

EUROPE AS A GLOBAL ACTOR

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE | MAY 23 + 24



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Europe as a Global Actor - Terrorism & Security

A Critical Assessment of the European Cultural Approach to Counter Terrorism

Lisbon, 24 May 2016

Marco Marsili

A secure Europe in a better world: 2003 European Security Strategy



“Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history”.

Results of Security and Defence Policy at the time of al-Qaeda

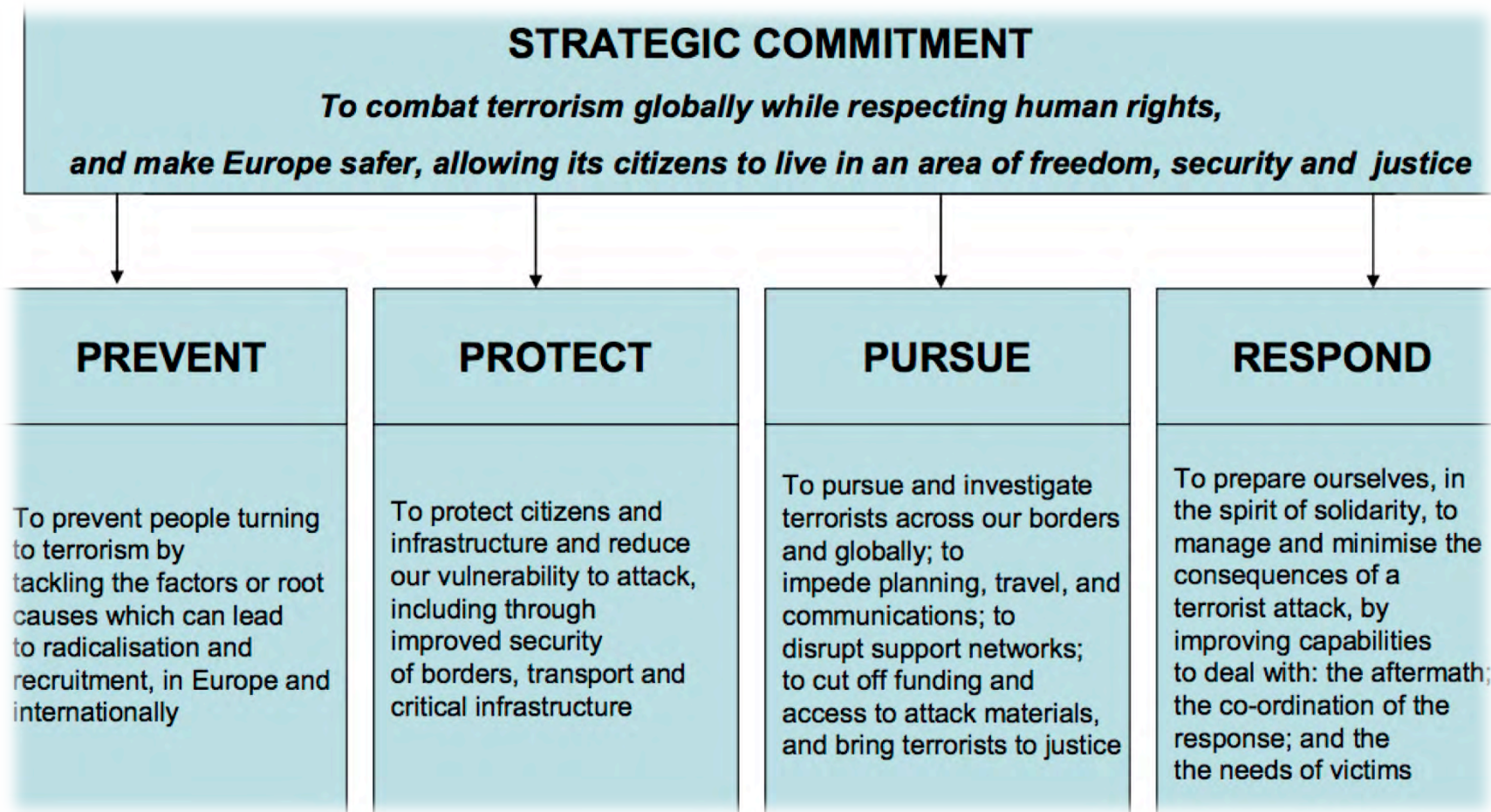


Madrid train bombings, 11 March 2004: 191 deaths



London attacks, 7 July 2005: 56 deaths
including the four perpetrators

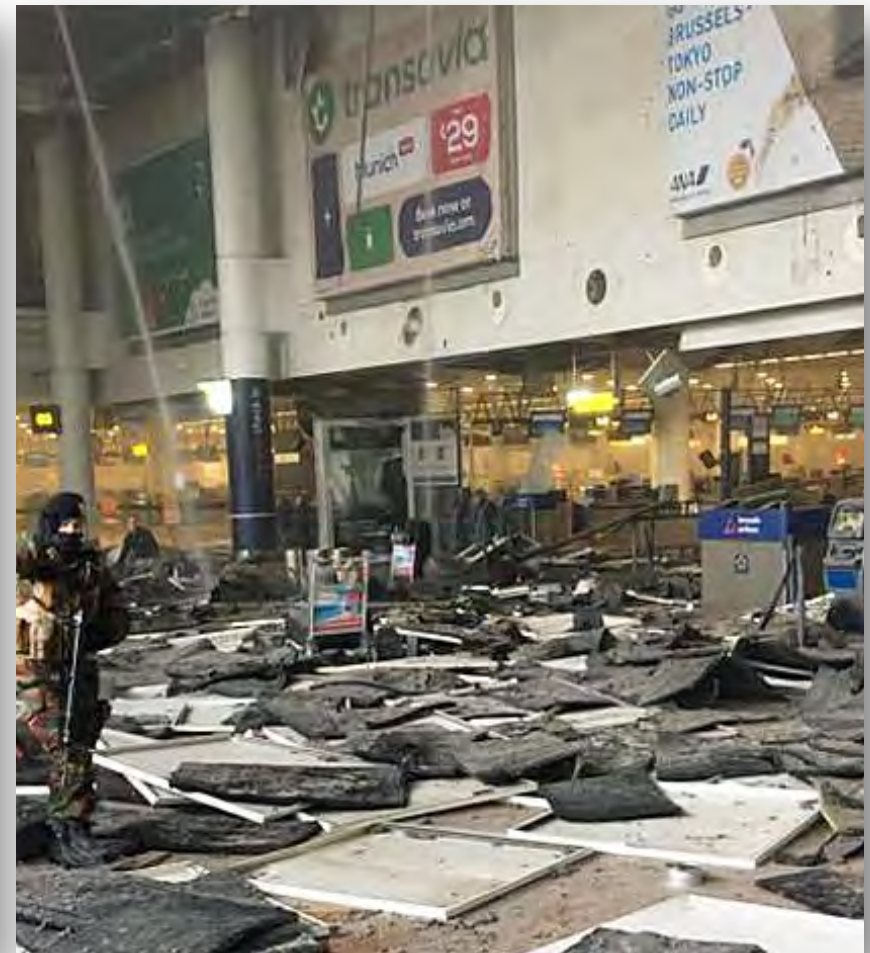
EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy 2005



Results of the EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy at the time of the Islamic State



Île-de-France, attacks (Charlie Hebdo shooting), 7-9 January 2015: 17 victims and 3 perpetrators, Paris attacks, 13-14 November 2015: 130 victims and 7 perpetrators.



Zaventem Airport, 22 March 2016: 32 victims and 3 perpetrators

depart
earlier period of light

Radicalisation [radi·cal·i·
(a person, belief demand
or favouring of extreme
conditions, institutions

The lone wolf & the foreign fighters

The lone wolf



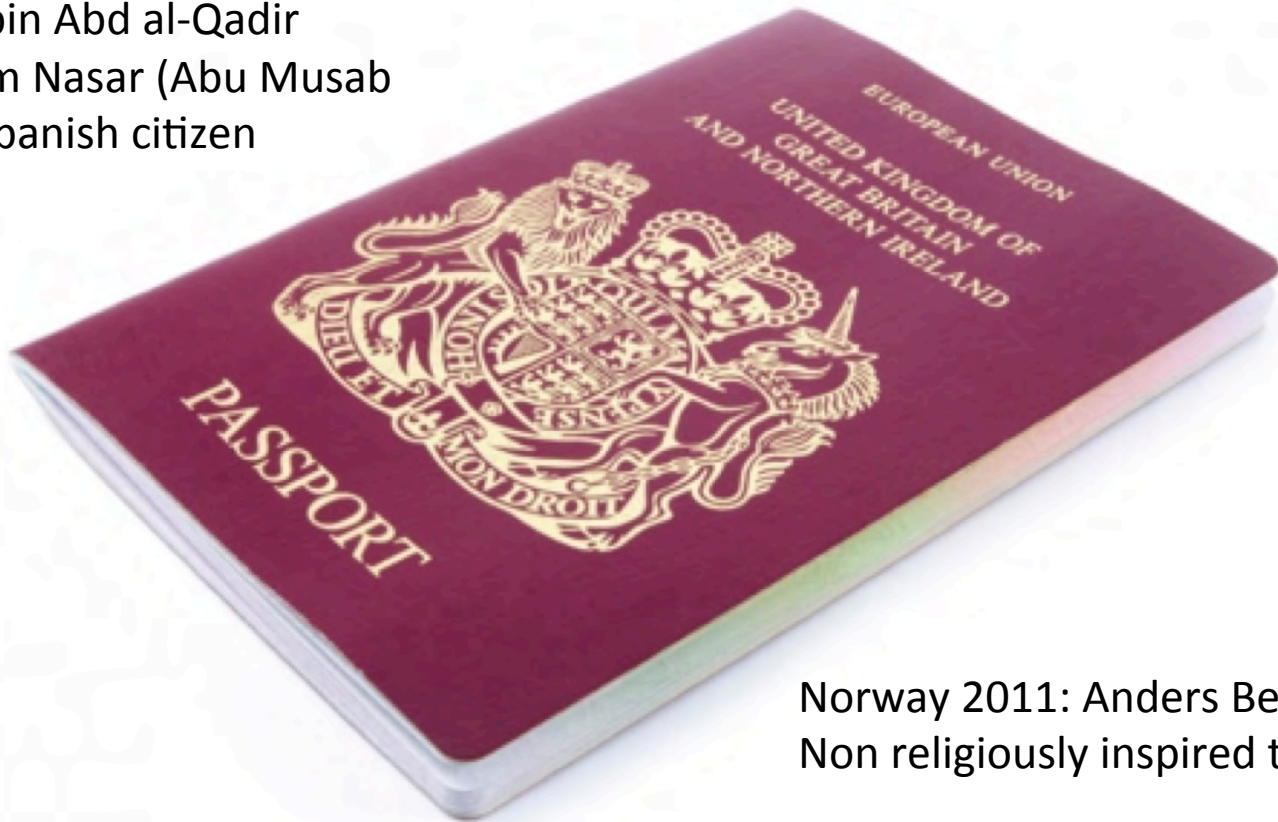
Definitions

- Individuals or a small number of individuals who commit an attack in support of a group, movement, or ideology without material assistance or orders from such group (Simon, 2013)
- Individuals who, following radicalisation, decide to commit a terrorist attack on their own (Jordan, 2014)
- Individuals previously unknown to security and intelligence services (Europol, 2015)
- Terrorists acting alone (EU, 2015)

Lost sons of Europe: born, raised and radicalised in Europe

Madrid bombings 1985 & 2004:
Mustafa bin Abd al-Qadir
Setmariam Nasar (Abu Musab
al-Suri), Spanish citizen

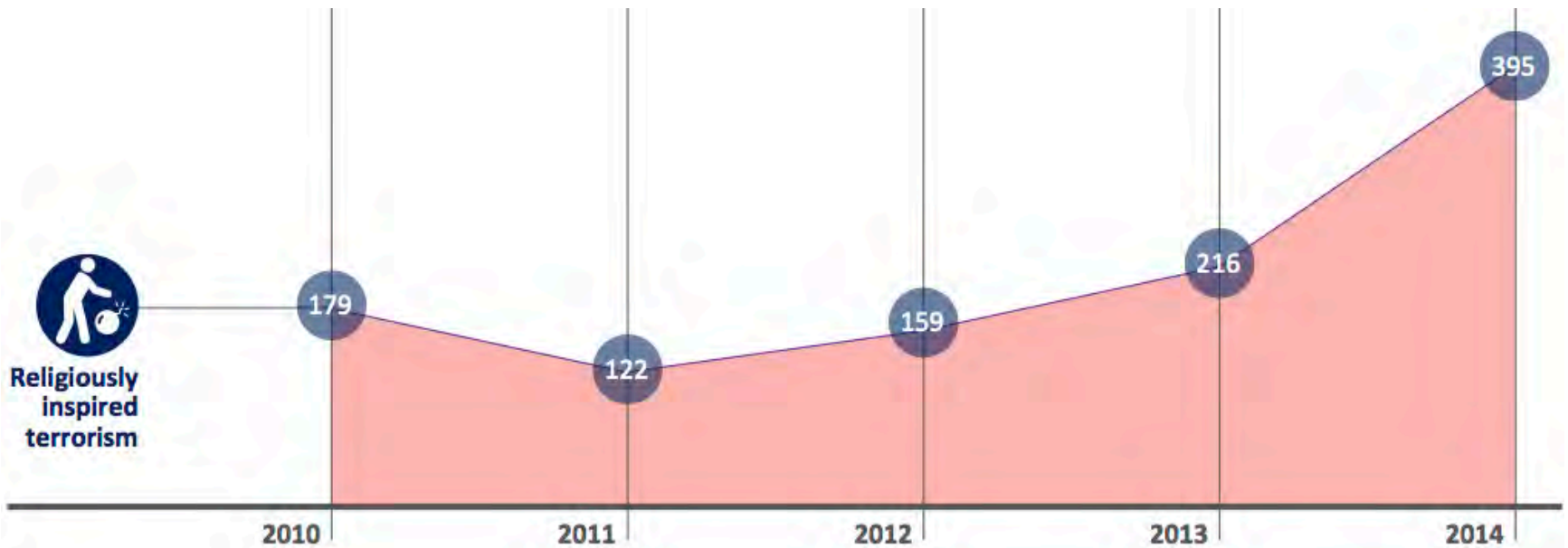
London attacks 2005: 4 UK citizens



Norway 2011: Anders Behring Breivik
Non religiously inspired terrorist

Paris 2015 & Brussels 2016: 10 French, 6 Belgian, 1 Swedish

Terrorism in the EU is not only a phenomenon linked to religion



Number of suspects arrested for religiously inspired terrorism 2010 to 2014.
Source: Europol, *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2015*.

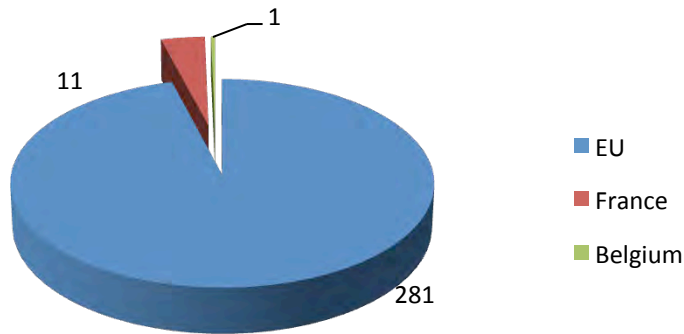
Lone wolves

EU Terrorist incidents in 2014

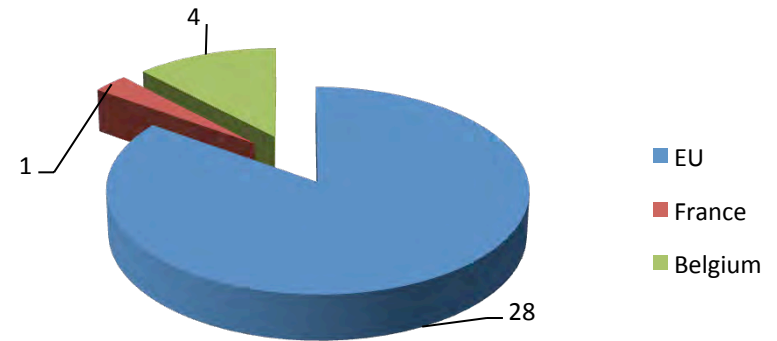
281 attacks in the UE:
11 in France (4%), 1 in Belgium (4%)

28 deaths in the EU:
1 in France (4%), 4 in Belgium (0,4%)

Terrorist incidents occurred in 2014



Deaths 2014



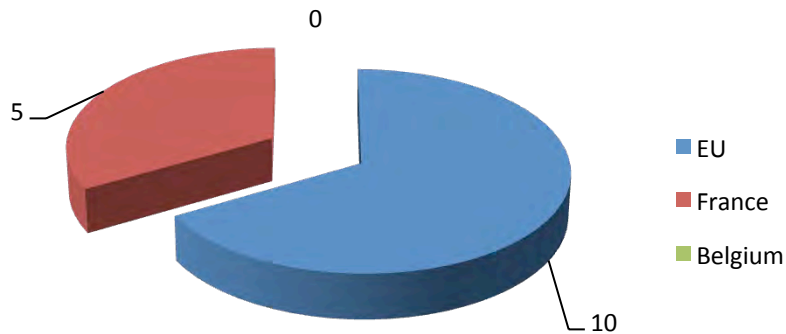
Lone wolves

EU terrorist incidents in 2015

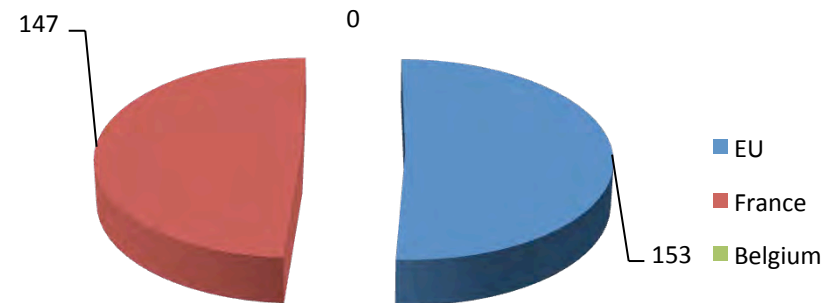
281 attacks in the UE:
10 in France (50%), none in Belgium

153 deaths in the EU:
147 in France (96%), none in Belgium

Terrorist incidents occurred in 2015



Deaths 2015



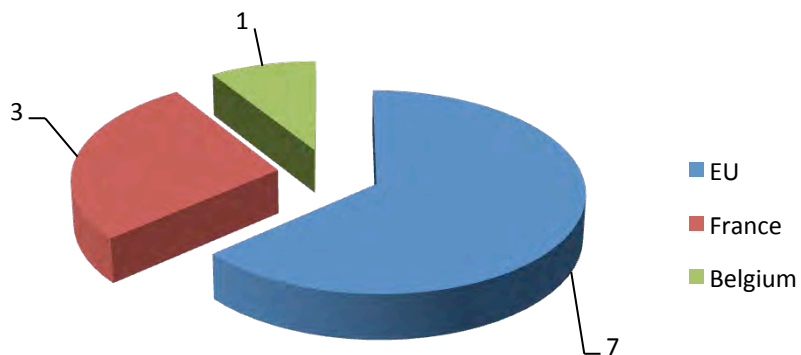
Lone wolves

EU terrorist incidents in 2016

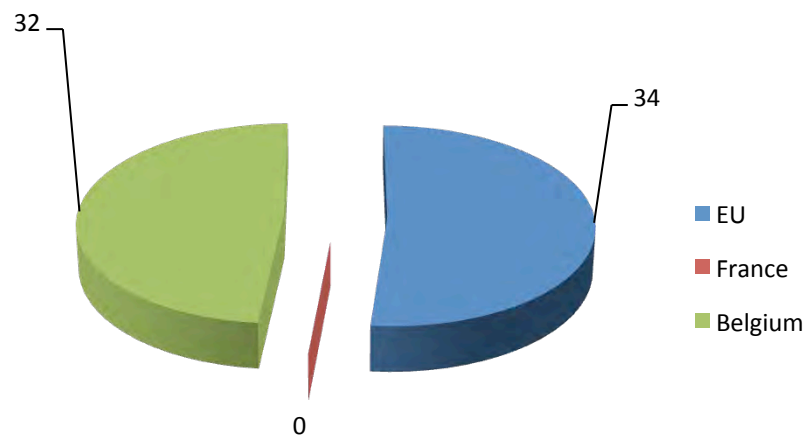
7 attacks in the UE:
3 in France (43%), 1 in Belgium (14%)

34 deaths in the EU:
32 deaths in Belgium (94%), none in France

Terrorist incidents occurred in 2016



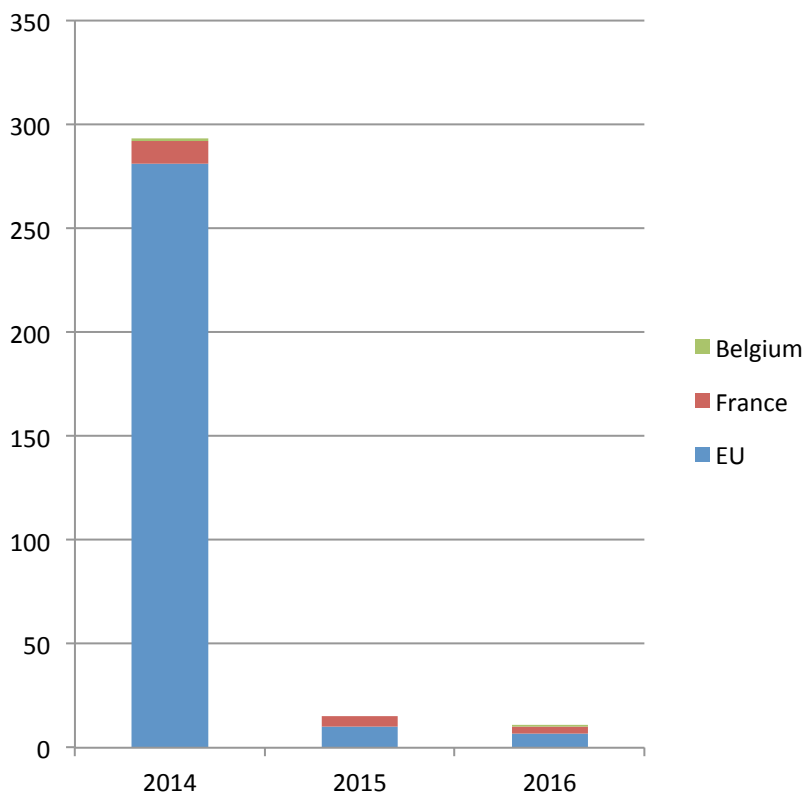
Deaths 2016



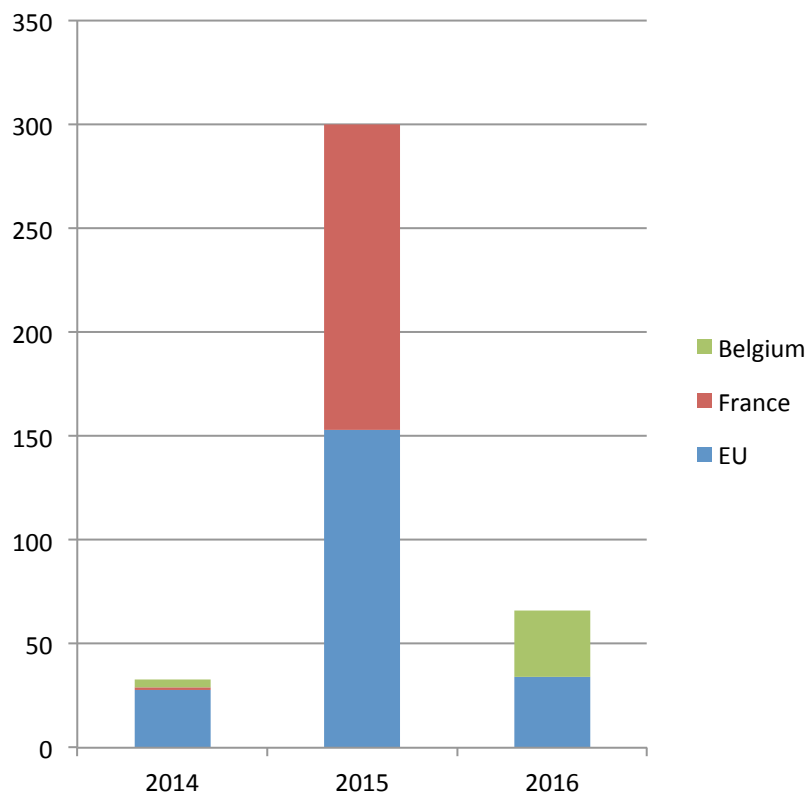
Lone wolves

EU terrorist incidents in 2014-2016

Number of terrorist incidents



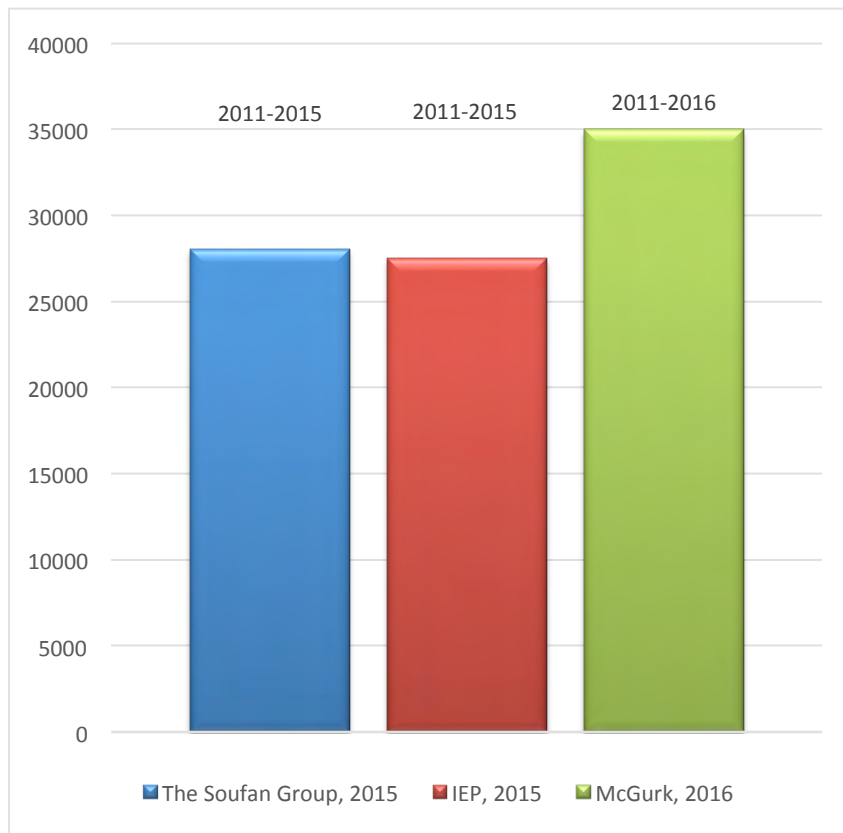
Deaths occurred



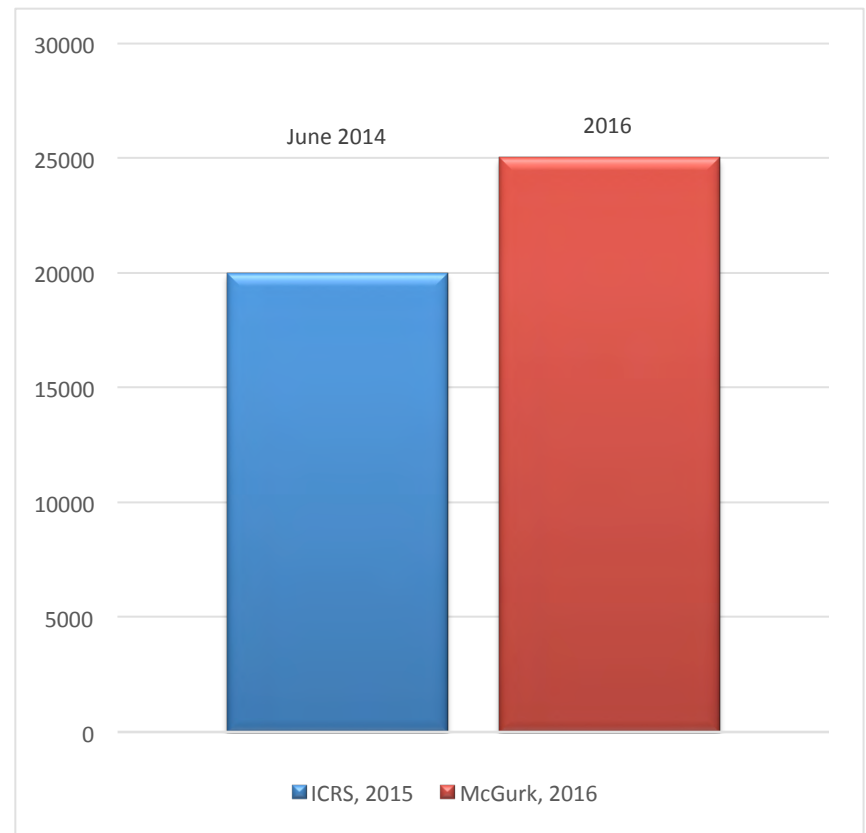
Period: 1/1/2014 - 30/4/2016

The rise of foreign fighters in the Syrian conflict (2011-2016)

Overall foreign fighters 2011-2016



Overall foreign fighters 2014-2015

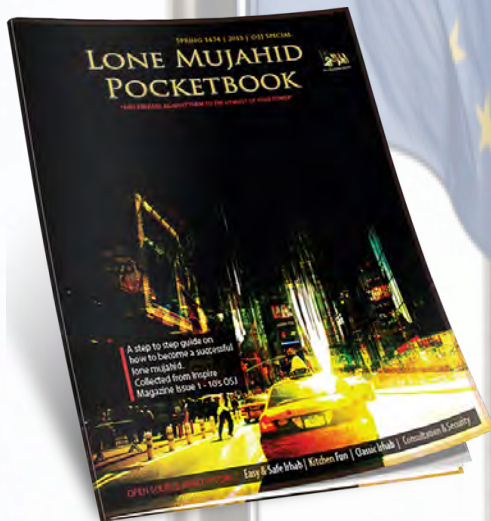


Conflicts in Muslim countries: 1980 to mid-2010, ~10,000-30,000 foreign fighters.
Afghanistan: 1980s, ~5,000–20,000 foreign fighters (Hegghammer, 2011).

The EU response



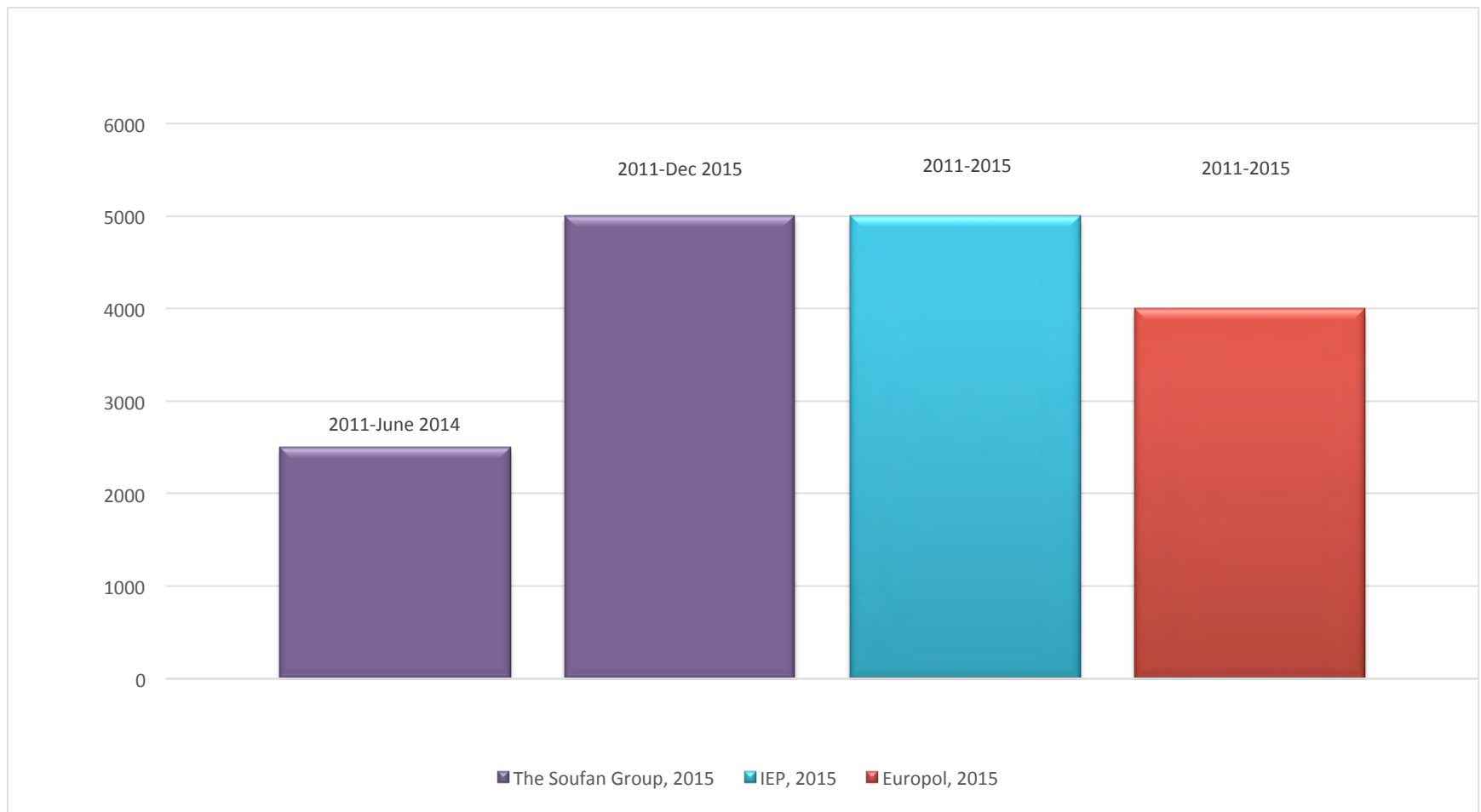
- Criminal justice
- Exchange of security information through Europol and Eurojust
- Schengen area external borders control (Frontex)
- Internet censorship
- Passenger Name Record (PNR)
- Money laundering measures



According to *The Sun on Sunday* in just three months the lone wolf manual released by a-Qaeda in Spring 2013 has been downloaded 55,000 times (4,000 times in a week) using UK Ip address.

No need money to make home-made bombs

The rise of EU foreign fighters in the Syrian conflict (2011-2015)

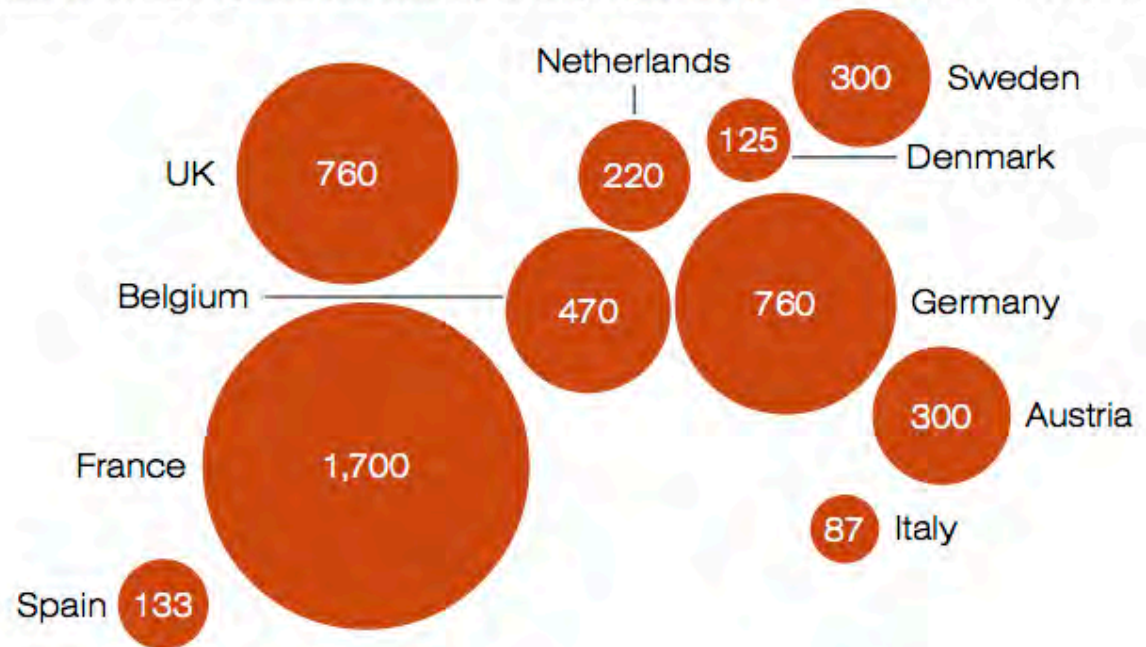


According to the *TSG Foreign Report*, by June 2014 about 2,500 Europeans travelled to Syria to join *jihadi* groups. This number doubled by December 2015. French authorities estimates about 1,800 people who left France to join the jihadi groups in Syria; 760 from the UK; 760 from Germany; 470 from Belgium.

Estimated number of EU foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq by country of origin in 2014

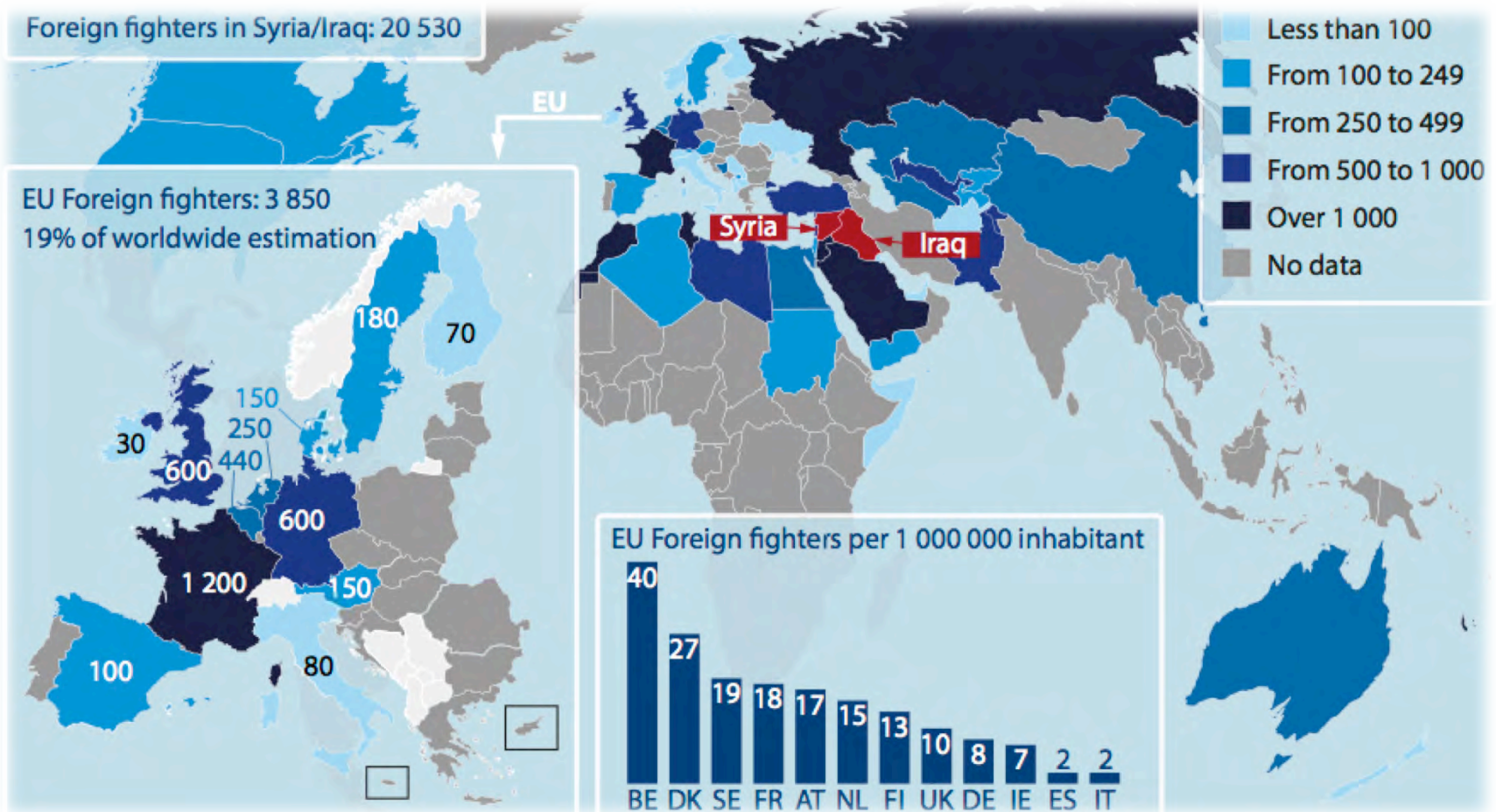
WHAT ARE THE TOP EU COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN FOR FOREIGN FIGHTERS IN IRAQ AND SYRIA?

Number of foreign fighters per country of origin (current, past, and those who have died)



Source: The Soufan Group¹⁶

EU foreign fighters: Belgium top contributor per inhabitant

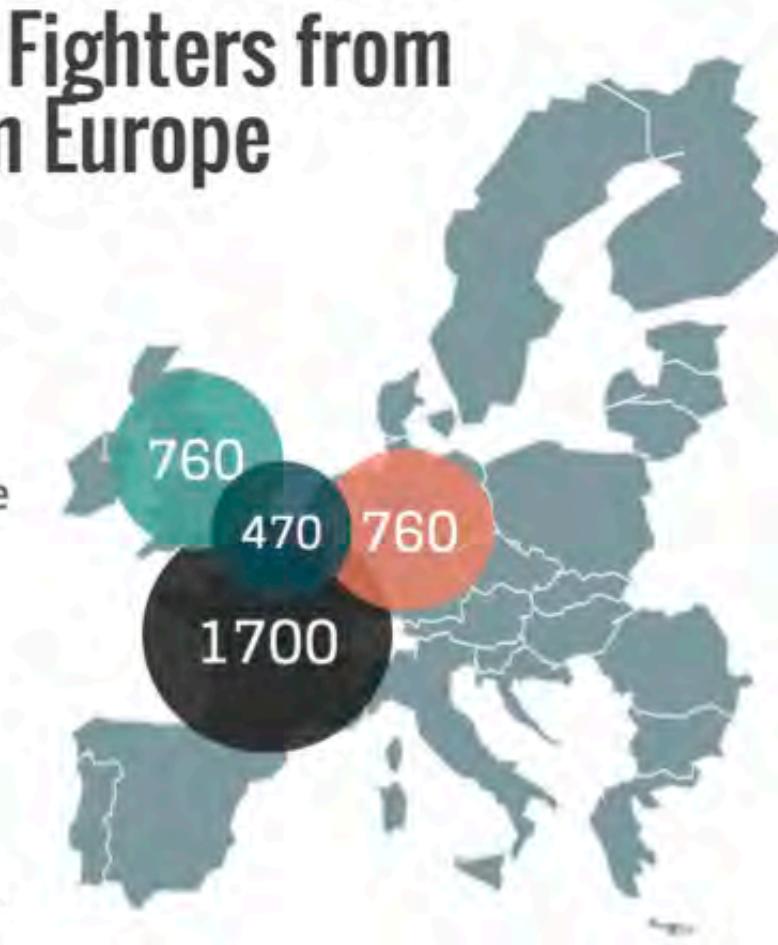


Source: The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR), 2015.

Top EU foreign fighters contributors

Foreign Fighters from Western Europe

Almost 3,700 of the total 5,000+ European foreign fighters come from just four countries: France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Belgium.



Source: The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR), 2015.

Urban fighters

- 90-100% of foreign fighters live in urban areas in 5 EU States that account for 9% of total European volunteers (Belgium, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom)
- Over 30% of foreign fighters originate from large metropolitan areas or peripheral suburbs of 9 countries (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom)
- According to the *TSG Foreign Report* by December 2015 1,800 fighters come from France, 760 from the UK, 760 from Germany, 470 from Belgium.



PLACE OF RESIDENCE

90 - 100%

Percentage of foreign fighters from urban areas in five EU member states that account for 9% of total foreign fighters from the EU

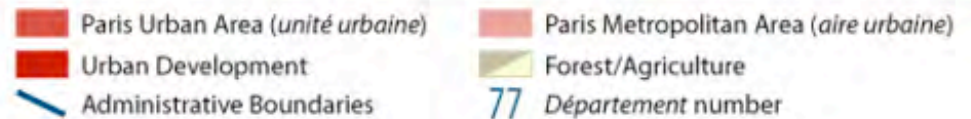
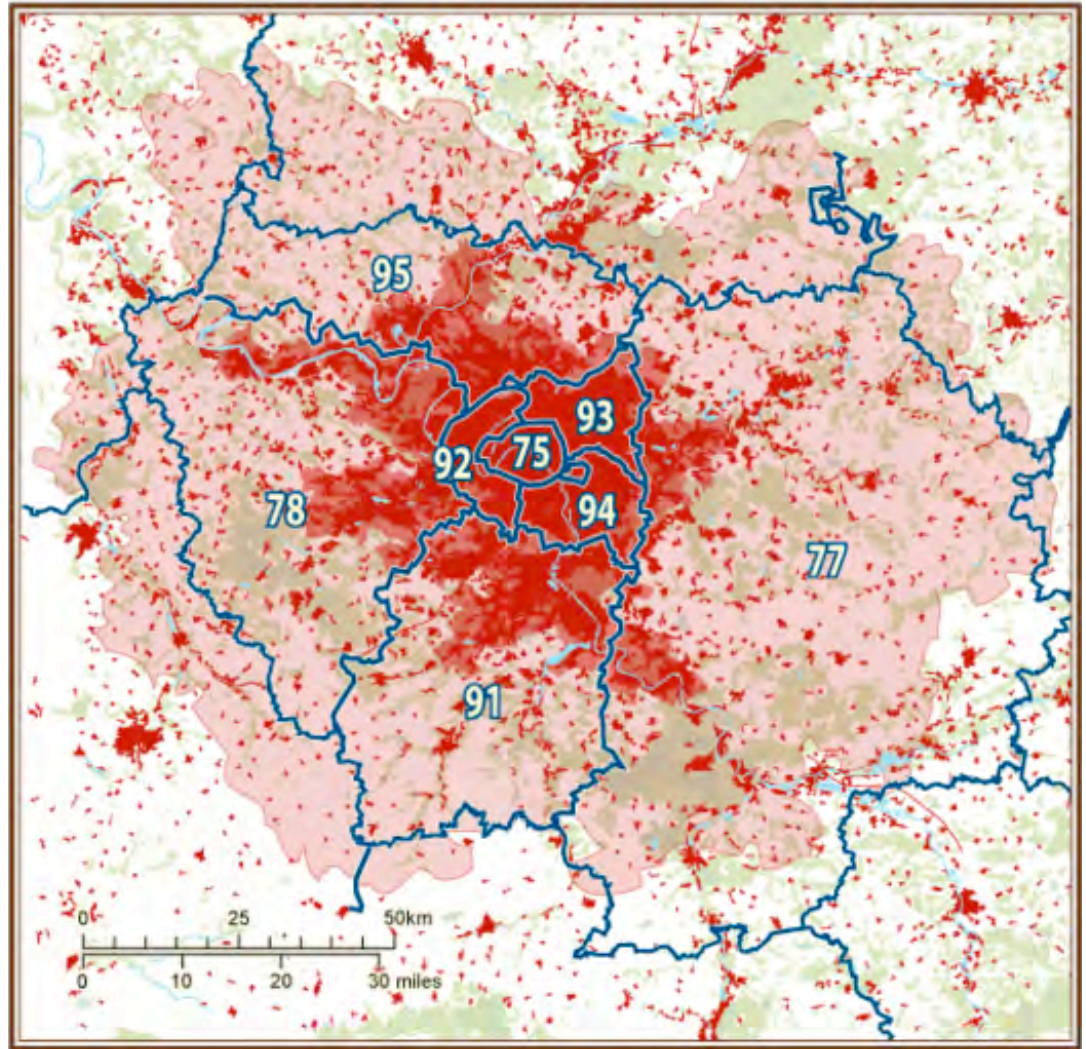
Four more countries responded to the question in the questionnaire, stating a majority originated from an urban environment. The nine countries together account for 30% of the total FF, and have at least a majority of FF originating from an urban environment.

Source: *The Foreign Fighters Phenomenon in the European Union. Profiles, Threats & Policies, 2016.*

The Paris case

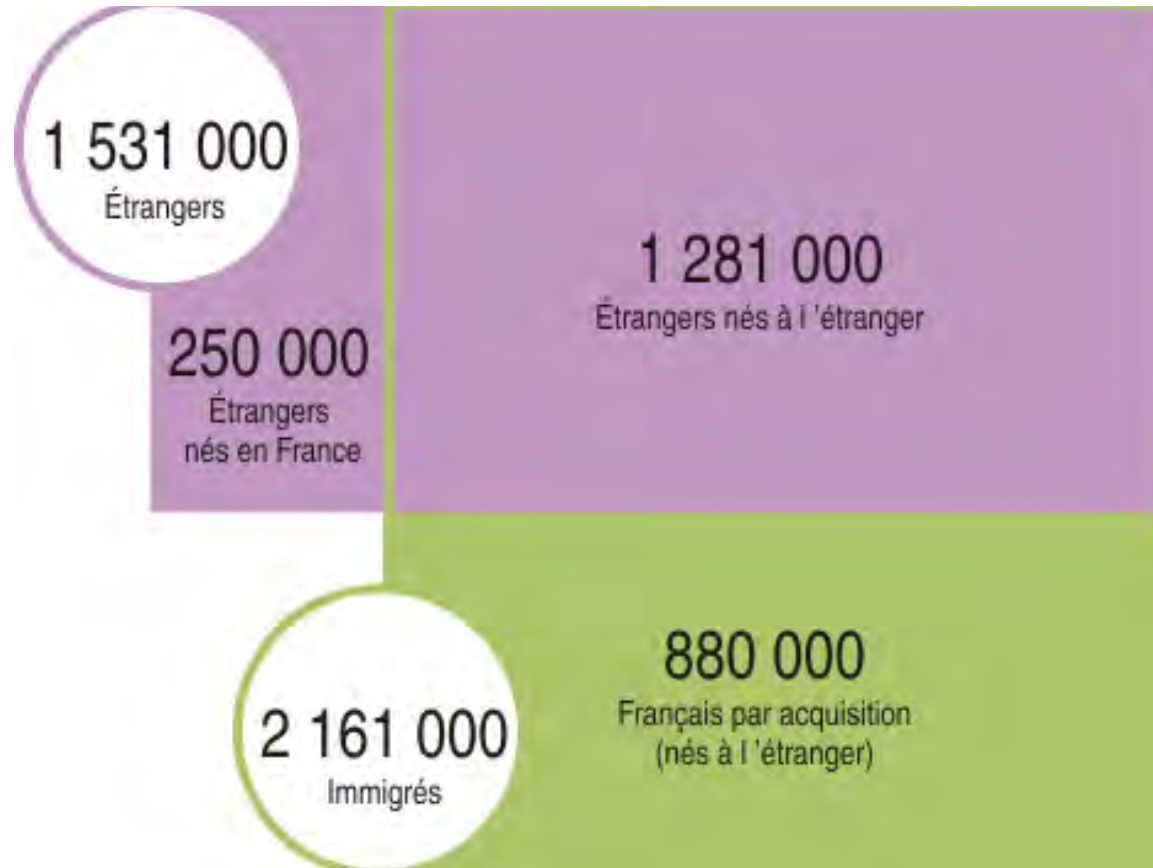
Statistical demographics plan of Paris and the Île-de-France région

- Paris is the fifth largest municipality in the European Union
- Paris is the most densely populated city in the EU: 21,616 people/Km² within the city limits, with three departments with a population density of over 10,000 people/Km²
- Paris is the second most populous metropolitan area
- Paris is among the ten most densely populated areas of the EU (EU-28 population density 116.3 inhabitants/Km²)
- Paris and the Île-de-France region - since the 1st January 2016 reunited under the new Metropolis of Greater Paris - hosts one of the largest concentrations of immigrants in Europe.



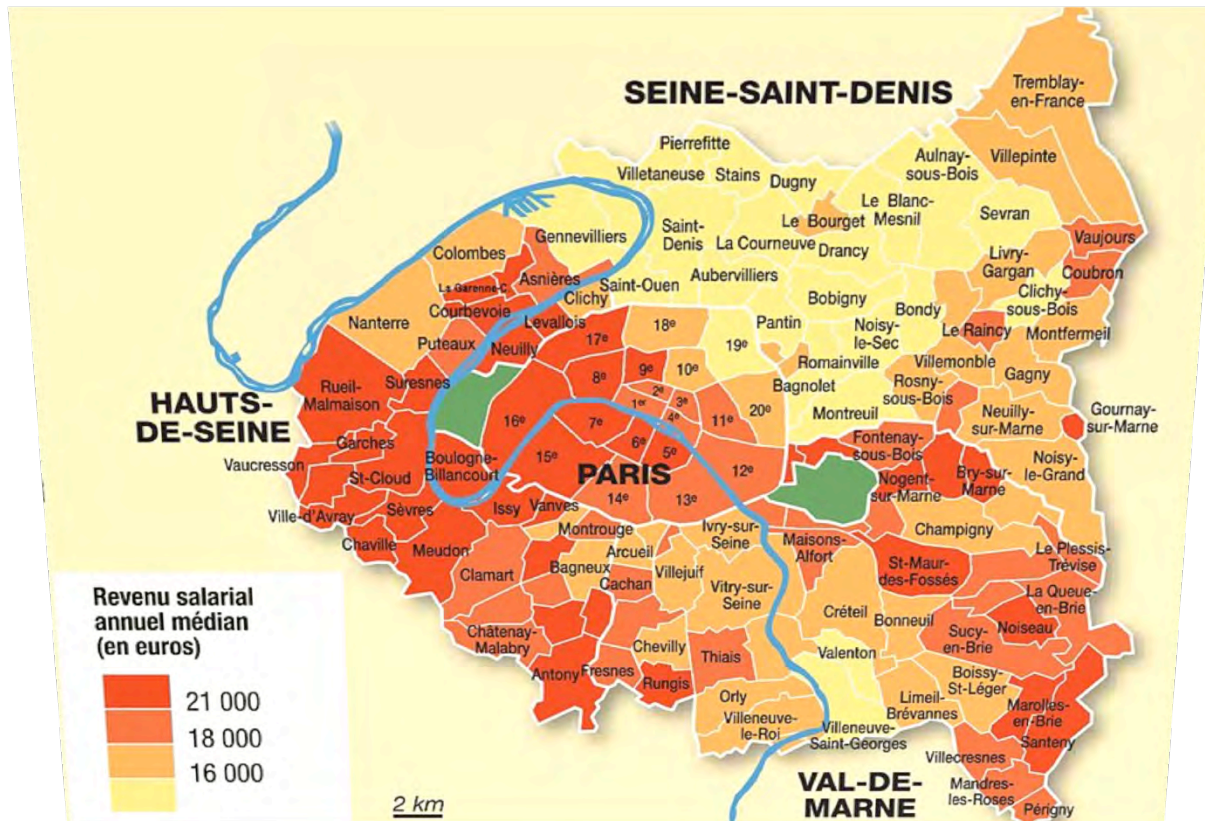
An urban context

- Île-de-France: 12 million people (18.2% French population)
- Paris metropolitan area: 12,341,418 people (1/5 French population)
- Paris urban area: 10,5 million people (including suburbs)
- Paris city: 2,5 million population
- Immigrants account for 18% of the population of the *région parisienne*, three times that of the province (7%)
- Île-de-France: 2,161,000 immigrants and 1,531,000 foreigners residents
- Paris urban area: 38% of immigrants (2.2 million people) and 17% of non-immigrants (10.2 million people)
- Between 2009 and 2013, more than 32% immigrants arriving in France are have settled in the Île-de-France region
- In metropolitan areas live 2,637,170 (46,2%) of overall immigrant population living in France
- Half of the 5,716,220 immigrates living in France are residents in this suburbs (the *banlieus*)
- Eight out of ten immigrants live in major urban centers, against six out of ten non-immigrants
- Paris city: 22,4% of all immigrants living in Île-de-France
- The *banlieues* of the urban area of Paris are the home to 1,591,260 immigrates (27,8% of all immigrates living in the Paris urban area)
- Paris region: 627,078 residents immigrants from the Maghreb, 435,339 from sub-Saharan Africa and Egypt, 69,338 from Turkey
- Paris city: 135,853 residents immigrants from the Maghreb, 70,852 from sub-Saharan Africa and Egypt, 5,059 from Turkey



The stranger

France has 65.2 million inhabitants, of which 5.7 million immigrants



Map of median annual salary revenues in Euros in Paris and some Parisian suburbs

Source: *20 minutes* of 11 December 2007, according to INSEE and APUR (Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme)

The roots of radicalisation & the path to terrorism

Sociological perspective

- Islam is a pretext for the manifestation of violent tendencies through terrorist acts
- Many jihadists are prone to violence or have a criminal record
- Expression of contrasts between populations like football violence or metropolitan gangs
- Search of a shared identity to get out of anonymity and feel part of a community (the *Ummah*)

Socio-economic perspective

- poverty
- prejudice
- marginalization
- social exclusion
- unemployment
- economic inequality
- underdevelopment
- insecurity
- disease


Riders of the lost identity in the urban jungle

- Geographical factors play a critical role (Collier and Hoefler, 2007)
- In the metropolis the resistance of the individual to being levelled, swallowed up (Simmel, 1903)
- The stranger's activity is often viewed as an unpleasant by native members of societies (Simmel, 1908)
- Social inequality reflects natural inequality (Durkheim, 1893)
- Consciousness (norms, beliefs and values), which form the moral basis of the society, holding it together and resulting in social integration (*mechanical solidarity*), its requisite function without which the society cannot survive (Durkheim, 1893)
- Anomie is a pathology that could lead to a breakdown of social integration and disintegration of the society (Durkheim, 1893)
- Crime is a normal social fact: it releases certain social tensions (Durkheim, 1893)
- Religion, which is the most fundamental social institution of humankind and gave humanity the strongest sense of collective consciousness, represents a common denominator and a source of camaraderie and solidarity (Craig J. Calhoun, 2002)
- The individual believes that by adhering to morality they are serving the common Good, and for this reason, the individual submits voluntarily to the moral commandment (Kant, 1785)
- The moral authority is primarily to be located in religion (Kant, 1785)

Recruitment strategy

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

THE ANSWERS TO YOUR QUESTIONS



After asking the ummah to send us their questions pertaining to hijrah, Jihad, fitnah, living conditions in Syria and other issues regarding the situation in Sham, in multiple languages, we received a number of questions from all over the world.

In this document we have summarized the answers to some of the questions that were asked. Those questions that have reached us and are not answered in this document shall be answered soon in our video series "Questions and Answers" insha'Allah.

Where does most of your help come from?

Most of the muhajireen who have come to help the people of Sham are from the arabian states like the land of the Haramain, Yemen and Egypt. There are also a significant amount of muhajireen from East Turkistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan. Naturally, there are muhajireen from Europe and beyond, like the Maldives for example.

What are the general living conditions in Sham?

The living conditions vary from area to area and according to the amount of wealth. It is also important to note that the situation in Syria is very fluid and always changing which makes it difficult to give a general answer to this question.

In the liberated areas it is possible for the population to live an orderly life. They have access to different kinds of food including imports from outside Syria. Heating is available for homes and water is also supplied. Electricity is produced using generators or solar panels.




Then there are those areas that are under siege by the regime. The residents of these areas are cutoff from the bare necessities of life as the regime does not allow any goods to be brought into or out of these territories.

Is it preferable for a muhajir to migrate as a bachelor or to get married first and then migrate?

We advise the migrant youth to come single as being married might cause him afflictions in the path of hijrah and jihad. In this way the mujahid brother is totally free for his jihad and if it is written for him to marry then he can do so once he reaches the land of jihad.

Marrying the people of Sham contains a great benefit as it helps integrate the muhajir into the society and it is a quick way for non-arabic speakers to learn arabic.

Page 1




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syria.qa@yandex.com

IHR HABT FRAGEN?
HIJRA? FAMILIE? JIHAD? FITNA? ALLTAG?



WIE SIND DIE LEBENSBEDINGUNGEN? WARUM SEID IHR NICHT BEI ISIS? FÜR WAS KÄMPFT IHR?
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BİZ CEVAPLAYALIM
SORULARINIZI BİZE YOLLAYIN

YOU HAVE QUESTIONS?
HIJRA? FAMILY? JIHAD? FITNA? DAILY LIFE?



HOW ARE THE LIVING CONDITIONS? WHY YOU DIDN'T JOIN ISIS? WHAT ARE YOU FIGHTING FOR?
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WE ANSWERS!
HAVE ANSWERS!
SEND US YOUR QUESTIONS!

Al-Muhajirun is a *jihadist* front for foreign fighters established in June 2015 including Jabhat al-Nusrah (al-Qaeda's branch in Syria) and Harakat Ahrar ash-Sham al-Islamiyya.

Media and communication

- The counter-ISIS media and communication strategy is implemented by al-Qaeda.
- *The Hollywood Reality of al-Baghdadi's Group* is a video released by Hidayyah Media Foundation (a media offshot of al-Qaeda) in February 2016.
- The video alleges that the Islamic State fakes its videos.
- Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State have been releasing propaganda against each other since April 2013, when al-Baghdadi's asked al-Qaeda to pledge allegiance to ISIS, and claimed Jabhat al-Nusra was part of his network.



Counter-ISIS narrative

- *Muslims are not criminals*, released by Kefah Media in December 2015, shows a mock ISIS execution before the al-Jabha al-Shamiya (the Levant Front) fighters take off their masks and encourage counter-ISIS narrative with prisoners shown being taught and imprisoned rather than executed.
- This anti-ISIS video offers an interesting counter message and distances from the true values of Islam from the criminal views of ISIS.



10 years after the EU CT Strategy

- Little or nothing has been done to put in place the first pillar, which aim is to prevent radicalisation by tackling its root causes, and averting recruitment and access to training.
- None of the “key priorities” set out for prevention have been implemented:
 - develop a media and communication strategy
 - promote education and economic prosperity through assistance programmes
 - develop inter-cultural dialogue
 - develop a non-emotive lexicon for discussing the issues
 - understanding the issues and develop policy responses



Thanks for your kind attention



La commedia è finita!

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Contacts:

- E-mail: info@marcomarsili.it - marco_marsili@iscte.pt
- Skype: [marcomarsili](https://www.skype.com/people/marcomarsili)
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