>9</sup>

A first attempt to prevent radicalization at the government level was initiated in 2013, opening the way for the formulation of a "plan to combat violent radicalization and terrorist networks" in

<sup>4</sup> Soren Seelow, "Sept Français Sont Tués Chaque Mois en Syrie," *Le Monde* (10 August 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/08/10/un-djihadiste-francais-sur-sept-est-mort-en-syrie\\_4718948\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/08/10/un-djihadiste-francais-sur-sept-est-mort-en-syrie_4718948_3224.html) (accessed 25 August 2015).

<sup>5</sup> LeMonde.fr with Reuters, "La France Adopte un Plan Contre les Filières Djihadistes Vers la Syrie," *Le Monde* (24 March 2014), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2014/03/24/syrie-paris-adopte-un-plan-contre-les-filieres-djihadistes\\_4388603\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2014/03/24/syrie-paris-adopte-un-plan-contre-les-filieres-djihadistes_4388603_3224.html) (accessed 26 August 2015).

<sup>6</sup> "Interactif. Jihadisme: 504 Français Sont en Syrie et en Irak, 241 en Sont Revenus", *Le Parisien* (7 October 2015), available at <http://www.leparisien.fr/espace-premium/actu/le-nombre-de-francais-impliques-dans-le-jihad-poursuit-sa-progression-06-10-2015-5160769.php> (accessed 04 January 2016).

<sup>7</sup> M. Pf with AFP, "Plan Valls Contre le Terrorisme: 2680 emplois créés," *Le Parisien* (21 January 2015), available at <http://www.leparisien.fr/politique/lutte-contre-le-terrorisme-valls-devoile-les-mesures-du-gouvernement-21-01-2015-4465707.php> (accessed 25 August 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Terrorist attacks happened during that period of time but they did not reach the intensity of the wave of terrorist attacks linked with the GIA (*Groupe Islamique Armé*, Islamic Armed Group) that struck France in 1995-1996, the last of which was the bombing of the railway station Port-Royal on December 1996 (although the attack was not explicitly claimed by the GIA and the perpetrators were not identified).

<sup>9</sup> Francesco Ragazzi, "Vers un 'Multiculturalisme Policier'? La Lutte Contre la Radicalisation en France, aux Pays-Bas et au Royaume-Uni", *Les Etudes du CERi*, n° 206 bis, p.37 (September-December 2014), available at [http://www.science-spo.fr/ceri/sites/sciencespo.fr.ceri/files/Etude\\_206.pdf](http://www.science-spo.fr/ceri/sites/sciencespo.fr.ceri/files/Etude_206.pdf) (accessed 26 August 2015).

April 2014.<sup>10</sup> The Interior Ministry labelled radicalization as “a process that may lead to extremism and terrorism”,<sup>11</sup> adding that “it should not be confused with the practice of a rigorist Islam.”<sup>12</sup> Radicalism was further described as “any discourse that uses religious precepts presented as Muslim to lead a young person to self-exclusion and the exclusion of those who are not like him.”<sup>13</sup> These definitions draw clear lines between the notions that are described and the religion of Islam. However, the second interpretation focuses on ideological dynamics which are put at the center stage of ‘radicalism’ and reduces its impact to a single segment of the population. These controversial points reflect the “relatively experimental”<sup>14</sup> dimension of counter radicalization measures currently implemented in France, as acknowledged by the Interior Ministry itself.

The first part of this article explores the organization of entities and actors involved in the detection and prevention of radicalization. Both areas rely on a public management model in which departmental prefects<sup>15</sup> play an essential role of coordination, while the emphasis placed on prison Muslim chaplains reflects the growing importance granted to religious dialogue. The second part delves into the key characteristics of radicalization in relation to the Syrian civil war by discussing the various ‘profiles’ of French radicals and the prevailing classifications of early signs. The final section of this article examines the contents of major deradicalization initiatives and assesses their effectiveness. Despite being endorsed by the French authorities, the use of Islam against so-called Salafi-Jihadism remains a contested piece of the French deradicalization architecture.

## Organization

The French counter radicalization strategy is led by the CIPD (*Comité Interministériel de Prévention de la Délinquance*, the Inter-Ministerial Committee for the Prevention of Delinquency) and the UCLAT (*Unité de Coordination de la Lutte Antiterroriste*, the Anti-Terrorist Coordination Unit). The former carries out actions for prevention through the delivery of training sessions to professionals such as association leaders and public servants from various administrative units (of which 9,000 are expected to be trained before 2017);<sup>16</sup> communication and information campaigns

<sup>10</sup> Compte rendu du Conseil des ministres du 23 avril 2014, “Le Plan de Lutte Contre la Radicalisation Violente et les Filières Terroristes” (April 2014), Gouvernement.fr, available at <http://www.gouvernement.fr/conseil-des-ministres/2014-04-23/le-plan-de-lutte-contre-la-radicalisation-violente-et-les-fi> (accessed 3 May 2016).

<sup>11</sup> “Prévenir la Radicalisation,” Ministère de l’Intérieur, at <http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/SGCIPD/Prevenir-la-radicalisation/Prevenir-la-radicalisation> (accessed 26 August 2015).

<sup>12</sup> “Se Mobiliser Ensemble,” Ministère de l’Intérieur, at <http://www.stop-djihadisme.gouv.fr/se-mobiliser.html> (accessed 26 August 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Soren Seelow, “Les Nouveaux Chiffres de la Radicalisation,” *Le Monde* (26 March 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2015/03/26/les-nouveaux-chiffres-de-la-radicalisation\\_4602011\\_1653578.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2015/03/26/les-nouveaux-chiffres-de-la-radicalisation_4602011_1653578.html) (accessed 26 August 2015).

<sup>14</sup> Sylvain Mouillard, “Jihad Français: Mieux Vaut Prévenir que Guérir,” *Libération* (20 February 2015), available at [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/20/jihad-francais-mieux-vaut-prevenir-et-guerir\\_1206839](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/20/jihad-francais-mieux-vaut-prevenir-et-guerir_1206839) (accessed 27 August 2015).

<sup>15</sup> There are around 250 regional, departmental and specially appointed prefects. Prefects appointed to a region or department apply public policy and oversee various administrative services.

<sup>16</sup> Anne Vidalie, “Contre la Radicalisation, une Mission Impossible?,” *L’Express* (02 July 2015), available at [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/contre-la-radicalisation-une-mission-impossible\\_1695194.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/contre-la-radicalisation-une-mission-impossible_1695194.html) (accessed 28 August 2015).

as well as support measures brought to the prefectures in charge of “young people exposed to the risk [of radicalization]”<sup>17</sup> and their families. The latter was responsible for setting up in April 2014 an online and phone alert platform managed by the CNAPR (*Centre National d’Assistance et de Prévention de la Radicalisation*, National Centre for Support and Prevention of Radicalization).

Composed of eight part-time police reservists, assisted by two policemen and a psychologist, the CNAPR centralizes reports emanating from police and gendarmerie forces as well as the networks of individuals deemed to go through a process of radicalization (family, friends, colleagues, etc.). A total of 3,645 radicalized individuals were identified between April 2014 and October 2015,<sup>18</sup> to which an additional 2,226 individuals were pinpointed from July 2014 to June 2015 by prefectural services.<sup>19</sup> The majority of phone calls come from family members, mainly parents. As explained in a parliamentary report, some cases are given particular attention when 1) “the individual shows objective signs of radicalization” and 2) “his/her implication in a ‘jihadist’ network is potential or proven.”<sup>20</sup> Information provided is used to diagnose the levels of radicalization, as rated on a scale of 1 to 4. Case files of individuals suspected to be credible threats are subsequently forwarded to internal intelligence services and departmental prefectures.

Working in close coordination with prosecutors, each departmental prefect 1) assesses the danger posed by the reported individuals and informs mayors of the individual’s place of residence in order to implement support and prevention measures for families. Suggested activities for resocialization include participation in youth camps, educational trips and humanitarian missions abroad; 2) creation and leadership of a monitoring cell. These cells are comprised of members of the police and the gendarmerie forces, representatives of the National Education Ministry, that inform the cell of cases of radicalization detected in middle and high schools; child protection and social services; city halls, employment centers; family and youth associations.<sup>21</sup> These organizations attended to more than 1,000 individuals and 500 families by October 2015.<sup>22</sup> Particular attention is placed on the “religious dimension of radicalization”, which, according to the French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve, “cannot be ignored” and need to be addressed through “trustworthy religious

<sup>17</sup> “Comité Interministériel de Prévention de la Délinquance,” Ministère de l’Intérieur, at <http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/SGCIPD> (accessed 28 August 2015).

<sup>18</sup> Anne-Aël Durand, “‘Stop Djihadisme’: 40% de Femmes Parmi les Radicalisations Signalées,” *Le Monde* (24 November 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2015/11/24/stop-djihadisme-40-de-femmes-parmi-les-radicalisations-signalées\\_4816710\\_4355770.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2015/11/24/stop-djihadisme-40-de-femmes-parmi-les-radicalisations-signalées_4816710_4355770.html) (accessed 1 December 2015).

<sup>19</sup> Sébastien Pietrasanta, “La Déradicalisation, Outil de Lutte Contre le Terrorisme,” *La Documentation Française*, (Juin 2015), p. 12, available at <http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/storage/rapports-publics/154000455.pdf> (accessed 24 August 2015).

<sup>20</sup> Eric Ciotti, President, Patrick Mennucci, Rapporteur, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” *Assemblée Nationale* (June 2015), p. 118, available at <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/pdf/rap-enq/r2828.pdf> (accessed 28 August 2015).

<sup>21</sup> Ministry of Interior, Circular No INTK1405276C related to the Prevention of Radicalization and Family Support, *Légifrance* (29 April 2014), p. 3, available at [http://circulaire.legifrance.gouv.fr/pdf/2014/05/cir\\_38287.pdf](http://circulaire.legifrance.gouv.fr/pdf/2014/05/cir_38287.pdf) (accessed 28 August 2015).

<sup>22</sup> *Le Courrier des Maires et des Élus Locaux*, “Guide de Prévention de la Radicalisation”, Ministère de l’Intérieur (October 2015), p. 22, available at <http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/SGCIPD/CIPD/Actualites/Prevention-de-la-radicalisation-un-outil-pour-les-maires-a-telecharger> (accessed 05 November 2015).

leaders.”<sup>23</sup> Steered at the national level by the CIPD, this holistic architecture relies on a centralized and devolved mode of operation.

Since 65% of reports deemed credible by the CNAPR were made by telephone by June 2015,<sup>24</sup> officials emphasized the impact of the anti-radicalization hotline which they considered to be a success. Prefect Pierre N’Gahane, Secretary General of the CIPD, highlighted the increase of phone calls which doubled after the January 2015 attacks<sup>25</sup> and the wider socio-economic diversity of callers.<sup>26</sup> The Interior Ministry in November 2014 attributed the prevention of seventy to eighty individuals from leaving for Syria,<sup>27</sup> adding in July 2015 that “almost all cases detected did not go to the theatre of operations.”<sup>28</sup> The growing involvement of French civil society in voluntarily reporting suspected cases of radicalization, especially in the aftermath of terrorist attacks, reflects a greater awareness of the potentially tragic consequences of inaction. Illegal plans of a number of individuals reported to CNAPR were effectively thwarted, due to the confiscation of their passports and identity cards.<sup>29</sup> However, these short-term security measures do not entail disengagement from armed violence of those prevented from leaving, nor do they imply a cognitive rejection of radical beliefs and convictions from the latter.

The prevention of radicalization relies at the national level on the SIG (*Service d’Information du Gouvernement*, the Information Service of the Government), a public relations agency placed under the authority of the Prime Minister, and a triannual budget of 60 million euros to cover the period 2015-2018.<sup>30</sup> A key step was the launch of an official website in January 2015 called “[www.stop-djihadisme.gouv.fr](http://www.stop-djihadisme.gouv.fr)”. This online platform promotes awareness among the public by providing information related to the terrorist threat, counter-terrorist measures, so-called Salafi-Jihadist propaganda, and advice on what to do in situations of terrorist attacks and radicalization. Additionally, an anti-radicalization video clip was released with a goal of deconstructing the arguments of the so-called Salafi-Jihadist movements.<sup>31</sup> The fictions of heroism, the founding and raising of a family in Syria, humanitarian involvement to help the Syrian population and religious authenticity are debunked through the juxtaposition of propaganda images used by groups such as IS with real

<sup>23</sup> Ministry of Interior, Circular No INTK1405276C related to the Prevention of Radicalization and Family Support, *Légifrance* (29 April 2014), p. 3, available at [http://circulaire.legifrance.gouv.fr/pdf/2014/05/cir\\_38287.pdf](http://circulaire.legifrance.gouv.fr/pdf/2014/05/cir_38287.pdf) (accessed 28 August 2015).

<sup>24</sup> Pietrasanta, “La Déradicalisation”, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Marion Garreau, “Un Numéro Vert Contre la Radicalisation Djihadiste,” *Le Monde* (12 February 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/m-actu/article/2015/02/12/un-numero-vert-contre-la-radicalisation-djihadiste\\_4574897\\_4497186.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/m-actu/article/2015/02/12/un-numero-vert-contre-la-radicalisation-djihadiste_4574897_4497186.html) (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>26</sup> Mouillard, “Jihad Français.”

<sup>27</sup> Garreau, “Un Numéro.”

<sup>28</sup> Pascale Tournier, “Mon Fis est Djihadiste”, *La Vie* (1 July 2015), available at <http://cdn.nathaliegoulet.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/CDLV-djihad.pdf> (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>29</sup> “Jihadisme: Six Français Prêts à Partir en Syrie Privés de Leurs Passeports,” *Le Parisien* (23 February 2015), available at <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/six-jihadistes-presumes-interdits-de-sortie-du-territoire-23-02-2015-4553657.php> (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>30</sup> “La Lutte Contre le Terrorisme”, *Gouvernement.fr*, available at <http://www.gouvernement.fr/action/la-lutte-contre-le-terrorisme> (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>31</sup> “Stop-Djihadisme: Ils te Disent...”, YouTube, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ke3i9-7kkQM> (accessed 15 October 2015).



footage of the civil war and the suffering of the civilian populations. This counterstrategy may be effective in influencing vulnerable audiences at an early stage, but it will not persuade hardliners who are unlikely to be receptive to a message emanating from the government, especially if the latter conveys a spectacle of raw violence which is precisely what some individuals look for.

The comprehensive role of state institutions may be considered to be a double-edged achievement. The UCLAT and the prefectural administration belong to the Interior Ministry, which is in charge of the National Police and, along with the Ministry of Defense, the National Gendarmerie. This administrative proximity tends to blur the distinction between counter radicalization and counterterrorism.<sup>32</sup> As noted by Pierre Conesa and Jean-Pierre Sueur, former Defense Ministry official and Senator, respectively, families may be reluctant to report their relatives to members of the law enforcement community for fear of the legal consequences.<sup>33</sup> The low number of competent associations to deal with radicalized individuals, and the request of public services involved in counter radicalization for an increase of human resources, reveal a significant lack of private and public capabilities.<sup>34</sup> The dearth of field partners is alarming, as civil society structures act as a key link between authorities and families, especially in the area of psychological support which is not covered by security forces and the CNAPR.<sup>35</sup>

Including the prison environment in its scope of action, the government announced a series of measures related to the detection and management of prisoners “who are deemed radicalized.”<sup>36</sup> An identification program was launched in January 2015,<sup>37</sup> coupled with a project aimed at regrouping and isolating “inmates involved with extremism affiliated with Islam, except the most radical individuals” in five detention facilities established in four prisons.<sup>38</sup> . The government pledged to support the 70 public servants in charge of the prison administration’s intelligence service with 66

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<sup>32</sup> See Pierre Conesa, “Quelle Politique de Contre-Radicalisation en France?,” *Fondation Res Publica* (9 March 2015), available at [http://www.fondation-res-publica.org/Quelle-politique-de-contre-radicalisation-en-France\\_a875.html](http://www.fondation-res-publica.org/Quelle-politique-de-contre-radicalisation-en-France_a875.html) (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Sylvain Mouillard and Willy Le Devin, “Lutte Contre les Filières Jihadistes: le Rapport sans Concession du Sénat”, *Libération* (8 April 2015), available at [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/08/lutte-contre-les-filieres-jihadistes-le-rapport-sans-concession-du-senat\\_1236909](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/08/lutte-contre-les-filieres-jihadistes-le-rapport-sans-concession-du-senat_1236909) (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>34</sup> Pietrasanta, “La Déradicalisation,” p. 30-31.

<sup>35</sup> Caroline Piquet, “Que se Passe-t-il Après un Signalement au Numéro Vert Antidjihad?,” *Le Figaro* (28 October 2014), available at <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2014/10/28/01016-20141028ARTFIG00248-que-se-passe-t-il-apres-un-signalment-au-numero-vert-antidjihad.php> (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>36</sup> “Fight against Terrorism - Handling of the Terrorist Attacks of 7-9 January 2015 - Communiqué issued following the Council of Ministers’ meeting – excerpts”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at <http://basedoc.diplomatie.gouv.fr/vues/Kiosque/FranceDiplomatie/kiosque.php?fichier=baen2015-01-15.html> (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>37</sup> “La Lutte Contre le Terrorisme”. A grid of detection of radical behaviors in jail was released in 2010. An updated version is to be delivered at the end of December 2015. See “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p. 128-129.

<sup>38</sup> Paule Gonzalès, “Radicalisation en Prison: un Plan Fourre-Tout,” *Le Figaro* (19 February 2015), available at <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2015/02/18/01016-20150218ARTFIG00429-radicalisation-en-prison-un-plan-fourre-tout.php> (accessed 29 August 2015); Jean-Baptiste Jacquin, “Terrorisme: la France met en Place des Quartiers pour Détenus Radicalisés”, *Le Monde* (14 January 2016), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2016/01/14/terrorisme-les-objectifs-ambitieux-des-quartiers-dedies-aux-detenus-radicalises\\_4847214\\_1653578.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2016/01/14/terrorisme-les-objectifs-ambitieux-des-quartiers-dedies-aux-detenus-radicalises_4847214_1653578.html) (accessed 2 June 2016). The target date for this project is March 2016.

new recruits.<sup>39</sup> These analysts were tasked with monitoring 850 prisoners in January 2015.<sup>40</sup> Among the 283 individuals detained for criminal association for the preparation of terrorist acts on the same date, 152 were labelled extremists affiliated with Islam (ECAI) by the French Ministry of Justice.<sup>41</sup> These numbers, which form part of an overall prison population of 66,270 in January 2015,<sup>42</sup> are bound to increase in relation to the Syrian conflict.<sup>43</sup>

Resources involved in the identification of radical inmates include the MIVILUDES (*Mission Interministérielle de Vigilance et de Lutte Contre les Dérives Sectaires*, the Interministerial Mission of Vigilance and Fight Against Sectarian Abuses), members of the prison administration, researchers and associations.<sup>44</sup> The contrast between different manifestations of radicalization in prison has been pointed out by the then Minister of Justice, Christiane Taubira, who referred to detainees as “at odds with the institution,” as opposed to those “in an attitude of confrontation.”<sup>45</sup> Similarly, sociologist Farhad Khosrokhavar distinguished between the “hardened” so-called ‘Jihadists’, those who are “traumatized by the war and easy to manipulate” and the “repentants”.<sup>46</sup> These disparities highlight the crucial need for an individualized approach to detection. What remains unclear is whether the various signs involved will be accurately reflected in the identification grid being prepared, and if this grid will adequately address the widespread practice of concealing radical beliefs and convictions commonly referred to as *taqiya*.

The program for regrouping and isolating radical prisoners was first implemented in the prison of Fresnes (Val-de-Marne) where 24 prisoners labelled PRI (*Pratique Radicale de l’Islam*, the Radical Practice of Islam) were detained in a special unit beginning in April 2015.<sup>47</sup> Some indi-

<sup>39</sup> “La Lutte Contre le Terrorisme”; AFP, “Le Renseignement Pénitentiaire, ou le Petit Frère qui Prend du Galon”, *L’Express* (28 January 2015), available at [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/styles/le-renseignement-penitentiaire-ou-le-petit-frere-qui-prend-du-galon\\_1645484.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualites/1/styles/le-renseignement-penitentiaire-ou-le-petit-frere-qui-prend-du-galon_1645484.html) (accessed 29 August 2015).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> “Lutte Contre la Radicalisation en Prison”, Ministère de la Justice, at <http://www.justice.gouv.fr/la-garde-des-sceaux-10016/lutte-contre-la-radicalisation-en-prison-27787.html> (accessed 30 August 2015).

<sup>42</sup> LeMonde.fr with AFP, “La Population Carcérale a Légèrement Diminué en 2014,” *Le Monde* (31 July 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/01/31/la-population-carcerale-a-legerement-diminue-en-2014\\_4567220\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/01/31/la-population-carcerale-a-legerement-diminue-en-2014_4567220_3224.html) (accessed 30 August 2015).

<sup>43</sup> See Lefigaro.fr with AFP, “Terrorisme: le Nombre de Procédures Explose,” *Le Figaro* (18 January 2016), available at <http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2016/01/18/97001-20160118FILWWW00351-terrorisme-le-nombre-de-procedures-explose.php> (accessed 23 January 2016).

<sup>44</sup> RTL with AFP, “Attentats en France: le Problème de la Radicalisation en Prison à Nouveau Soulevé”, *RTL* (11 January 2015), available at <http://www.rtl.fr/actu/societe-faits-divers/attentats-en-france-le-probleme-de-la-radicalisation-en-prison-a-nouveau-souleve-7776171831> (accessed 30 August 2015).

<sup>45</sup> AFP, “Radicalisations en Prison: l’Expérience de Fresnes Étendue,” *Libération* (3 February 2015), available at [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/03/radicalisation-en-prison-l-experience-de-fresnes-etendue\\_1194585](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/03/radicalisation-en-prison-l-experience-de-fresnes-etendue_1194585) (accessed 30 August 2015).

<sup>46</sup> Sylvain Mouillard, “Les Prisons, Sas Sous Pression,” *Libération* (20 February 2015), available at [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/20/les-prisons-sas-sous-pression\\_1206837](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/20/les-prisons-sas-sous-pression_1206837) (accessed 30 August 2015).

<sup>47</sup> See Ciotti and Menucci, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p.138. The judicial criterion of PRI, which excludes prisoners detained for common law offences, was used in the context of this pilot project. Authors mentioned that this criterion was chosen to avoid the reliance on “a subjective criterion that could be contested.” However, they also acknowledged that the population of radicalized detainees exceed the numbers of PRI prisoners. The updated identification grid of radical inmates will lead to assign common criminals to these detention facilities.

viduals were excluded from this initiative, “reflecting the decision to keep a separate detention area for the most dangerous individuals.”<sup>48</sup> Placed under constant surveillance, prisoners were held in both individual and collective cells.<sup>49</sup> Separation from the rest of the prison population applied only to strolls, worship and outdoor sports.<sup>50</sup> Authors of two parliamentary reports expressed a favorable opinion of this practice and stressed the need for better identification of the detainees that should be assigned to these areas.<sup>51</sup> This last point was highlighted by France’s chief prison inspector Adeline Hazan who underlined the shortcomings of the selection process and the risk associated with detaining different kinds of radicals in one place.<sup>52</sup> As Farhad Khosrokhavar explained, separating and isolating some detainees will reduce the influence they may have over other inmates in prison, but it will also “strengthen the links between them.”<sup>53</sup> This process of socialization could limit the ‘contagion effect’ while, at the same time, leading to the creation of structured networks.

In line with an upward trend of recruitment,<sup>54</sup> 60 Muslim prison chaplains will be hired between 2015 and 2017,<sup>55</sup> bringing their total number to 242.<sup>56</sup> Prospective chaplains are expected to hold a university diploma of *laïcité* related to “the fundamental principles of the Republic,” in the words

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid. French Minister of Justice specified that some of the “most radicalized individuals” are held in solitary confinement. They may also be subject to the DPS (*Détenu Particulièrement Signalé*, Specially Reported Detainee) procedure. These individuals’ cells are searched on a regular basis, and they are frequently transferred to other cells and prisons. See AFP, “Radicalisation en prison: l’Expérience de Fresnes Étendue.”

<sup>49</sup> General Controller of Places of Deprivation of Liberty, Opinion No CPLX1515216V related to the Management of Radicalization in Prison Setting, Contrôleur Général des Lieux de Privation de Liberté (11 June 2015), p. 2, available at <http://www.cglpl.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Journal-officiel-de-la-République-française-N°-149-du-30-juin-2015.pdf> (accessed 01 September 2015).

<sup>50</sup> Ciotti and Menucci, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p.138. This mixed system was implemented to avoid the creation of a full-fledged detention regime, the legal foundations of which are lacking. See Frank Johannès, “Le Regroupement des Islamistes en Prison Jugé ‘Potentiellement Dangereux,’” *Le Monde* (30 June 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/06/30/la-controleure-des-prisons-defavorable-au-regroupement-des-detenus-islamistes-en-prison\\_4664339\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/06/30/la-controleure-des-prisons-defavorable-au-regroupement-des-detenus-islamistes-en-prison_4664339_3224.html) (accessed 01 September 2015).

<sup>51</sup> Ciotti and Menucci, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p.139-140. Nathalie Goulet and André Reichardt, Co-presidents, Jean-Pierre Sueur, Rapporteur, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête (1) sur l’Organisation et les Moyens de la Lutte Contre les Réseaux Djihadistes en France et en Europe,” Sénat (01 April 2015), p. 252, available at <http://www.senat.fr/rap/r14-388/r14-3881.pdf> (accessed 01 September 2015).

<sup>52</sup> General Controller of Places of Deprivation of Liberty, “La Prise en Charge de la Radicalisation Islamiste en Milieu Carcéral,” Contrôleur Général des Lieux de Privation de Liberté (11 June 2015), p. 30, available at [http://www.cglpl.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/rapport-radicalisation\\_final.pdf](http://www.cglpl.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/rapport-radicalisation_final.pdf) (accessed 01 September 2015).

<sup>53</sup> Cécile Chambraud, “En Regroupant les Radicaux, on Renforce leurs Liens”, *Le Monde* (13 January 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/01/13/en-regroupant-les-radicaux-on-renforce-leurs-liens\\_4555043\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/01/13/en-regroupant-les-radicaux-on-renforce-leurs-liens_4555043_3224.html) (accessed 01 September 2015).

<sup>54</sup> See Martine de Sauto, “Ils Sont les Tout Premiers Aumôniers Généraux Musulmans,” *La Croix* (14 December 2006), available at [http://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Actualite/Ils-sont-les-tout-premiers-aumoniers-generaux-musulmans-\\_NG\\_-2006-12-14-518388](http://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Actualite/Ils-sont-les-tout-premiers-aumoniers-generaux-musulmans-_NG_-2006-12-14-518388) (accessed 02 September 2015).

<sup>55</sup> “La Lutte Contre le Terrorisme.”

<sup>56</sup> “Lutte Contre la Radicalisation en Prison.” In comparison, there were 760 Catholic chaplains, 377 Protestant chaplains and 75 Jewish chaplains in French prisons in January 2015. See “Pratiques et Organisation du Culte en Détention,” Ministère de la Justice, available at <http://www.justice.gouv.fr/prison-et-reinsertion-10036/la-vie-en-detention-10039/culte-12002.html> (accessed 02 September 2015).

of the French Interior Minister.<sup>57</sup> The move is consistent with a tendency noted by senior fellow Jean-Luc Marret to “regularly [call] upon [moderate *imams*] to fight or counter ECAI in jails.”<sup>58</sup> It falls within the context of the prevalence of Islam among religions practised by prisoners<sup>59</sup> and feelings of discrimination commonly experienced by Muslim detainees.<sup>60</sup> Critics have deemed this new wave of recruitment to be insufficient relative to the needs involved.<sup>61</sup> Precarious working conditions also make it difficult to attract valuable candidates that could effectively oppose the radicalizing influence of inmates acting as *imams*.<sup>62</sup> The exchange of religious arguments with detainees deemed vulnerable might be fruitful in certain cases, assuming that chaplains are regarded as legitimate and credible interlocutors, but its overall value is questionable. The variety of direct and indirect factors that contribute to the process of radicalization in prison, including the dynamics of group protection, prison overcrowding, understaffing, and psychiatric disorders makes a perspective relying exclusively on religion and ideology limited, if not inappropriate.

### ‘Profiles’ and Early Signs

In a post-Charlie Hebdo context marked by a sharp increase of Islamophobic attacks,<sup>63</sup> the French government is confronted with two major challenges. First, long-standing issues related to the representation of French Muslims and the practice of Islam in France, such as the building of new mosques and the status of Muslim religious leaders, need to be addressed in compliance with

<sup>57</sup> This program is designed for students, civil servants, religious leaders of all religions as well as people professionally involved in religious and cultural institutions and associations. Muslim prison chaplains do not receive specific training. See Le Monde with AFP, “De Nouveaux Diplômes Universitaires de Laïcité Vont être Créés,” *Le Monde* (4 March 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/campus/article/2015/03/04/de-nouveaux-diplomes-universitaires-de-laicite-vont-etre-crees\\_4586727\\_4401467.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/campus/article/2015/03/04/de-nouveaux-diplomes-universitaires-de-laicite-vont-etre-crees_4586727_4401467.html) (accessed 02 September 2015); Bernadette Sauvaget, “Islam en Prison: les Aumôniers à la Peine,” *Libération* (14 June 2015), available at [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/06/14/islam-en-prison-les-aumoniers-a-la-peine\\_1329598](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/06/14/islam-en-prison-les-aumoniers-a-la-peine_1329598) (accessed 02 September 2015); Benoît Fauchet and Marc Preel, “Coup d’Envoi de l’Instance Créée Pour Relancer le Dialogue Avec l’Islam,” *Yahoo Actualités* (15 June 2015), available at <https://fr.news.yahoo.com/actes-antimusulmans-cazeneuve-veut-encourager-dépôts-plainte-151705261.html> (accessed 02 September 2015).

<sup>58</sup> Jean-Luc Marret, “Prison De-radicalization and Disengagement: The French Case”, *Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique* (20 October 2009), p. 23, available at <http://www.frstrategie.org/publications/dossiers/2011/aqmi/doc/fjd.pdf> (accessed 25 June 2016).

<sup>59</sup> Ethnic and religious statistics are forbidden in France. However, Farhad Khosrokhavar assessed in 2004 that the proportion of Muslim detainees fluctuated between 50 and 80% in prisons located next to sensitive neighborhoods. This estimate was still considered to be valid in 2015. See Claire Chartier, “L’Islam Majoritaire Dans les Prisons,” *L’Express* (15 March 2004), available at [http://www.lexpress.fr/culture/livre/l-islam-majoritaire-dans-les-prisons\\_819458.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/culture/livre/l-islam-majoritaire-dans-les-prisons_819458.html) (accessed 02 September 2015); Bernadette Sauvaget, “Islam en Prison: les Aumôniers à la Peine.”

<sup>60</sup> Ciotti and Menucci, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p. 234-237.

<sup>61</sup> See Emeline Cazi and Ariane Chemin, “Il Faut au Minimum un Aumônier Musulman par Prison pour Protéger les Détenus les Plus Radicaux,” *Le Monde* (04 February 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/religions/article/2015/02/04/il-faut-au-minimum-un-aumonier-musulman-par-prison-pour-protoger-les-detenus-des-plus-radicaux\\_4569501\\_1653130.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/religions/article/2015/02/04/il-faut-au-minimum-un-aumonier-musulman-par-prison-pour-protoger-les-detenus-des-plus-radicaux_4569501_1653130.html) (accessed 02 September 2015); Bernadette Sauvaget, “Islam en Prison: les Aumôniers à la Peine.”

<sup>62</sup> Bernadette Sauvaget, “Islam en Prison: les Aumôniers à la Peine;” Anna Villechenon, “Aumôniers Musulmans et Surveillants Démunis Face à la Radicalisation en Prison,” *Le Monde* (23 January 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/01/23/surveillants-et-aumoniers-musulmans-demunis-face-a-la-radicalisation-en-prison\\_4561589\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/01/23/surveillants-et-aumoniers-musulmans-demunis-face-a-la-radicalisation-en-prison_4561589_3224.html) (accessed 02 September 2015).

<sup>63</sup> 20 Minutes with AFP, “Le Gouvernement Lance la Réforme de l’Islam de France”, 20 minutes, (25 February 2015), available at <http://www.20minutes.fr/politique/1549303-20150225-gouvernement-lance-reforme-islam-france> (accessed 04 September 2015).

the line of partition between political and religious spheres.<sup>64</sup> Second, the stigmatization of the Muslim ‘community’ must be avoided, as it would exacerbate tensions within French society during a critical period of increased security threats. The non-involvement of the French Muslim elites in the national counter radicalization policy could trigger this stigmatization, as emphasized by Pierre Conesa;<sup>65</sup> however, it could also be seen as a product of the fusion of questions related to the place of Islam in France and non-violent/violent radicalization. These matters tend to be treated as distinct issues,<sup>66</sup> although trained *imams* are expected to both embody an “Islam of France”<sup>67</sup> and to act as counter radicalizing agents.<sup>68</sup>

Using a sample of 160 families, members of which were reported by their relatives to have gone through a process of radicalization, the CPDSI (*Centre de Prévention Contre les Dérives Sectaires Liées à l’Islam*, the Center for the Prevention of Sectarian Abuses Linked to Islam), an association working on counter radicalization with the French authorities, assessed that the Internet played a predominant role in the radicalization of 91% of young people involved in this study.<sup>69</sup> The online processes of radicalization and recruitment draw clear lines between visible religious practices and radical behavior. According to Tareq Oubrou, rector of the Bordeaux Mosque, “[individuals radicalized online] are very far from the mosque... They don’t have beards, they don’t wear hijabs, they don’t even do their five prayers regularly. They’re just delinquents.”<sup>70</sup> This discrepancy led observers to wonder whether the interpretation of radicalization by authorities would include individuals leaving for Syria as well as “Salafism and the literalist reading of the texts of Islam,”<sup>71</sup> despite the explicit distinction made by the Interior Ministry between radicalization and rigorist Islam. The Quietist branch of Salafism, a fundamentalist school of Sunni Islam which is growing

<sup>64</sup> See Cécile Chambraud, “L’Etat Pose les Bases du Dialogue Avec l’Islam,” *Le Monde* (10 June 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/religions/article/2015/06/10/l-etat-pose-les-bases-du-dialogue-avec-l-islam\\_4651029\\_1653130.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/religions/article/2015/06/10/l-etat-pose-les-bases-du-dialogue-avec-l-islam_4651029_1653130.html) (accessed 04 September 2015).

<sup>65</sup> Pierre Conesa, “Quelle Politique de Contre-Radicalisation en France?,” *L’Opinion* (December 2014), p. 74, available at [http://www.lopinion.fr/sites/nb.com/files/2014/12/rapport\\_favt\\_decembre\\_2014-12-14\\_def.pdf](http://www.lopinion.fr/sites/nb.com/files/2014/12/rapport_favt_decembre_2014-12-14_def.pdf) (accessed 04 September 2015).

<sup>66</sup> During the launching a new “forum for dialogue with Islam of France” in June 2015, the Interior Ministry explained that “putting [radicalization] on the agenda during the first meeting of the forum would send a wrong message to the French people and the Muslim community”. See Ève Taraborrelli, “Le Gouvernement Présente Son ‘Instance de Dialogue avec l’Islam de France,’” *Le Monde Des Religions* (15 June 2015), available at [http://www.lemondedesreligions.fr/actualite/le-gouvernement-presente-son-instance-de-dialogue-avec-l-islam-de-france-15-06-2015-4754\\_118.php](http://www.lemondedesreligions.fr/actualite/le-gouvernement-presente-son-instance-de-dialogue-avec-l-islam-de-france-15-06-2015-4754_118.php) (accessed 04 September 2015).

<sup>67</sup> Nathalie Bensahel, “Formation des Imams: à l’École de la Laïcité,” *Le Nouvel Obs* (20 June 2015), available at <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/societe/20150617.OBS1008/formation-des-imams-a-l-ecole-de-la-laicite.html> (accessed 05 September 2015).

<sup>68</sup> Julia Pascual, “Islam: des Formations Civiques pour Lutter Contre la Radicalisation,” *Le Monde* (22 September 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/09/22/islam-des-formations-civiques-pour-lutter-contre-la-radicalisation\\_4766778\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/09/22/islam-des-formations-civiques-pour-lutter-contre-la-radicalisation_4766778_3224.html) (accessed 25 September 2015).

<sup>69</sup> Dounia Bouzar, Christophe Caupenne, and Sulayman Valsan, “La Métamorphose Opérée Chez le Jeune par les Nouveaux Discours Terroristes,” *Bouzar Expertises* (November 2014), p. 14, available at <http://www.bouzar-expertises.fr/images/docs/METAMORPHOSE.pdf> (accessed 28 September 2015). This limited sample is not necessarily representative of all families affected by radicalization, as acknowledged by the CPDSI.

<sup>70</sup> Elizabeth Bryant, “In France, Lessons in Secularism to Confront Radical Islam,” *DW* (14 April 2015), available at <http://www.dw.com/en/in-france-lessons-in-secularism-to-confront-radical-islam/a-18380166> (accessed 28 September 2015).

<sup>71</sup> Anne-Bénédict Hoffner, “En France, la Lutte des Musulmans Contre la Radicalisation,” *La Croix* (31 May 2015), available at <http://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Actualite/En-France-la-lutte-des-musulmans-contre-la-radicalisation-2015-05-31-1318026> (accessed 28 September 2015).

in the French Muslim landscape, is considered by some politicians and specialists to be a rejection of Republican principles and a potential airlock to physical violence.<sup>72</sup>

Demographic data derived from French nationals reported to the authorities provide a pattern in terms of gender, age and social categorization. The Interior Ministry identified 931 men, age 26 and above, between April 2014 and March 2015, making them the most important gender and age group among the 3,062 individuals who were singled out by the authorities over the same period of time.<sup>73</sup> Females have a higher representation among minors under 18 and the 18-25 year old population, with 430 and 432 individuals, respectively.<sup>74</sup> However, the characteristics of people reported who left for Syria between April 2014 and March 2015 confirmed the prevalence of the 18-25 age group for both sexes, with a total of 159 individuals belonging to that category.<sup>75</sup> Of the 160 families on which the CPDSI based its study, low, middle and upper-class socioeconomic backgrounds were estimated at 16%, 67% and 17%, respectively.<sup>76</sup> Similar estimates were reported by Farhad Khosrokhavar who noted a high flow of young people from the middle-class whom he deemed to be motivated by a “sense of profound injustice.”<sup>77</sup>

Highly represented among middle-class individuals,<sup>78</sup> converts account for 1,854 of the 3,645 cases of radicalization listed by the CNAPR from April 2014 to October 2015.<sup>79</sup> The substantial involvement of new believers, described by Pierre N’Gahane as “not com[ing] from a family of Arab-Muslim culture”,<sup>80</sup> reflects diverse ethnic origins and a mixed influence of ideological dynamics. High-profile cases such as Maxime Hauchard and Mickaël Dos Santos, two recruits of ISIL/DAESH who transitioned from a Catholic education to Salafism and the religious ideology of so-called Salafi-Jihadism over a period of three to four years,<sup>81</sup> show that some specificities of the convert experience are likely to play a leading role in adopting extremist views. Sociologist Samir Amghar identified a severe lack of religious modelling and cultural references among these indi-

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<sup>72</sup> Agathe Logeart, “Manuel Valls: ‘L’Islamophobie est le Cheval de Troie des Salafistes,’” *Le Nouvel Obs* (31 Juillet 2013), available at <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/politique/20130731.OBS1612/manuel-valls-l-islamophobie-est-le-cheval-de-troie-des-salafistes.html> (accessed 28 September 2015); Elise Vincent, “Le Salafisme Gagne du Terrain Chez les Musulmans,” *Le Monde* (1 April 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/01/le-salafisme-gagne-du-terrain-chez-les-musulmans\\_4607438\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/01/le-salafisme-gagne-du-terrain-chez-les-musulmans_4607438_3224.html) (accessed 28 September 2015).

<sup>73</sup> Seelow, “Les Nouveaux Chiffres de la Radicalisation.”

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Bouzar, Caupenne, and Valsan, “La Métamorphose Opérée Chez le Jeune par les Nouveaux Discours Terroristes,” p. 9.

<sup>77</sup> Ciotti and Mennucci, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p. 45.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Durand, ““Stop Djihadisme.””

<sup>80</sup> BFMTV and AFP, “Départs Pour le Jihad: Plus de Femmes que d’Hommes en Mars”, BFMTV (15 April 2015), available at <http://www.bfmtv.com/societe/departs-pour-le-jihad-plus-de-filles-que-de-garcons-en-mars-877623.html> (accessed 28 September 2015).

<sup>81</sup> Caroline Politi, “Pourquoi y a-t-il Tant de Convertis Parmi les Djihadistes Français de l’Etat Islamique”, *L’Express* (21 November 2014), available at [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/pourquoi-y-a-t-il-tant-de-convertis-parmi-les-djihadistes-francais-de-l-etat-islamique\\_1624282.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/pourquoi-y-a-t-il-tant-de-convertis-parmi-les-djihadistes-francais-de-l-etat-islamique_1624282.html) (accessed 1 October 2015).

viduals.<sup>82</sup> According to him, this lack creates a void that is filled by the eagerness caused by the adoption of new religious and cultural standards, leading to a radical escalation that generally culminates with the choice of an “ultra-Orthodox Islam.”<sup>83</sup> A rigorist and sectarian religious creed may act as a precursor to physical violence, as the pathways identified by Maxime Hauchard and Mickaël Dos Santos illustrate. The permeability between the Quietist and the Jihadist branches of the Salafi movement is nonetheless a highly contested phenomenon. Followers of each movement are bitterly opposed, which does not mean that the Quietist discourse would not favor the transition to Salafi-Jihadism in some cases.<sup>84</sup>

Specific attributes such as a difficult home environment, poor educational background, low level of employment and a criminal record apply to the vast majority of the perpetrators of attacks by ECAI in France.<sup>85</sup> These elements are also reflected in five of the six “dominant characteristics”<sup>86</sup> shared by thousands of radicalized individuals, according to a report from the National Assembly that linked family, educational, professional and legal issues.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, authors of a Senate report noted the ‘predominance’ of individuals coming from underprivileged districts among French nationals who joined ISIL/DAESH.<sup>88</sup> The sense of marginalization and exclusion can be strong within certain communities and among young people living in underprivileged suburbs of major French towns. Some of these poor districts combine a high concentration of minorities with conditions of socioeconomic deprivation. Radicalization thrives on the humiliation and the frustration generated by feelings of being second-class citizens, to whom a number of opportunities and privileges are denied. Perceptions of discrimination and racism, far from uncommon in these neighbourhoods, fuel a concomitant sense of ‘victimization’<sup>89</sup> that increases receptivity to radical narratives.

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid. It can be assumed that individuals, who “rediscovered” Islam, represented in significant numbers alongside converts, followed similar pathways. See AFP, “Jihadistes Français en Syrie: ‘Pas de Phénomène de Masse,’” *France 24* (18 June 2015), available at <http://www.france24.com/fr/20150618-depart-francais-jihad-syrie-surveillance-filiere-ciottimenucci-rapport> (accessed 2 October 2015).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> According to Farhad Khosrokhava, Islamic fundamentalism act as a barrier to radicalization “in the overwhelming majority of cases” and only a “tiny minority” of individuals adopt a fundamentalist version of Islam before radicalizing or joining “small religious groups that are much more violent”. This opinion is shared by Samir Amghar for whom “it is very difficult for a Quietist Salafi to switch towards violent radicalisation”. By contrast, the CPDSI assessed that “many young people” are receptive to the discourse of Salafi radical Islam before turning to Salafi-Jihadism. See Matthieu Stricot, “Quiétistes, Politiques, Djihadistes: Qui Sont les Salafistes?”, *Le Monde des Religions* (30 November 2015), available at [http://www.lemondedesreligions.fr/actualite/quietistes-politiques-djihadistes-qui-sont-les-salafistes-30-11-2015-5122\\_118.php](http://www.lemondedesreligions.fr/actualite/quietistes-politiques-djihadistes-qui-sont-les-salafistes-30-11-2015-5122_118.php) (accessed 1 June 2016); Centre de Prévention Contre les Dérives Sectaires Liées à l’Islam, “Rapport d’Activité Annuel 2015 du CPDSI, Bilan d’Actions et Partage des Retours d’Expérience”, CPDSI (10 February 2016), p. 43-44, available at [http://www.cpsdi.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/rapport\\_activite\\_annuel-2015\\_CPDSI.pdf](http://www.cpsdi.fr/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/rapport_activite_annuel-2015_CPDSI.pdf) (accessed 1 June 2016); Farhad Khosrokhavar, *Radicalisation* (Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2014), p. 151.

<sup>85</sup> As illustrated by the trajectories of Khaled Kelkal, involved in a wave of terrorist attacks in France in 1995; Mohammed Merah, responsible for the death of seven people in the southern cities of Toulouse and Montauban in March 2012; Mehdi Nemmouche, alleged perpetrator of the Jewish museum of Belgium shooting in May 2014; Chérif Kouachi, one of the two authors of the Charlie Hebdo shooting, and Amedy Coulibaly who killed five individuals in Paris and the neighbouring town of Montrouge in January 2015.

<sup>86</sup> Ciotti and Menucci, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête sur la Surveillance des Filières et des Individus Djihadistes,” p. 46.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Goulet and Reichardt, Sueur, “Rapport Fait au Nom de la Commission d’Enquête (1) sur l’Organisation et les Moyens de la Lutte Contre les Réseaux Djihadistes en France et en Europe,” p. 44.

<sup>89</sup> See Khosrokhavar, *Radicalisation*, p. 111.

Looking for a guiding thread between various profiles, the French authorities portrayed all reported radicals as people suffering from “a loss of reference points and a state of dissociation with their environment.”<sup>90</sup> This framework of interpretation does not account for the diversity of motivations leading individuals to support or to join an organisation like ISIL/DAESH. Other motivations include the search for adventure, the desire to help or to defend the Syrian population on the basis of humanitarian or religious concerns, and/or a quest for revenge against society. However, the psychological confusion provides a timely explanation for the 799 minors suspected of going through a process of radicalization and identified by the CNAPR between April 2014 and October 2015, out of the 3,645 cases of radicalization detected over this period of time.<sup>91</sup> A member of the helpline described supporters of so-called *jihad* as “[being] often impressionable young people, in search of meaning and capable of making life-altering decisions overnight.”<sup>92</sup> Sensitivity of teenagers to Manichean perspectives could account for the vulnerability of this demographic. Consistent with this hypothesis, psychiatrist Serge Hefez, who worked with families affected by radicalization, stressed the high receptivity of young people to binary worldviews,<sup>93</sup> which represent a key argumentative line for the so-called Salafi-Jihadist ideology.

Disparities between profiles are further blurred by a collective absence of a sense of identity. Descriptions of at-risk individuals highlight the lack of a sense of belonging to a group. Referring to young people from deprived districts, Pierre N’Gahane mentioned that “a number of French youth live with frustration, the feeling that they do not belong to the national community...Some of them wear a beard and religious clothing only to get out of anonymity.”<sup>94</sup> Similarly, the CPDSI explained that teenagers affected by radicalization had the feeling “to be from nowhere...without a territory.”<sup>95</sup> In both cases, so-called Salafi-Jihadist narratives target their messages to specific audiences and speak to their needs. A great deal of ISIL/DAESH’s appeal relies on the rejection of social order and the promotion of a ‘state’ in which individuals, defined on the exclusive basis of a glorified Islam, would be fully valued and integrated. This messaging can also take an empathic and romantic form which is particularly appealing to young people. In this perspective, teenagers’ feelings of disorientation are interpreted as the unmistakable sign that they are the “chosen ones”<sup>96</sup> destined to defend an idealized *ummah* or Muslim community against the ‘persecutions’ of the West. By offering custom-made arguments and framing them as the only possible solution to individuals’ malaise, communication strategies of so-called Salafi-Jihadist groups act as influential vectors of persuasion.

Complementary methodologies for the identification of radicalization have been adopted by the CNAPR and the CPDSI. The former applies a six-point protocol focused on:

- “appearances” (change of clothing, new first name);

<sup>90</sup> Seelow, “Les nouveaux Chiffres de la Radicalisation”.

<sup>91</sup> Durand, ““Stop Djihadisme””.

<sup>92</sup> Marie Boëton, “La Lutte s’organise Contre le Djihadisme,” *La Croix* (8 July 2015), available at <http://www.la-croix.com/Actualite/France/La-lutte-s-organise-contre-le-djihadisme-2015-07-08-1332699> (accessed 2 October 2015).

<sup>93</sup> Seelow, “Les nouveaux Chiffres de la Radicalisation.”

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Bouzar, Caupenne, Valsan, “La Métamorphose Opérée Chez le Jeune par les Nouveaux Discours Terroristes”, pp.12-13.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.



- “strategy of adhesion/dissimulation” (use of different aliases on social networks);
- “profile” (situation of social and affective vulnerability, psychological fragility and/or criminal record);
- “environment” (family conflicts);
- “behavior” (hyperritualized religious practices, disengagement with relatives) and
- “theories and discourse” (adoption of literalist and stereotyped comments, involving conspiracy theories, anti-Western and anti-Jewish rhetoric).<sup>97</sup>

In contrast with this holistic approach, the CPDSI favors a focus on social isolation and withdrawal among young people. Four different kinds of disruptions, either simultaneous or successive, progress into more isolation that culminates in the departure for Syria. These discontinuities include the refusal to socialize with friends, ending sports and recreational activities, dropping-out of school, and severing ties with members of the family.<sup>98</sup> While voluntary self-exclusion is not unusual among teenagers, the high intensity of these behaviours and the combination or progression from one stage to another is likely to be the building blocks of the process of radicalization. This second grid has warning signs for the networks of people in contact with young people, as assessing an individual’s profile or his/her family environment requires proximity objectivity and experience, all qualities that family, relatives, friends and acquaintances may not have.

Early signs regarding religion, such as an assiduous and intense religious practice, as well as ‘cultural’ indicators like the use of siwak and musk<sup>99</sup> are not considered to be determining criteria in both risk assessment systems. Dissimulation and the low levels of religious education and cultural affiliation of converts, which were also observed among individuals of Arab-Muslim backgrounds shortly before their departure for Syria,<sup>100</sup> explains why the adoption of new religious and cultural codes is not necessarily conspicuous or systematic. This interpretation resonates with the differentiation policy adopted by Pierre N’Gahane, according to whom “the phenomenon of radicalization has nothing to do with religion... It is not about converting to Islam but [converting] to radicalism, even for Muslims.”<sup>101</sup> However, suspicions surrounding a potential cause-effect pattern between the religious movement of Quietist Salafism and the religious ideology of so-called Salafi-Jihadism, the emphasis placed by the French Interior Minister on “trustworthy religious leaders,” and the increasing recruitment of prison Muslim chaplains show that religion remains both an element of concern and a key lever of counter radicalization for the French authorities.

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<sup>97</sup> For the detailed list of these sub-indicators see Pietrasanta, “La Déradicalisation”, p. 26.

<sup>98</sup> Christophe Cornevin, “Près de 400 Djihadistes Potentiels Signalés Depuis fin Avril,” *Le Figaro* (26 September 2014), available at <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2014/09/26/01016-20140926ARTFIG00322-pres-de-400djihadistes-potentiels-signales-depuis-fin-avril.php> (accessed 05 October 2015).

<sup>99</sup> Pietrasanta, “La Déradicalisation”, p. 26. The siwak is a teeth cleaning twig which was reportedly used by the Prophet Muhammad and the musk is an aromatic substance.

<sup>100</sup> See Edith Bouvier, “Leur Arme Contre le Jihad: la Parole,” *Le Parisien* (10 July 2015), available at <http://www.leparisien.fr/magazine/grand-angle/leur-arme-contre-le-jihad-la-parole-09-07-2015-4931445.php> (accessed 10 October 2015).

<sup>101</sup> Seelow, “Les Nouveaux Chiffres de la Radicalisation.”

## Deradicalization and Religion

Actions of deradicalization, understood as the methods leading an individual to voluntarily relinquish radical and extremist beliefs and convictions that justify and promote the use of violence, have been developed with varying degrees of success. Family and psychotherapeutic support play a key role among the range of psychological, educational, social and professional measures that can be implemented. Acting in cooperation with monitoring cells set up by prefectural authorities, the CPDSI embraced a program of mentoring that excludes rational argumentation with teenagers in favor of an emotion-driven approach.<sup>102</sup> Personal information related to the young person's background is gathered from relatives to remind the individual about happy memories of his/her life, such as birthday celebrations and family holidays.<sup>103</sup> The interventions of parents affected by radicalization and repentant fighters are then used to favor a "cognitive dissociation,"<sup>104</sup> i.e. raising awareness of the gap between the arguments of so-called Salafi-Jihadist groups and their actual practices. As confrontation with reality can engender a complete loss of bearings and severe trauma such as anxiety attacks,<sup>105</sup> the individual is closely monitored and encouraged to share his/her own experience during group sessions.

Reported to be successful with fifteen minors and young adults in December 2014,<sup>106</sup> the CPDSI's program appears to be restricted in three respects. First, age groups older than teenagers and post-adolescents are potentially less responsive, especially if the latter include hardened radicals who have embraced the so-called Salafi-Jihadist ideology over a long period of time. Second, it can be inferred that non-physical exposure to the war and its associated trauma is an important factor for success, leaving open the question of returning individuals to whom involvement in Syria acted as a catalyst of radicalization.<sup>107</sup> Third, religion-based dialogue is considered to be a counterproductive approach as it would give credence to conspiracy theories used by online recruiters according to whom 'envious' people will attempt to cast doubt in the young person's mind under the pretext of introducing him/her to the "true Islam."<sup>108</sup> However, one can also assume that the exchange of religious arguments might be influential in cases of radicalization involving a progression from the Quietist to the so-called Jihadist branch of Salafism.

<sup>102</sup> Catherine Vincent, "Comment 'Retourner' un Djihadiste," *Le Monde* (18 April 2015), available at [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/16/comment-retourner-un-djihadiste\\_4617434\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/16/comment-retourner-un-djihadiste_4617434_3224.html) (accessed 20 October 2015).

<sup>103</sup> Pietrasanta, "La Déradicalisation," p. 39.

<sup>104</sup> Centre de Prévention Contre les Dérives Sectaires Liées à l'Islam, "Bilan Pédagogique Annuel, Association Loi 1901 'Centre de Prévention Contre les Dérives Sectaires Liées à l'Islam' dit 'C.P.D.S.I.', du 16 avril au 31 décembre 2014," CPDSI (n.d.), p. 13, available at <http://www.cpsdi.fr/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/SYNTHESE-BILAN-PEDAGOGIQUE-ET-FINANCIER-2014-CPDSI-2.pdf> (accessed 20 October 2015).

<sup>105</sup> Caroline Piquet, "Djihad: les Parents Démunis Face au Désendoctrinement de Leur Enfant," *Le Figaro* (18 November 2014), available at <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2014/11/08/01016-20141108ARTFIG00005-djihad-les-parents-demunis-face-au-desendoctrinement-de-leur-enfant.php> (accessed 20 October 2015).

<sup>106</sup> Centre de Prévention Contre les Dérives Sectaires Liées à l'Islam, "Bilan Pédagogique Annuel," p. 13.

<sup>107</sup> It could also be argued that confrontation with the atrocities of war may also act as a "salutary" wake-up call. See AFP, "Tombée Dans le Piège de Daesh en Syrie, une Jeune Française Témoigne," *Le Point* (24 June 2015), available at [http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/tombée-dans-le-piège-de-daesh-en-syrie-une-jeune-française-temoigne-24-06-2015-1939507\\_23.php](http://www.lepoint.fr/societe/tombée-dans-le-piège-de-daesh-en-syrie-une-jeune-française-temoigne-24-06-2015-1939507_23.php) (accessed 24 October 2015); Arièle Bonte, "Dans la Nuit de Daech: le Récit d'une Repentie," *Le Figaro* (11 January 2016), available at <http://madame.lefigaro.fr/societe/sophie-kasiki-confession-une-repentie-daech-110116-111677> (accessed 20 January 2016).

<sup>108</sup> Centre de Prévention Contre les Dérives Sectaires Liées à l'Islam, "Bilan Pédagogique Annuel," p. 12; Catherine Vincent, "Comment 'retourner' un Djihadiste."

A distinct approach was applied by the MPF (House of Prevention and Family, *Maison de la Prévention et de la Famille*), an association that was initially supported by the Interior Ministry and the Police Prefecture of Paris before being accused of a lack of transparency in management and the results achieved, according to a police source.<sup>109</sup> Similar to the CPDSI, the MPF has worked closely with relatives to detect psychological trauma that could explain why the process of radicalization took hold among some individuals and to preserve bonds between the radicalized individual and people around them as an antidote to violent extremism.<sup>110</sup> Discussion groups involving ex-foreign fighters were also favored, just as the importance of social, school or professional reinsertion and follow-up were both acknowledged by Dounia Bouzar and Sonia Imloul, heads of the CPDSI and the MPF, respectively.<sup>111</sup> However, the latter also relied on theological arguments to counter the appeal of so-called Salafi-Jihadism among the most radicalized individuals, including through the mediation of an educator close to the Quietist branch of Salafism.<sup>112</sup> Applied to difficult cases of radicalization involving young people at risk of delinquency, this approach was reported to be successful in seven cases out of twelve young people engaged by the MPF between October 2014 and February 2015.<sup>113</sup>

Bringing together key elements of these programs, an organization called CAPRI (*Centre d'Action et de Prévention contre la Radicalisation des Individus*, the Center of Action and Prevention against the Radicalization of Individuals) was inaugurated in January 2016 in the southern cities of Bordeaux. With a view to detecting and managing various profiles of people going through a process of 'radicalization claiming affiliation with Islam,'<sup>114</sup> this largely state-funded association reflect the multidisciplinary nature of monitoring cells by involving a wide range of professionals, including imams and 'specialists of mental manipulation'.<sup>115</sup> This diversity is intended to reflect what Marik Fetouh, Deputy Mayor of Bordeaux, described as a "comprehensive approach to the phenomenon [of radicalization],"<sup>116</sup> as opposed to a narrow focus on sociopsychological support or religious counselling. Close to this option are "deradicalization centers," the first model of which will open before 2017. These closed structures will host radicalized individuals for a ten-month period during which the person (who will remain free to leave the center) will be involved in activities such as "dialogues around citizenship and the Republican sentiment."<sup>117</sup> A major objective of the

<sup>109</sup> Carole Sterlé with G.B., "Une Cellule de Déradicalisation Met la Clé Sous la Porte," *Le Parisien* (21 November 2015), available at <http://www.leparisien.fr/espace-premium/actu/une-cellule-de-deradicalisation-met-la-cle-sous-la-porte-21-11-2015-5298505.php> (accessed 25 November 2015).

<sup>110</sup> Chine Labbé and Nicholas Vinocur, "La France Cherche son Modèle de 'Déradicalisation'", Reuters (26 November 2014), available at <http://fr.reuters.com/article/topNews/idFRKCN0JA1NR20141126?pageNumber=2&virtualBrandChannel=0&sp=true> (accessed 25 November 2015).

<sup>111</sup> Catherine Vincent, "Comment 'retourner' un Djihadiste."

<sup>112</sup> Ibid; Anne Vidalie, "La Religion Contre les Fous d'Allah," *L'Express* (5 February 2015), available at [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/la-religion-contre-les-fous-d-allah\\_1647826.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/la-religion-contre-les-fous-d-allah_1647826.html) (accessed 25 November 2015).

<sup>113</sup> Sylvain Mouillard, "Deux Visages de la Déradicalisation," *Libération* (20 February 2015), available at [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/20/sonia-imploul-mediatrice-des-familles-deux-visages-de-la-deradicalisation\\_1206834](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/02/20/sonia-imploul-mediatrice-des-familles-deux-visages-de-la-deradicalisation_1206834) (accessed 25 November 2015).

<sup>114</sup> BFM TV with AFP, "Un Centre de Déradicalisation Islamiste Inauguré à Bordeaux," *BFM TV* (10 January 2016) available at <http://www.bfmtv.com/societe/un-centre-de-deradicalisation-islamiste-inaugure-a-bordeaux-942349.html> (accessed 23 January 2016).

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> P.P., Rym Bey and Eve Castaing, "Bordeaux: Dans les Couloirs du Premier Centre de Déradicalisation en France," *BFM TV* (14 January 2016), available at <http://www.bfmtv.com/societe/bordeaux-dans-les-couloirs-du-premier-centre-de-deradicalisation-de-france-943410.html> (accessed 23 January 2016).

<sup>117</sup> "Les Centres de Déradicalisation Français, une Première Mondiale," *Europe 1* (8 January 2016), available at <http://www.europe1.fr/societe/les-centres-de-deradicalisation-francais-une-premiere-mondiale-2647375> (accessed 25 January 2016).

deradicalization centers, which will exclude imams, will be to “attempt to restore young people’s free-will,”<sup>118</sup> according to sociologist Gérald Bronner.

As illustrated by the challenges faced by prevention initiatives and deradicalization programs in prisons, the effectiveness of a religious approach depends on the particular public(s) involved and the crucial need for religious counsellors to be considered as well-respected sources of authority by the individuals they provide assistance to. Theological arguments were used by the MPF to convince hardliners, but it could also be argued that this counterstrategy might have a more decisive impact on individuals going through early stages of radicalization, at a time when radical beliefs and convictions are still in gestation.<sup>119</sup> Some Quietist Salafis grew up in poor districts and ‘rediscovered’ religion or converted to Islam, mixing the social codes of underprivileged neighborhoods with religious references.<sup>120</sup> Their young age and the display of their devotion and Salafi ‘identity,’ visible through specific physical attributes and traditional clothing such as a long beard, a skullcap and the *qamis* or *djellaba*, bring them a “street credibility” that older and mainstream Muslim religious leaders do not necessarily have. This could be helpful in engaging some individuals going through a process of radicalization, more so given that the ideological proximity between the Quietist and the so-called jihadist branches of Salafism seems to make it appropriate for members of the former to challenge followers of the latter.

There is, however, little consensus in France on the reliance on Islam and the brand of Islam that should be used to counter so-called Salafi-Jihadist radicalization. While the CPDSI associates the latter with a sectarian phenomenon of indoctrination and rejects a religious perspective of deradicalization,<sup>121</sup> specialists such as Mathieu Guidère and Pierre Conesa have underlined the relevance of theological counternarratives.<sup>122</sup> These conflicting interpretations reflect a key disagreement over the use of Islam in the process of leading an individual to renounce radical beliefs and convictions, especially if it involves the fundamentalist branch of Quietist Salafism. Followers of this religious movement do not openly advocate violence but they nonetheless promote a lifestyle of separation and isolation from mainstream society, based on the rejection of liberal values and behaviors such as promiscuity.<sup>123</sup> Such practises are particularly sensitive in France where the phenomenon of communitarianism is interpreted negatively as the reduction of an individual to a minority group, and the resultant claims for specific rights that could be incompatible with republican principles, such as the supremacy of some religious principles over the law. These dynamics are considered to threaten the cohesion of French society and the principle of *laïcité*, which is supposed to guarantee an equal balance between all faiths through the neutrality of the state.

<sup>118</sup> “Gérald Bronner, le Sociologue Pionnier des Centres de Déradicalisation,” *Le Républicain Lorrain* (17 January 2016), available at <http://www.republicain-lorrain.fr/edition-de-metz-ville/2016/01/17/le-sociologue-pionnier-des-centres-de-deradicalisation> (accessed 25 January 2016).

<sup>119</sup> This view was supported by Marc Hecker, Research Fellow at the IFRI (French Institute of International Relations, *Institut Français des Relations Internationales*). See Vidalie, “La Religion Contre les Fous d’Allah.”

<sup>120</sup> Claire Chartier and Bisma Lahouri, “La Stratégie des Salafistes,” *L’Express* (07 Juin 2004), available at [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/religion/la-strategie-des-salafistes\\_489383.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/religion/la-strategie-des-salafistes_489383.html) (accessed 25 November 2015).

<sup>121</sup> Sylvain Mouillard, “Deux Visages de la Déradicalisation;” Anne Vidalie, “Djihadisme: Convaincre au Lieu de Combattre.”

<sup>122</sup> Anne Vidalie, “Djihadisme: Convaincre au Lieu de Combattre;” Catherine Vincent, “Comment ‘Retourner’ un Djihadiste;” France 24 with AFP, “Une Structure Pour les Jeunes de Retour du Jihad Bientôt Créée en France”, *France 24* (30 April 2015), available at <http://www.france24.com/fr/20150430-france-jihad-retour-combattre-radicalisation-structure-reinsertion-jeunes> (accessed 28 January 2016).

<sup>123</sup> See Khosrokhavar, *Radicalisation*, p. 151.

The intervention of Quietist Salafis is thus highly controversial in the French context and could ultimately prove to be a major obstacle to the resocialization of radicalized individuals.

## Conclusion

Confronted with hundreds of departures for Syria, the French authorities have initially focused on upstream rather than downstream solutions. A structured effort of early detection and the mobilization of a dense administrative apparatus are the strong points of the French counter radicalization strategy. The latter is nonetheless hampered by public and private resource gaps, coupled with the lack of assessment tools that would highlight good practices and lessons learned. The linchpins are the departmental prefects who act as a central liaison between the national and the local levels. Coordination, however, must be improved. French press reported in February 2015 that the prefecture of Hérault, a southern department which includes the city of Lunel, where around twenty young people left for Syria, revealed without explanation that it had not requested elected officials of this town to be involved in the monitoring cell led by the prefect,<sup>124</sup> despite the crucial impetus given by these local authorities in the fields of prevention and deradicalization. Such issues reflect the limits of the French “whole-of-government approach” and the need to strengthen interorganizational collaboration.<sup>125</sup>

The Charlie Hebdo shooting and the Paris attacks led to a brutal awareness of the threat posed by so-called Salafi-Jihadist groups and militants. It fuelled interrogations related to the mechanisms of radicalization, while nurturing a state of confusion between non-violent and violent radicalization; extremism and terrorism; religion and *laïcité*. Nowhere is this tension more evident than when dealing with Islam. The French authorities have embraced a basic principle stating that “Islam is not the problem, but it is part of the solution.”<sup>126</sup> This interpretation, which refutes a religious analysis in favor of a social and psychological reading grid of radicalization, relies on the idea that so-called Salafi-Jihadism presents the appearance of religion, without the substance. Theological arguments should thus be used by Muslim religious leaders to rectify distorted views, despite the critical position of a major player of counter radicalization like the CPDSI, which considers incorporating religion in deradicalization to be inappropriate and ineffective. It is also difficult for the government to promote this religious approach without feeding the suspicion that followers of fundamentalist movements claiming affiliation with Islam would be considered as potentially dangerous believers, i.e. non-violent extremists that would be more likely than others to support and to join the ranks of so-called Salafi-Jihadist groups. This challenges the ability of the French authorities and French society to successfully harmonize *laïcité* and controversial religious trends, without falling into the trap of an aggressive and intolerant model of secularism that could paradoxically, as Farhad Khosrokhavar underlined,<sup>127</sup> further new dynamics of radicalization.

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<sup>124</sup> Mouillard, “Jihad Français: Mieux Vaut Prévenir que Guérir.”

<sup>125</sup> This point was noted by Pierre N’Gahane and Sébastien Pietrasanta, member of the French Parliament and author of a report on deradicalization. See *Le Courrier des Maires et des Élus Locaux*, “Guide de Prévention de la Radicalisation,” p.16; Pietrasanta, “La Déradicalisation”, p. 31.

<sup>126</sup> European Union Delegation to Singapore, Roundtable on De-Radicalisation, Prefect Pierre N’Gahane, “De-radicalisation Efforts in France” (27 January 2016).

<sup>127</sup> See Khosrokhavar, *Radicalisation*, p. 152.

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## Countering Radicalization and Recruitment of so-called Jihadists – Proscription of Radicalization Hubs<sup>1</sup>

Daniel H. HEINKE<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract:** *The investigation and prosecution of criminal offenses with regard to political and/or religious extremism are at the core of an effective domestic counterterrorism policy. However, additional approaches may augment these endeavors. The proscription of certain extremist organizations can be an effective instrument to address the threats resulting from identified radicalization hubs.*

**Keywords:** *Islamism, radicalization, proscription, ban, recruitment.*

### Introduction

The successfully executed terrorist attacks in Western Europe in the past one and a half years – first and foremost the assaults in Paris (France) in January 2015<sup>3</sup> and November 2015,<sup>4</sup> in Copenhagen

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<sup>1</sup> Received 09 October 2015. Accepted 28 April 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Director, Policy Planning Staff and Special Affairs Directorate, Ministry of the Interior, Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, Germany. E-Mail: daniel.heinke@inneres.bremen.de.

<sup>3</sup> Gun attacks against the French satirical magazine "Charlie Hebdo" staff, against customers of a kosher supermarket, and against French police officers, 7-9 January 2015, resulting in 17 dead and several injured victims. Matthew Weaver, et al., "Charlie Hebdo: Officials Establish Link between Gunmen in Both Attacks – As it Happened," *The Guardian Online* (10 January 2015) available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/jan/09/charlie-hebdo-manhunt-kouachi-terrorist-links-live-updates> (accessed 14 April 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Combined bomb and gun attacks against a soccer stadium, a concert hall, and against various pubs, 13 November 2015, resulting in 130 dead and more than 352 injured victims. Paul Torpey, et al., "How the Paris Attacks Unfolded", *The Guardian Online* (14 November 2015), available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2015/nov/14/paris-attacks-what-we-know-so-far> (accessed 14 April 2016).

(Denmark) in March 2015,<sup>5</sup> and in Brussels (Belgium) in March 2016,<sup>6</sup> as well as comparable plots thwarted at the last minute, either by law enforcement agencies, such as in Verviers (Belgium),<sup>7</sup> or by courageous intended victims fighting back, such as on the Thalys train from the Netherlands to France<sup>8</sup> – in addition to the steadily increasing number of individuals from Western, especially Western European countries, who decide to join extremist factions claiming an affiliation with Islam in the civil war in Syria and Iraq over the past two years, have rendered painfully obvious the imminent threat for Western societies resulting from the radicalization of individuals towards a so-called jihadist ideology.

Governments face the challenge in making a stand against this threat rooted in an ideological radicalization, while at the same time preserving and protecting the civil rights of freedom of (and from) religion, freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. In this context, the measures of law enforcement and intelligence authorities have to be augmented by multipronged prevention and deradicalization endeavors.<sup>9</sup> This article, however, focuses on the option of the proscription of organizations as an instrument to neutralize centers of gravity of radicalization efforts by so-called jihadists.

### **The radicalization process and the significance of radicalization hubs**

#### *The ‘Who’ and the ‘How’*

It is still difficult to identify a ‘target group’ for such a radicalization. Various studies examining and analyzing so-called jihadists, i.e. violent extremists claiming an affiliation with Islam (ECAI), in Western countries as well as the analysis by German security authorities individuals who traveled from Germany to Syria out of an assumed extremist motivation, confirm the findings that

<sup>5</sup> Gun attacks against a free speech debate and a synagogue, 14 March 2015, resulting in 2 dead and five injured Victims. Lars Eriksen, Michael Safi, and Kevin Rawlinson, “Copenhagen shootings: Suspect was Known to Authorities,” *The Guardian Online* (15 March 2015), available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/feb/15/copenhagen-shootings-gun-assault-at-synagogue-follows-shootings-at-cafe-rolling-report> (accessed 14 April 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Bomb attack against the Brussels International Airport Zaventem and against a subway train, 22 March 2016, resulting in 35 dead and more than 300 injured victims. Claire Phipps, et al., “Brussels Attacks – Live Blog”, *The Guardian Online* (24 March 2016) available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2016/mar/23/brussels-attacks-police-search-airport-bomb-suspect-live> (accessed 14 April 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Arrest of 15 suspects, 2 instances of deadly force, in a raid to prevent planned killings of police officers, 15 January 2015. Josh Halliday, Alexandra Topping, and Ian Traynor, “Islamists Killed in Belgian Terror Raids ‘Planned to Massacre Police in Street,’” *The Guardian Online* (16 January 2015), available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/16/belgium-terror-raid-jewish-schools-closed> (accessed 31 August 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Three passengers overwhelmed and neutralized a suspect carrying an assault rifle, a pistol, and a knife, just before he started to murder passengers on the Thalys train from Amsterdam (Netherlands) to Paris (France), 21 August 2015. Angeliqe Chrisafis and Stephen Burgen, “France Train Attack: Investigators Focus on Extremist Motive,” *The Guardian Online* (23 August 2015), available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/23/france-train-attack-investigators-focus-on-extremist-motive> (accessed 14 April 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Daniel H. Heinke, “Warum Deutschland eine Nationale Präventionsstrategie gegen gewaltbereiten Extremismus Braucht – Ein Plädoyer“, *Sicherheitspolitik-Blog* (1 June 2015), available at <http://www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/2015/06/01/warum-deutschland-eine-nationale-praeventionsstrategie-gegen-gewaltbereiten-extremismus-braucht-ein-plaedoyer/> (accessed 14 April 2016); Daniel H. Heinke, “Nochmals: Nationale Präventionsstrategie gegen gewaltbereiten Extremismus“, *Sicherheitspolitik-Blog* (28 December 2015) at <http://www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/2015/12/28/nochmals-nationale-praeventionsstrategie-gegen-gewaltbereiten-extremismus/> (accessed 14 April 2016).

the existing intelligence does not – as desirable as it might be to prevent future threats – support a reliable sociodemographic profile of these so-called jihadists.<sup>10</sup>

If the ‘who’ cannot be satisfactorily answered, the question as to the ‘how’ of the radicalization process gains even higher importance. Superficially, the pathways to terrorism seem as varied as the actors themselves.<sup>11</sup> Developing from diverse starting points, extremists follow many different paths to their ultimate involvement in terrorist activities, either in their respective countries of residence or by joining international terrorist organizations like the so-called Islamic State. The findings of several analyses conducted by Western security authorities (law enforcement agencies and intelligence services) indicate an underlying base model of the radicalization process. Hunter and Heinke<sup>12</sup> – elaborating on a sketch originally presented by Neumann<sup>13</sup> – proposed a unified simplified model of the radicalization process, based upon three definable main components: ‘grievance’ (more often than not, rather a diffuse discontent with the individual’s status of life), ‘ideology/narrative’ (the embrace of an extremist belief as a perceived answer to the existing answers), and ‘mobilization’ (crossing the threshold to actively engage in the violent fight against the perceived enemies of Islam). This model has been confirmed by observations over the last few years.<sup>14</sup>

The basic prerequisite of the radicalization process (not only within the context of ECAI) seems to be a (starting from a mostly rather diffuse) discontent.<sup>15</sup> Relevant issues driving this attitude in Western countries may include a sense of uprootedness, alienation, or a lack of acceptance; feelings of discrimination (especially among second- or third-generation immigrants); or a general search for identity. It comes as no surprise that young persons are particularly susceptible for such a discontent.

The process of ideological framing absorbs this diffuse feeling of discontent and vectors it towards a defined direction. The core narrative of ‘us’ – the *ummah* (community) or *ummat*

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<sup>10</sup> Daniel H. Heinke and Jan Raudszus, “German Foreign Fighters in Syria”, *CTC-Sentinel* 8(1) (2015), p. 20. For a more detailed account see Ryan Hunter and Daniel H. Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 80 (9) (2011), pp. 25-31. (Daniel H. Heinke and Ryan Hunter, “Radikalisierung islamistischer Terroristen im Westen”, *Die Polizei* (2011), pp. 293-297). The simplified model presented here should not be misinterpreted as the suggestion of a strictly linear process (see references above and additionally Jamie Bartlett and Jonathan Birdwell, *From Suspects to Citizens: Preventing Violent Extremism in a Big Society* (Demos, 2010), p. 9). Although Paust (Jordan J. Paust, “Terrorism’s Proscription and Core Elements of an Objective Definition”, *Santa Clara Journal of International Law* 8(1) (2010), p. 54) rightly states that even though the international community during the last decades has consistently affirmed that terrorism is an international crime, it was not possible to agree on a universally accepted definition of ‘terrorism’. Nevertheless, acts of violence motivated by an Islamist ideology are generally subsumed as terrorist actions.

<sup>11</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 27; Randy Borum, “Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4(4) (2011), p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World”.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Neumann, “What Motives and Circumstances Lie Behind Persons Affiliating with Violent, Radical-Islamist Groups and Committing Acts of Violence Themselves?” (lecture at the autumn conference of the German Bundeskriminalamt, Wiesbaden, Germany, 19 October 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Daniel H. Heinke and Mareike Persson, “Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter”, *Zeitschrift für Jugendkriminalrecht und Jugendhilfe* 26(1) (2015), p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World,” p. 27; Heinke and Persson, “Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter”, p. 50; Abec Corb and Renee Grozelle, “A New Kind of Terror”, *Journal EXIT-Deutschland*, 1-2014, p. 36.

*al-mu'minin* (the community of the believers) – defending against ‘them’ – the nonbelievers conducting an alleged “War against Islam” – secures a strong bond among the followers while alienating them from Western society.<sup>16</sup> By accepting this highly polarized worldview (right vs. wrong; true believer vs. infidel; friend or foe) and its narrow set of rules, the uncertain individual searching for meaning receives simple answers, as well as a comprehensive framework of social and moral norms and values,<sup>17</sup> thus paving the way for the ultimate decision to actively employ violent actions.

### *Radicalization hubs*

Even though the ideological framing portrayed may in some instances happen individually – mainly via the Internet – in most cases social contacts with peers play an important role in this context. As conveying a sense of community, of mutual belonging to a ‘chosen’ group, and posing a defining element of the framing process, this mechanism is all the more effective when the individual experiences this community in a direct way. The propagandists of this extremist ideology are particularly aware of the heightened vulnerability of youth (juveniles and adolescents) to the offer of an ‘anchor’ for their lives. Therefore they very often try to establish isolated and focused surroundings in which they can educate juveniles (or even children) about their narrative of the ideal society. These surroundings may include social centers, Qur’an classes, or mosques, but may as well be institutions – notably including prisons – exploited by charismatic leaders for their purposes.<sup>18</sup>

In a recent example of a Salafi mosque community in the German city of Bremen, the group used their mosque/community center – beyond from worship activities – to teach Qur’an lessons and other forms of education, and thus to propagate their extremist persuasion and an aggressive scorn of other religious beliefs through enduring indoctrination. In specific circumstances, such ‘radicalization hubs’ can gain vital importance, when more and more individuals frequent this place through expanding contacts, and the intensive exchange with the believers already following this group induces them to develop or deepen their own extremist conviction: Until the proscription of this Bremen mosque community in December 2014, all individuals that had left Bremen for Syria due to extremist motivation were related to this organization in some way; the departure total count was substantially higher than the German average. After the proscription, the number of new – successful and attempted – departures declined significantly.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> With regard to homegrown terrorism see Hunter and Heinke, “Radicalization of Islamist Terrorists in the Western World”, p. 28; with regard to so-called jihadi foreign fighters in support of the ISIL/DAESH in Syria, see “Analyse der den Deutschen Sicherheitsbehörden vorliegenden Informationen über die Radikalisierungshintergründe und -verläufe der Personen, die aus islamistischen Motiven aus Deutschland in Richtung Syrien ausgereist sind” (Analysis by German security authorities of current information on background and radicalization processes of those persons who have left Germany to Syria out of Islamist motivation), (Innenministerkonferenz [Permanent Conference of the German Ministers of the Interior], 2014), p. 13, available at [http://www.innenministerkonferenz.de/IMK/DE/termine/to-beschluesse/14-12-11\\_12/anlage-analyse.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=2](http://www.innenministerkonferenz.de/IMK/DE/termine/to-beschluesse/14-12-11_12/anlage-analyse.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2) (accessed 14 April 2016); and Behnam T. Said, *Islamischer Staat: IS-Miliz, al-Qaida und die deutschen Brigaden*, 2nd Ed. (C.H.Beck, 2014), p. 146.

<sup>17</sup> Heinke and Persson, “Zur Bedeutung jugendspezifischer Faktoren bei der Radikalisierung islamistischer Gewalttäter”, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Margarita Bizina and David H. Gray, “Radicalization of Youth as a Growing Concern for Counter-Terrorism Policy”, *Global Security Studies* 5(1) (2014), p. 74.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel H. Heinke, “Radikalisierungszentren zerschlagen – Vereinsverbote als Instrumentierung gegen islamistische Radikalisierung”, *Der Kriminalist* 4/2016 (2016), p. 16.

Such ‘radicalization hubs’ are not the norm. In many cases a radicalization takes place in more informal and much smaller groups and social contexts. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that such centers of gravity may gain immense importance. In these cases the responsible authorities should assess whether that node should be abolished in order to eliminate the threat emanating from it. On this, the proscription of the organization operating the identified hub can be a viable measure to battle radicalization.

### The proscription of organizations

Most Western countries provide a legal basis to proscribe organizations if certain criteria are met and can be proven, with a distinct surge in the usage of such measures in the aftermath of the terror attacks of 11 September 2001 against ECAI.

A crucial event was the adoption of Resolution 1373 by the United Nations Security Council immediately after those terrorist attacks. This resolution – described as “the most sweeping sanctioning measures ever adopted by the Security Council”<sup>20</sup> – requests all states to criminalize, prevent and disrupt terrorist financing by freezing the funds of perpetrators of terrorist activities and of identified associates to them, and to fulfil other related demands.<sup>21</sup> UNSCR 1373 created a new legal framework for the international attempt to counter ‘material support’ of terrorist movements and resulted in the passage of a great deal of counterterrorism legislation in the member states. However, interdicting financial assistance is just one part of administrative counterterrorism efforts. As stated above, sometimes the proscription (ban, outlawing) of a terrorist-supporting group – thus covering far more than only the financial aspect – is a suitable tool to support a state’s counterterrorism endeavors.

Governmental proscription powers regularly render illegal the existence of definable designated groups/organizations within a specific geographic area (typically the proscribing state’s territory) as well as the membership of, or support for, those groups.<sup>22</sup> The consequence of such a designation is that the targeted group or organization is outlawed, resulting in a ban for it to operate and rendering it a criminal offence to belong to or to support the proscribed organization.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Christina Eckes, *EU Counter-Terrorist Policies and Fundamental Rights: The Case of Individual Sanctions* (Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 38.

<sup>21</sup> Louise Boon-Kuo et al., *Building Peace in Permanent War: Terrorist Listing and Conflict Transformation* (International State Crime Initiative, Transnational Institute, 2015), p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> For the UK situation see Tim Legrand and Lee Jarvis, “Enemies of the state: Proscription Powers and their Use in the United Kingdom”, *British Politics* 9(4) (2014), p. 451; for the German regulation, see Kathrin Groh, *Vereinsgesetz* (Nomos, 2012), § 3, margin no. 2. Comparable regulation exists in various other Western countries, Michael Head, “‘Counter-Terrorism’ Laws: A Threat To Political Freedom, Civil Liberties And Constitutional Rights”, *Melbourne University Law Review* 2(3) (2002), pp. 666-689; Oscar Roos, Benjamin Hayward and John Morss, “Beyond the Separation of Powers: Judicial Review and the Regulatory Proscription of Terrorist Organizations”, *The University of Western Australia Law Review* 35(1) (2010), pp. 81-118. For a detailed comparison between the UK and the US counterterrorism legislation (including proscription powers), see Ellen Parker, “Implementation of the UK Terrorism Act 2006 – The Relationship between Counterterrorism Law, Free Speech, and the Muslim Community in the United Kingdom versus the United States”, *Emory International Law Review* 21 (2007), pp. 711-757.

<sup>23</sup> Tim Legrand and Lee Jarvis, *ibid*; David Anderson, *The Terrorism Acts in 2011: Report of the Independent Reviewer on the Operation of the Terrorism Act 2000 and Part 1 of the Terrorism Act 2006* (The Stationery Office, 2012), p. 52; Volkhard Wache, in *Strafrechtliche Nebengesetze* (Georg Erbs and Max Kohlhaas, eds., C.H.Beck 2013), § 3 VereinsG margin no. 22.

The proscription of groups or organizations deemed dangerous by the government is not a new phenomenon. Legrand and Jarvis point out that law suppressing or prohibiting activities targeted against the British establishment – both monarchy and Parliament – dates back as far as the anti-monarchy Yorkists of the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, despite the repeated use of proscription as a counterterrorism tool in many Western countries in recent history, so far only limited scholarly attention has been paid with regard to the prerequisites, procedure and results of these measures.<sup>25</sup> Many scholars who have offered an opinion, though, take a distinct sceptic stance.<sup>26</sup> To address the valid concerns, it has to be highlighted that the proscription of an organization due to its political position obviously does result in a limitation of the fundamental right of free speech and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association,<sup>27</sup> and thus can only be justified when it is restricted to those cases where the proscription of a group is irrefutable to counter a serious threat posed by the organization.<sup>28</sup> In other words, in appreciation of the implied interference with fundamental rights, executive powers must utilize particularly careful scrutiny in this context,<sup>29</sup> especially with regard to the fundamental right of freedom of religion.<sup>30</sup>

### **Implications for law enforcement and intelligence agencies**

Obviously the proscription of an organization differs from the classic law enforcement activities (mostly criminal investigations). On the other hand, it is equally evident that there exist considerable interdependencies between these activities and the proscription procedures. This situation may result in very practical effects<sup>31</sup> but surfaces notably with regard to the question of the concatenation and the coordination of the respective proceedings:

The authority responsible for the proscription of an organization has to rely on a comprehensive assessment of the situation. To start establishing this assessment only with the beginning of a formal proscription inquiry results in a significant additional burden for the security agencies – consuming time and resources that cannot then be used for other activities. Furthermore, this involves the risk that relevant information is not collected or is at least not completely collected and/or disseminated. As a result, it should be the aim to gather the necessary intelligence in a process integrated into the appropriate activities of all agencies tasked with security and/or intelligence missions. For this

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<sup>24</sup> Legrand and Jarvis, *ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 456.

<sup>26</sup> See references above.

<sup>27</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Article 20.

<sup>28</sup> See Jamie Bartlett and Jonathan Birdwell, *From Suspects to Citizens: Preventing Violent Extremism in a Big Society*, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> David Anderson, *The Terrorism Acts in 2011: Report of the Independent Reviewer on the Operation of the Terrorism Act 2000 and Part 1 of the Terrorism Act 2006*, p. 39.

<sup>30</sup> Groh, *Vereinsgesetz*, § 3, margin no. 14.

<sup>31</sup> For example, a negative effect would be that the monitoring of certain activities is disrupted when members of the organization no longer carry out those activities openly due to the proscription. A positive effect would be that law enforcement agencies acquire new intervention options as certain legal activities are outlawed by the proscription.

purpose it is necessary to raise the awareness of all law enforcement officers and intelligence personnel involved regarding the option of a (possibly considerably later) proscription procedure. To this end two main aspects have to be highlighted: First, all intelligence with regard to the organization, structure and activities of an identified group should be gathered and scrupulously documented even when there is no obvious relevance for the specific investigation, and disseminated within the law enforcement and intelligence communities. Second, in many circumstances it will be sensible to expand the original focus of the investigation and conduct additional inquiries to shed some light on the group's structure, intent and activities. As the proscription procedure is a distinct and separate process, findings very well may have an immense relevance with this regard even though they bear no significance on an individual level.

To state the obvious, it should be noted that such findings have to meet the same formal requirements as compared to a regular criminal investigation.

### **Conclusion**

The investigation and prosecution of criminal offenses with regard to political and/or religious extremism are at the core of an effective domestic counterterrorism policy. However, additional approaches may augment these endeavors. In certain cases nodes are identified as multipliers for propagating extremist ideology – radicalization hubs. The proscription of an organization can be a viable instrument to annihilate such an identified radicalization hub then, thus preventing or at least significantly hampering the radicalization of additional persons. It complements the individually-oriented, well-accepted law enforcement activities with regard to both criminal investigations and preventive provisions. Therefore the security authorities always should bear in mind the possible proscription of a definable organization as an addition to their primary responsibility, even though they might not be responsible for these proceedings. Information of possible relevance for a proscription order should be indiscriminately collected, documented and properly disseminated.



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Joseph Needham, *Science in Traditional China* (Harvard Univ. Pres, 1981), p. 37.

##### **b. Books with Two or Three Authors:**

Name and surname of the first author, name and surname of the second author, name and surname of the third author, *name of work* (“volume no” if applicable, translator if any, publisher and date of publication), page number(s).

Joseph S. Nye Jr. and David A. Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation*, (Pearson Publication, 2011), p. 280.

##### **c. Books with More Than Three Authors:**

Name and surname of the first author et. al., *name of work* (“volume no” if applicable, translator if any, publisher and date of publication), page number(s).

Luis Benton et. al., *Informal Economy*, (The John Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 47-59.

##### **d. Books with Name of Author or Editor Non-Specified:**

*Redefining Security* (Praeger Publication, 1998), p. 81.

#### **2. For Articles**

Name and surname of the author (for all authors if two or three, if more than three authors just for the first author and et. al.), “name of the article” (translator if any), *name of periodical in which it is published*, volume number (issue) (publication year), pages in journal, cited page number.

##### **a. Articles with One Author:**

Barry Buzan, “New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century,” *International Affairs* 67(3) (1991), pp. 431-451, p. 442.

### **b. Articles in Compilation Books:**

Barry Buzan, "Is International Security Possible?", in *New Thinking About Strategy and International Security* (Ken Both and Don Kaufman, eds, Harper Collins, 1991), pp. 31-55, p. 42.

### **c. Articles from Daily Newspapers:**

Yossi Melman, "Computer Virus in Iran Actually Targeted Larger Nuclear Facility", *Haaretz* (22 September 2011), p. 7.

"Tehran's nuclear ambitions", *The Washington Post* (26 September 2009), p. 5.

### **3. For Theses**

No italics shall be used for the titles of non-published theses. Name and surname of the author, "title of the thesis" (whether it has been published and academic degree of the thesis, institution and institute of the thesis, date of the thesis), page number.

Atasay Özdemir, "Approaches of the Effective Actors of the International System to Iran's Nuclear Programme" (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, War College Strategic Researchs Institute, Istanbul, 2013), p. 22.

### **4. For Reports**

#### **a. Report with Author Specified**

Tariq Khaitous, "Arab Reactions to a Nuclear Armed Iran" (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 94, June 2009), p. 14.

#### **b. Report with Author Non-Specified**

Albania Country Report (TIKA Publishing, 1995), p. 7.

#### **c. Report prepared by an Institution, Firm or Institute**

American Petroleum Institute, "Drilling and Production Practice Proceedings of the Spring Meeting" (Shell Development Company, 1956), p. 42.

#### **d. For Internet Resources**

If any of the above resources are available on the Internet, follow the citation above with "available at" with the full http address and the date accessed in paratheses

#### **e. Web Pages**

"The World Factbook-Turkey," Central Intelligence Agency, at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tr.htm> (accessed 25 February 2013).

"Dimona: Negev Nuclear Research Center," Global Security, at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/israel/dimona.htm> (accessed 11 January 2010).

"Russia's National Security Strategy to 2020" (12 May 2009), Rustrans, at <http://rustrans.wikidot.com/russia-s-national-security-strategy-to-2020> (accessed 02 May 2011).

### **5. Subsequent citations of the same source:**

a. If the citation is to the footnote directly before, use "Ibid" – if the page or paragraph changes, you can add the new informatim, as in "Ibid, p. 48" or Ibid, para. 68).

b. If the source is earlier than the previous one, use the author's last name (if there is one), followed by the name of the article, followed by the new page or paragraphe number.  
Buzan, "Is International Security Possible?", p. 48.

**D. PRINCIPLES TO ABIDE BY IN USING OF DOCUMENTS, TABLES, FIGURES AND GRAPHICS**

1. Attachments (documents), shall be presented at the end of the text and down below shall be a brief information as to the content of the document and proper citation in line with the relevant criteria.

2. Other attachments (Table, Figure and Graphics) shall be presented as Additional Table: 1, Additional Graphic: 3 and Additional Figure: 7. If indicators other than the text are too many in number; attachments shall be presented after the References.

a. References to these attachments in the text shall absolutely be made as Additional Table: 1, Additional Graphic: 3 or Additional Figure: 7.

b. If citation has been made for table, figure, graphic or picture, the source shall absolutely be indicated.

3. The names of the tables within the text shall be written on the top of the table and these tables shall be cited in the footnote according the publication type from which it was cited.

4. The names of the figures, graphics and maps within the text shall be written at the bottom of the figures, graphics and maps and these figures, graphics and maps shall be cited in the footnote according the publication type from which it was cited.

**E. PRINCIPLES TO ABIDE BY IN BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1. Just like giving citations but this time surname of the fauthor shall be at the beginning.
2. Resources shall be sorted alphabetically from A to Z.
3. Page numbers shall not be indicated.





