



Ὅπου βία πάρεστι, οὐδέν ισχύει νόμος. – Where there is violence, no law has effect.

Menander, 4th century BC

State and Violence; the authoritarian couple Through mythology and allegory Aeschylus introduces the concept of violence that exists as a component of the state, and is either obvious or hidden.



Universiteit Leiden

MA in International Relations – EU Studies

**Prevention of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism of
Potential Homegrown Terrorists**

~Reverse Inner Reinforcement Through EU Education~

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This Master's Thesis is dedicated to my grandparents' memory

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ABSTRACT

The phrase "War on Terror" has become one of the most used by politicians in the last two decades and international terrorism nowadays classifies as one of the top security priorities in the political agendas. With the growth of the phenomenon of the "home-grown" terrorists, the pressure is on the rise for countries worldwide to find and adopt measures suitable for preventing rather than mitigating and treating post-terrorist attacks' conditions and situations. Next to repression early prevention could prove to be an extremely valuable tool maybe not for the immediate future but for the generations to come to live terror-free. For this reason, violent extremism and violent extreme radicalization need to be approached and tackled at their roots before reaching the point of searching for potential homegrown terrorists or even later post-attack attempting to find the culprits and their groups or networks or even later trying through programmes to de-radicalize and reinstate them in the society. According to many scientists and academics, education plays a key role in the shaping of young minds and this is a preventive sector that the EU should be investing in even more. It could be argued that legal constrictions to the matter are applicable, which has been a significant impediment. However, the Member States should be discussing for education reforms to be applied as such, since this not anymore purely a matter of education and of national interest of each Member State, but relates directly to EU-wide security situations. The EU until very recently has not had specific steps or points within its policies at union level as far as education is concerned to prevent violent extremist radicalisation of young individuals. The situation has changed in the last 5 years, but measures still lack specificity, guidance and instruction in application. Member states themselves have adopted different approaches - related to counterterrorism and not necessarily focusing on education since such EU reforms were non-binding - either pre or post-incidents of terrorism depending on the degree to which each has suffered from cases and attacks of violent radicalisation. Many discussions and decisions have been made to adopt a common EU level approach on education against terrorism, or at least to follow the same direction and to move towards a common goal. However, all of these until now - other more and other less - have been non-specific and/or non-binding, meaning they also have not been implemented evenly around the EU or - if not at all. This dissertation is an effort to more specific and targeted steps in education in an effort to prevent violent radicalisation and the creation of more homegrown terrorists.

Keywords: *Terrorism, Homegrown terrorism, Radicalisation, Prevention, EU counter-terrorism, Education*

Cover: Appendix 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ABSTRACT	6
TABLE OF CONTENTS	7
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	8
INTRODUCTION.....	9
BACKGROUND.....	13
METHODOLOGY	16
DEFINITIONS	18
i. RADICALISATION	17
ii. TERRORISM	22
iii. HOMEGROWN TERRORISM	25
THEORIES.....	29
i. RADICALISATION - TERRORISM RELATION	28
ii. EDUCATION	29
iii. HOW THE TWO ARE COMBINED TO APPLY TO THIS RESEARCH ...	30
RADICALISATION OF YOUNG EU CITIZENS.....	33
CURRENT EU EDUCATION POLICIES AGAINST VIOLENT RADICALISATION ...	41
ADDITIONAL AGE-SPECIFIC EU EDUCATION REFORMS TO BE CONSIDERED .	45
CONCLUSIONS.....	50
BIBLIOGRAPHY	53

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIVD	Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst - General Intelligence and Security Service (of The Netherlands)
ECOM	European Commission
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EPP	European Peoples' Party
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
HR	Human Rights
HRE	Human Rights Education
IO	International Organisation
MENA	Middle-East and North Africa
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
RAN	Radicalisation Awareness Network
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades two new concepts have gained ground in the discussions within and outside the national and international political circles of the western world when talking about terrorism; the terms 'radicalisation' and 'home-grown terrorism'. After attacks took place on EU soil that were performed by EU citizens, the situation created was one of fear, shock, doubts and concerned thoughts. It became of the utmost important to research the roots, the causes and the path that led the offenders to the point of resorting to an expression of such extreme violence.

In this constantly changing world the EU is faced with the challenge of an unstable security environment and the task of being ready and on-call to respond to the demanding security and defence issues - and especially those regarding terrorism- arising globally by the day if not by the hour. Being an international entity of unique format characterized as an 'animal' "sui generis" (Hlavac, 2010), and more precisely one of the world's biggest international actors in the politico-economic, social, human rights, trade and culture stage, the EU has its interest in and is expected to take action on the afore mentioned international security, defence and counter-terrorism issues. It is therefore called to respond to all kinds of threats, crises, terrorism and security issues in a multifaceted national (involving every member state individually), regional (EU and MENA region), EU, broader European and international level. In order for the EU's action towards confronting these issues to be effective, it embarks on different forms of strategies, regulations, directives and policy implementations. Through these, it's ultimate goal is to always become more coherent, effective and capable, being an institution under constant development.

At the foundation of a healthy development and an interpretation of socio-political matters, the social character and the social role of education plays a crucial part. This is because education forms the collective consciousness and perception of the person for the prioritizing of society towards individuals, namely social necessity. The social actions of individuals and groups are therefore in a causal relationship with the education they have received (Davydov, 1995).

The focus here in this dissertation, will be the examination of the preventative role that education can play against the violent radicalisation of the young Europeans leading potentially to violent extremism and terrorism. More specifically I will examine steps to be taken and methods to be implemented in the various educational levels on an EU-wide spectrum in order to achieve what will be explained as *reverse inner reinforcement* with the scope of preventing violent extremism

and radicalisation potentially leading to terrorism. This topic has been chosen due to the fact that international terrorism has been considered in the past almost now three decades one of the biggest threats to international security.

The terrorist attacks in the heart of European big cities and capitals - Madrid, London, Paris, Brussels, Istanbul, Nice - justifiably create commotion amongst EU leaders, national and EU officials and security agencies. Fear is a powerful tool and such attacks stress how imperative it is to shield the international community against terrorism. However, since such a form of threat will keep on having unseen and unpredictable sides due to the human factor involved, no matter the variety and quantity of preventive and counter terrorist measures, it will keep on making the latter less effective against the reality and the potentiality of the phenomenon. This will consequently give a foundation for “fear culture” to develop (Furedi, 2006). For this reason, it is of the utmost importance to focus efforts on all fields of response; the detection, early spotting, prevention, mitigation and treatment of potential future violent extremists and terrorists and deter them from reaching such levels of extreme violent radicalisation. Certain educative preventative processes will be supported and further developed in the process of *reverse inner reinforcement* which then in its turn could lead to an avoidance of engagement in the paths of extremist radicalisation and violence which is one of the components of terrorist activity.

Within the fields of security, international relations, political and social sciences, the issue of ‘apprehending’ early in time factors, causes and motives to radicalise, remains a debatable one. The case is usually that radicalised individuals are placed when examined within one of the existing groupings of terrorist profiles instead of taking into consideration a combination of factors and a circumstantial process towards radicalisation. There are several models presented in the academic world and used as mold for the inspection of different cases of individuals or groups (e.g. violent characters, psychotic characters). The motives of the latter are thus typically considered to be either political or economic, religious or other personal distinct motivations instead of a combination of internal and external factors. Other common categorisations of violent extremists or terrorists, are those of either a person acting within the beliefs and principles of a group or organization, or being an individual actor. The latter are often called by academics “lone wolves” although such a form of completely unrelated attacks to any belief,

ideology, factor or justification are considered widely debatable and account for a minimal number of terrorist attacks (Spaaij, 2011)¹.

Aside from radicalisation as a concept and all that comes with it, the relationship between the latter and terrorism is also a contentious one that has given fertile ground for ample academic debates. John Horgan has indeed argued that “the relationship between radicalisation and terrorism is poorly understood – not every radical becomes a terrorist and not every terrorist holds radical views” (Horgan, 2011 as quoted in Schmid, 2013)². These issues create the foundation upon which the approach of this dissertation will be based and developed.

Apart from being the main policy area of my interest, I specifically chose this focus for my dissertation, hence prevention of the types of radicalization leading to violent extremism and terrorism via the process of what I chose to characterize as *reverse internal reinforcement* and a more concise, and targeted to the latter, EU education approach due to the fact that international terrorism has been considered in the past almost now three decades one of the biggest threats to international security (Council of the European Union, 2003/09, Stewart, 2011). However, the threat of terrorism as it is perceived today, and which will be defined in a following chapter of this dissertation, has been approached in a way of mitigation and treatment and focus on education as part of the preventative policies has only been touched upon in more expertise recently (European Commission, 2016, European Council, 2015, UNOHCHR, 2012a & 2012b). However, those policy reforms have not been binding or applied at a wide range within the EU and most importantly still lack specification and precision in certain educational parts such as the curricula formation, the compulsory presence of certain contents and concepts that could strengthen the *reverse inner reinforcement*. This dissertation will attempt to cover this issue in order to fill in those gaps and stress the importance of the *reverse inner reinforcement* through education, since counterterrorism methods should be functioning complementarily (Van Ginkel, 2011) and efforts should be divided on both the prevention and repression stages. The main research question that I therefore attempt to answer is how can the EU, through its education policies, apply this reverse inner reinforcement to young Europeans via critical thinking, in order to avoid them following paths of violent extremism and terrorism.

¹ Between the years 1968-2010, 198 out of 11.235 terrorist attacks had been performed by lone wolves according to the Global Terrorism Database, which resulted in a calculation of them comprising a 1.8% of the whole.

² Horgan John at START conference – National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism which took place at the University of Maryland, College Park on the 1st of September, 2011.

As the contents indicate as well, the dissertation will initiate with a background analysis regarding terrorism and the most important counterterrorism policies and reforms at an EU-wide level. The methodology used and the theories upon which this dissertation is based will be portrayed next. Following is a chapter of the definitions of certain important terms for the purposes of this dissertation. The main body will follow with a chapter regarding the radicalisation of young Europeans, the reasons, the motives, the methods etc. of the phenomenon and the process of it. The current education policies of the EU regarding radicalisation of young people are then stated, to be followed by the last chapter of how those policies can become more targeted, age-specific and improved, with specific suggestions for the different education levels as well. This last chapter of the main body includes practical information regarding the application of certain steps and reforms to be adopted in class in the curricula at different education levels. The legal constrains related to the EU-wide application of such reforms and measures will be questioned first, giving me thus room to provide a suggestions section for improved cooperation and EU action feasible and legal. Finally, the conclusions will be drawn after putting all the material together and finishing the research and its analysis.

BACKGROUND

Despite the existence of international terrorism since around the 1800s under the form of an “anarchist wave”, the face of terrorism and its practices have changed radically through the 1990s during the Cold War and two World Wars (Rapoport quoted in Hanhimäki & Blumenau, 2013, Carr, 2007). Back then a terrorist was “anyone who attempted to further their views by a system of coercive intimidation” (Laquer, 2001). In the new millennium and the post 9/11 era, the threat of terrorism to be faced is of a different scale and form, now identified as a “threat to international peace and security” as it is defined in the Bucharest Plan of Action adopted by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (Gheciu, 2008, p. 123).

The last decades have witnessed a veritable explosion in the various approaches towards the fight against terrorism. As more terrorism-related events of international range and significance took place, as political actors succeeded one another and finally as international organizations themselves and their structure and scope altered and evolved, approaches and methods of targeting terrorism changed too. Indeed, we can see this in the “heterogeneity of response” (Howorth and Keeler, 2003, p. 13) following the 2001 attacks in New York, the ones in Madrid, Athens, Bologna and London in 2004, the attempts again in London in 2005, in two German cities Dortmund and Koblenz in 2006, Paris in 2015 and 2016, Brussels in 2016, Istanbul in 2016 and Nice also in 2016. A little less than a year before the biggest terrorist attack the world had experienced in decades in 2001, Walter Gary Sharp stated in an article of his that “International law requires that states first consider law enforcement, diplomacy, and other peaceful mechanisms to control international terrorism and resolve threats to international peace and security, but international law does not require timidity in the face of senseless murder and slaughter by non-state actors or states” (Sharp, 2000, p. 12). Yet the problem arising now is not the laws and regulations that support this argument by being both preventative and pacifist when possible but also repressive and with the use of force when necessary; it is how different and divided the application of those approaches to terrorist attacks within the EU were in the beginning of the new millennium and still are today, 16 years later. This is all happening despite the institutional reforms that have taken place since then – the CSDP introduction in the Treaty of Nice, the Lisbon Treaty, the EU Counterterrorism Policy, the establishment of the RAN and other measures and policies (Ballester, 2013). Can a preventative focus on education possibly make a bigger difference in the long-term? To discover an answer to that question, I will

examine in this analysis to what extent the changes in the status quo in which threats are being perceived in the post 9/11 era have also affected the educational policies with which the EU targets radicalisation. This will be done focusing particularly on the EU's inclusive education policy and provided support to the national efforts for early preventive stages.

Since the approach before 9/11 has been to tackle terrorist attacks at a national level³ (European Parliament, 2001), we need to see how to further improve the newest alteration in this approach, which has been aiming at a more coordinated policy-making at EU level⁴, and specifically the preventative approach through education as is to be suggested.

The widespread notion of a changing security environment emphasizes that the type of Cold War threats, such as large-scale territorial warfare, have largely disappeared, only to be replaced by less visible, more complex and increasingly fragmented security problems — reaching from transnational crime to terrorism, to failed states and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (Solana, 2003; Cronin, 2002). Therefore, numerous scholars see the divide between internal and external security dissolving (Weiss and Dalferth, 2009). This stresses even further the argument of a more targeted educational cooperative and binding EU approach that would serve as the foundation of preventing the creation or enabling of violent radical extremists and terrorists. Claims regarding only a theoretical universality in the way the EU, along with its Member States, individually operate on counterterrorism are being supported by Weiss and Dalferth. Therefore, it remains to be examined throughout this analysis to what extent the actual EU educational practices have followed the theoretical framework being set for a collective "fight against terror" (Aid, 2012), with a common EU approach and an inclusive education with an eye and a strategic plan for prevention of future home-grown threats nurtured within the EU nations.

Are these educational policies actually "pursued according to different systems of rules", and do they "follow distinct institutional logics" (Weiss and Dalferth, 2009, p. 268)? If so, to what extent? How could any shortcomings be tackled promptly and effectively? What are young

³ Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Sweden in the summer of 2001 did not have a specific counter terrorism legislation. In Greece such a bill was indefinitely suspended until earlier that year and only 6 EU Member States had specific legislation on terrorism, individually (Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom).

⁴ "The European Policy to Combat Terrorism - The European Council approves the following plan of action: Enhancing police and judicial cooperation, developing international legal instruments, putting an end to the funding of terrorism, strengthening air security, coordinating the European Union's global action" (Council of the European Union, 21 September 2001).

home-grown (potential) terrorists? What is the relation between radicalisation, violent extremism and terrorism? How does education fit into this triangle? Development-oriented counterterrorism needs to be strengthened in the education plan of the EU Member States to more successfully pursue the goals of peace-keeping and “supporting stability, promoting human rights and democracy, seeking to spread prosperity, and supporting the enforcement of the rule of law and good governance” (EEAS Policies - Foreign Policy, n.d.).

A vast amount of literature has been reviewed on the practices regarding application and action upon extremist violent radicalisation prevention, especially when it comes to early stage prevention via, for instance, intervention in the educational environment. After this research analysis, I will present my conclusions and suggestions.

METHODOLOGY

The initial analysis conducted during the creation of the topic showed that the most appropriate approach to be used is a qualitative methodology, in order to manage answering the research question posed afore, as well as all the sub questions generating from it regarding the application of EU educational policies against radicalisation, the relation of education with violent extremist radicalisation and terrorism, etc. Therefore, an observational research method based on a nominal scale of measurement has been used. The use of some quantitative findings regarding percentages of population and actors, for example, has not been excluded, however. Such minor quantitative reports assist in supporting the qualitative findings of this research in a more complete way.

In the field of Social Sciences, it is necessary, in order to understand, analyse and interpret the attitudes, values and points that each author is raising, to make use of an effective method which provides these features. The method of content analysis has been established as one of the best research techniques within the social sciences and human sciences for the above stated purposes, since it aims to the “objective, systematic and quantitative description of the overt content of written or verbal communication” to the aim of their objective interpretation (Berelson, 1948 in Landsheere G. D., 1979, p. 7). The observation of social phenomena can be divided into direct and indirect observation of the various cultural evidence provided by the data. The qualitative method used here is precisely that, “a main method of indirect observation” (Lambiri - Dimaki, 1990). Through content analysis, the details of communication are being examined in every source of data, which practically comes down to the questions ‘who, what, to whom, why, how’ is a message transmitted and addressed, and what effect does this form of action have (Tzani, 2005). In a more recent definition of the method of content analysis, what is stressed is “the standardization of relations between the data and the issues, which allows for the discovery of the structure of the text under examination” (Grawitz, 1976). “During the analysis, the researcher analyses a particular message identifying the various symbolic categories of concepts and the various issues contained in it” (Lambiri - Dimaki, 1990).

The methodology of content analysis was considered to be the most appropriate one for this dissertation for the above reasons. In order to come up with suitable and applicable education policy measures to be applied to three different education levels, it was necessary to examine

thoroughly the background behind the terms terrorism, radicalisation, education, and home-grown young terrorists. Content analysis helped in looking behind the superficial meaning of those terms and to combine the findings of researchers and academics through primary and secondary source examination. The different messages and symbolisms of the terms mentioned above were combined to deepen into the relationship between them and come up with the conclusive suggestions of how to best prevent the birth of young home-grown terrorists through an educational intervention in the curious and vivid nature of children, adolescents and young adults alike.

DEFINITIONS

i. Radicalisation

Despite the fact that radicalization as a concept has been extensively researched and studied, a definition that is fully inclusive of all its aspects and one that is universally accepted still does not exist. It is important, however, for the purpose of this dissertation to attempt to combine the various attempts that have been made to define radicalization. When it comes to assigning a concise identity to the term, therefore, one can come across definitions of both violent and non-violent radicalisation. Since the geographical focus of this paper is the so called western world, and more specifically the area of the European Union, it seems most appropriate to introduce our definition with the description of the phenomenon of violent radicalization by the European Commission; it is described as "the phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism" (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009, p.6).

In transitional periods of time, when big social transformations and major changes in the existing system occur, people's lives change drastically, whether that change is desirable or not, and issues in society arise as the people cannot easily adapt to the new circumstances. Often then, the values that people cherish come in conflict with the new standards, and the lifestyle they followed does not seem to be in line with the emerging new social environments. Scheuch and Klingemann in their classic publication *Theorie des Rechtsradikalismus in westlichen Industriegesellschaften - Theories of Right Radicalism in Western Industrialized Societies* argued that radicalism is "a normal pathology" of industrial societies, wanting to stress how vulnerable and susceptible to its influence modern societies are (1967).

In modern societies, there are various causes to create feelings of uncertainty and frustration of certain social subjects, i.e. members of the population: the collision of old and new values mentioned above, the higher lifestyle expectations, which accompany each time the new social reality, and the frequent denial of these expectations. To overcome possible irregularities of their existence in the new status quo, mistakes, uncertainty and frustrations, those who do not exhibit satisfactory performance in the new social reality, presented and enforced upon them by social change, resort to "cognitive rigidity" (Adorno, 1950). They therefore have the tendency to adopt a closed, unaccepting-to-change and rigid system of values, thinking, way of behaviour and general life orientation which they apply to their everyday life.

As radicalism we describe this very phenomenon of resorting to this type of cognitive rigidity as a means of perceiving and treating the new social reality. This reality might indeed be complex as far as the elements that constitute it are concerned, peculiar in terms of its functions, with, at times, results that are unsustainable and difficult to adapt to for such individuals. Cognitive rigidity and “closed thinking methods, leading to the glorification or deification” (Adorno, 1950) of those beliefs and life orientations, render their being and entity prone to prejudices, to hostility - towards the foreign, the different, the misinterpreted, “the Other” (Harve, 1994, Neumann & Welsh, 1991) - to distortion of ideologies and religions.

The concept of radicalisation beyond its multiple meanings – occasionally positive ones -, when used in an ideological sense within the fields of security and international relations, covers a series of multilevel phenomena, whose root mechanisms, motivations and processes of contemporary social psychology, behaviourism, political science, policy-thinking and counterterrorism the experts attempt to bring to light.

John Horgan defined radicalisation as follows: It is "the social and psychological process of incrementally experienced commitment to extremist political or religious ideology. Radicalization may not necessarily lead to violence, but it is one of several risk factors required for this" (Horgan, 2009, p. 152). The radicalisation process occurs within the context of polarized conflicts, since it is an expression of extreme ideology. In this way, part of the social subject both at individual and collective level-is self-entrenched, sometimes isolated and ultimately becomes marginalised.

As it happens regularly with an array of terminologies within the field of social science, there is no agreement on the definition of radicalisation. Only recently has the Oxford English Dictionary defined radicalisation as “The action or process of making or becoming radical, esp. in political outlook” (Dictionary O. E., 2004). According to other dictionary definitions, ‘radicalisation’ is the support of and materialization of drastic, political, economic or social reforms, mainly through the dynamic rupture with the ‘status quo’ in order to solve existing problems. It has been as well identified as any strong, combative intellectual attitude, which mainly promotes or is based on a revolutionary overthrow of current conditions via violent means (Argiropoulos, 2013). It is moreover defined as any extremist attitude, perception or practice, regardless of political direction, religious belief, nationality (Argiropoulos, 2013). Such definitions, however, are still very insufficient, general and vague.

Despite the fact that many academics in time have come up with their own definitions, and many institutions, IOs and NGOs also promote their own that fit their purpose and activities, a final one that fits all still does not exist. Other definitions are approaching more what radicalisation really is; a process. Such a definition is for instance posed by Fraihi, arguing that “radicalization is a process in which an individual's convictions and willingness to seek for deep and serious changes in the society increase. Radicalism and radicalization are not necessarily negative. Moreover, different forms of radicalization exist. This concentration on the individual is indicative of the focus of expert and government concern” (Fraihi, 2008, p. 135). The main feature that differentiates this definition from other less specific and inclusive ones is that Fraihi recognises that existence of different forms of radicalisation processes, leading also to different outcomes and not necessarily to terrorism.

There are multiple other definitions by academics, and the more the scenery of radicalisation and possibly terrorist methods changes and develops, the more those definitions will be altered as well, to become more inclusive and cover as many of its sides as possible. In the international Journal of Conflict and Violence, indeed, della Porta and LaFree mentioned more than seven such definitions. Some of the main points covered in those definitions were the following. Radicalisation is an escalation process towards increased use of violence; it is a process of interaction between violent groups and their environment, or respectively elsewhere it is commitment to inter-group conflict; it is the increased use of violent means and strategies in political conflicts and a perception shift towards polarization; and it is change in beliefs, behaviours and feelings (Della Porta & LaFree, 2012). All these definitions, as well as the ones discussed earlier, only partially cover the topic and process of radicalisation, or alternatively focus on the purpose of the institution or research that they serve.

As far as institutions are concerned, the European Commission in 2006 announced a definition according to which radicalisation is “[t]he phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism”, as was quoted as well in the introduction (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009, p.6). This definition does indeed cover the possibility of radicalising without embracing terrorist perceptions and performing respective actions. This is achieved via the use of the word ‘could’. However, the very same word is the source of problematics of the same definition. By using this term, the European Commission leaves open to interpretation the ‘how’ branch of it; how, via which path, do people who are undergoing this process of radicalisation

turn on either direction, of terrorism or not? This leaves this definition being too open to interpretation. Such an issue could be solved by going deeper into this initial sentence via some explanatory more detailed and inclusive ones, which is not the case in this announcement. This approach is therefore considered to be not representative and inclusive enough of the complexity of the relation between radicalisation and terrorism.

One definition that successfully approaches radicalisation and covers quite more successfully the afore mentioned considerations, is that of Alex P. Schmidt:

“Radicalisation: an individual or collective (group) process whereby, usually in a situation of political polarisation, normal practices of dialogue, compromise and tolerance between political actors and groups with diverging interests are abandoned by one or both sides in a conflict dyad in favour of a growing commitment to engage in confrontational tactics of conflict-waging. These can include either the use of (non-violent) pressure and coercion, various forms of political violence other than terrorism or acts of violent extremism in the form of terrorism and war crimes. The process is, on the side of rebel factions, generally accompanied by an ideological socialization away from mainstream or status quo oriented positions towards more radical or extremist positions involving a dichotomous world view and the acceptance of an alternative focal point of political mobilization outside the dominant political order as the existing system is no longer recognized as appropriate or legitimate (Schmidt, 2011).”⁵

This confirms what was claimed above by Fraihi’s definition as well, which implies that radicalisation’s procedural steps to a great extent require an inner process towards change, which in turn requires psychological strenuous transformations to embrace and support the new extremist causes endorsed. Two more expert academics in the field of terrorism, John Horgan and Max Taylor, while defining radicalisation, also refer to how forms of this process lead through a step-by-step basis to terrorist activity, and they make an attempt to recreate and understand the psychological frameworks behind what they call the “psychology of terrorism” (Taylor & Horgan, 2006, p.595-598). They therefore focalise their research more on those forms

⁵ This definition is adapted from Alex P. Schmid, ‘Glossary and Abbreviations of Terms and Concepts Relating to Terrorism and CounterTerrorism’, in Alex P. Schmid (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 678-679.

of radicalisation leading to terrorism how, and why this developmental procedure of the objects examined brings about such outcomes dreadful to society, while other times it does not.

The radicalisation of young individuals is the most dangerous aspect of this phenomenon. Phenomena such as that of availability and openness of youngsters towards violent extremism and terrorism, or those that mobilise and nurture inhumane processes, are beyond any imagination of pooling up-and-coming terrorists of any ideological kind. Every version of terrorism is unacceptable, since it first and foremost targets humanity and has as its aim a violent reaction and rejection of what gives us human essence, the venting of sensitivities and deactivation of empathy skills.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) also published a very specific and inclusive report on radicalisation, which includes many of the ‘criteria’ that were identified above as imperative when defining radicalisation, plus a note that directs to precisely the point of this dissertation; the young ages’ vulnerability to it and the need to target prevention stages directed to them. They specifically quote that radicalisation entails “the process by which individuals—usually young people—are introduced to an overtly ideological message and belief system that encourages movement from moderate, mainstream beliefs towards extreme views. . . A radical is a person who wishes to affect fundamental political, economic or social change or change from the ground up” (RCMP, 2009). Furthermore, the RCMP does not neglect to mention the fact that radicalisation might be positive, and they bring up several examples including that of Nelson Mandela⁶.

What can be understood from this attempt to define radicalisation is that the understanding of it, and therefore consequently its definition, can be and is very diverse. For the purposes of this dissertation it is important to use one that includes and states the controversy of certain aspects of the process of radicalisation in a clear way. Since there is not one that fits our purposes entirely, we need to take into consideration all the references mentioned above and work based on those remarks, having in mind an inclusive definition composed of all the above. Apart from the more

⁶ Both Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, despite their canonisation as historical figures by history, time and political developments, were indeed radicals at their times as were their ideas. They found a way of supporting and promoting their radical beliefs and ideas in a non-violent way and without ‘terrorising’ the society to do so, despite them being considered extreme. They “found within themselves the ability to love those who hated and brutalised them. King did it through his commitment to nonviolence, Mandela through a commitment to multiracial democracy that survived nearly 30 years of imprisonment” (Serwer, 2013 – updated 2014) in <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/nelson-mandela-history-radical>.

general forms of the phenomenon of radicalisation, therefore, what is particularly of interest here is to explore not its development in young people, or to detect and attempt to deter it, but to identify the gaps in the contemporary European education leaving room for this violent extreme radicalisation to happen, and how to cover those gaps. This will be attempted via observing the relation state - education - citizen, which is a project requiring a more targeted conceptual processing of the notion of radicalisation. Structural violence thus develops when the functions of an institution are in counterpoint with the core of values on the basis of which this institution – the body of the EU with its Member States in this case - was established. This results in the people involved in the institution failing to implement these specific values (Adorno, 1950) causing this ‘fracturing’ of (young) individuals behaviour and position in society.

ii. Terrorism

Just as with radicalisation, terrorism is a contested notion to define and explain. It is often related to radicalisation, extreme violence, warfare and death, which are features placing it in “emotive settings” (Bilgi, 2011, p. 12) and sensitive sociopolitical environments making it even more difficult to define. Without exaggeration, to this day one can find at least one hundred different academic and institutional definitions of terrorism.

Looking back at the historical roots of terrorism, we can clearly discern the foundation of this phenomenon and how it was first noticed and examined. The first definition of terrorism was given in 1798 by the French Academy and it was argued that terrorism is a governance system through terror (Kardara, 2013). This notion was referring to the dictatorship of Robespierre within the years 1792-1794. The terrorist activity is marked by that historical starting point, to mark such activity stemming either from the side of a governing power or from a group or individual aiming at an extreme radical change in the governing ways. After the II World War many forms of terrorism from that first detected political one followed: ideological, religious, nationalist. And precisely this diversity in terrorism’s nature creates enormous difficulties in the international effort to define and ultimately legally ban this activity. The UN General Assembly of the 60s and 70s attempted but failed to impose a definition of terrorism and ban it. Yet as expected, it was not possible to find agreement on the definition of what a terrorist activity entails. For this reason, the United Nations have limited their efforts to finding certain practical

solutions and back out, for now, from finding a universal definition, but focused instead on condemning certain more clear-cut aspects of terrorist activities, in order to at least have a legal foundation to sentence those perpetrators, rather than have them walk due to lack of consensus on technicalities. So far 12 international conventions had managed to ban specific terrorist acts, such as hijacking and hostage detention, even though these legally have to be reported as crimes and not be filed as terrorist acts⁷. These were the developments in the legal field of terrorism until 1999. With the new millennium, November 2001, a huge step in the direction of finding a definition was made. According to this breakthrough via the UN General Assembly, terrorist acts are criminal acts aimed at spreading fear and terror to the public, or in a group or members of a group, for political reasons. “Whatever the motives for their perpetration — political, ideological, philosophical, racial, ethnic, religious or any other — terrorist acts are unjustifiable” and will be condemned (UN, 2001).

One of the main reasons from which the complexity of the definition stems is the multiple types of terrorism. Embracing and supporting a stereotypical close-minded perception, Western governments tend to turn their attention to what it is believed to be their main problem which is what we call ‘Radical Islam’, which is the promotion and quest via extreme means towards the establishment of a society and political regime that embraces and represents the core values of the religion (AIVD, 2004). These perceptions are flawed in two ways. Firstly, targeting solely religious Islamist terrorism is wrong from a fundamental perception. Secondly, the fact that a number of Islam supporters are radicals does not mean they are terrorists. It is the same analogy as putting in the same box violent and non-violent radicalisation. Other academics focus more on the political and social dimension of terrorism. One of those is Sederberg, arguing that terrorism is those type of violent actions aiming at fulfilling political aspirations by having a wider purpose and effect which surpasses the direct target (Sederberg quoted in Whittaker, 2012, p. 4), or Jenkins, giving a vaguer definition of the kind arguing that terrorism is “the use or threatened use of force to bring about change” (Jenkins, 2003, p. 3). Both are examples of definitions focused on and interpreting solely one side of terrorist activity, whether that is political or religious. Marsden and Schmidt, contrary to those perceptions, objectively list and include in their definition several of those main categories of terrorist activities and crimes: “regime terrorism, vigilante terrorism, insurgent terrorism, left-wing terrorism, right-wing terrorism, ethno-

⁷ Examples of such condemned acts were hijacking a plane or taking hostages.

nationalist terrorism, jihadist terrorism, lone wolf terrorism, single issue terrorism, cyber-terrorism, etc.” (Marsden & Schmidt, 2011). Krumwiede, also wanting to stress the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon, argued that “it is impossible to formulate substantial general hypothesis with broad validity, that is, hypotheses which are valid for all cases or at least most cases” (Krumwiede quoted in Wldmann, 2005, p. 70). As evidence of the impossibility of finding a universally accepted and inclusive way of defining terrorism, many use the fact that the UN, the biggest international organisation with a great regional and international impact, embracing core values and standing behind the Security Council, has not been able to conclude an unanimously approved decision of a definition. Certain experts despaired of this situation so much as to claim that terrorism “does not exist”, or more accurately that it cannot be a “useable concept in social sciences” (Bigo, 2012, p. 2).

As far as the EU is concerned, there is the European Union’s Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism of 2002. The latter argues that terrorism is: “Criminal offences against persons and property that, given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or international organisation where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, economic or social structure of a country or an international organisation” (European Council, 2002). This definition of terrorism is one of legal nature, making it different in phrasing and content from the academic ones. It is a relatively inclusive one but still vague at points and non-conclusive.

It is fair to say that no one size fits all, and that seems to be the case for defining terrorism as well since there cannot be one definition that covers all the needs and fields of action of all governments, NGOs, IOs, social and political sciences etc. Terrorism will remain one of the major transnational issues causing national, religious, political and economic problems to societies, at least until the latter achieve to understand its roots and what ‘feeds’ the phenomenon, and find the necessary policies to tackle and prevent it.

Undoubtedly, the development of new technologies has been crucial in changing the nature of terrorist attacks. In modern times, there is a significant variation in the philosophy but also the methodologies of terrorism, compared to prior versions of the phenomenon. This is largely a direct or indirect consequence of technological developments, in particular as regards transport,

the media and the weapons used. Consequently, given the wide technological and social changes, terrorism in our time gets a new face, which is difficult to define inclusively.

iii. Homegrown Terrorism

Radicalism as a phenomenon signifies a total rupture of processes in the setting of values of any civilisation, the principles and traditions of democracy, and it is present in both what we call Western and Eastern world and outside of them. Radicalisation does not breed fanatical hatred only amongst young Muslims, as it is stereotypically believed. Any young person brought up within any country is susceptible to extreme radicalisation that could lead to terrorism. A growing percentage of terrorists, both within and outside the EU, seem to have been radicalised towards violent extremism in the heart of the western world. These young Europeans of various religious and ethnic backgrounds “have strikingly ordinary psychological and demographic profiles” and could be any child, teenager or young adult, according to Veldhuis and Staun (2009, p. 7). This is contrary to common belief which often, as they support, argues that extreme radicals and terrorists have a mentally ill or psychopathic profile which explains their action up to a certain extent, meaning that other people have such profiling as well but do not become terrorists and there are therefore other factors involved as well. However, research performed on the psychological profiles and behaviours of violent extremists and radicals have countered this argument of mental illness and psychopathy as a “myth” (ibid, p. 7).

Terrorism is both an international and local phenomenon, as the majority of offenders in all recent attacks within the EU are actually young EU citizens, argued Commissioners D. Avramopoulos and T. Navracsics during a recent press conference in Brussels to better address violent radicalisation of young Europeans leading to terrorism (European Commission, 2016). These young individuals are born in the Member States, brought up in the same schools and environments as their peers, but as soon as they become radicalised in the violent extremist and terrorist direction, they turn against their fellow citizens and the EU values, yielding the hate propaganda inspired by an ideology that causes destruction (European Commission, 2016). He continues to state that the fact that these people are EU citizens, and have been radicalised towards violent extremism and terrorism within the EU, demonstrates the flaws of our societies social structure, and the urgent need to enhance the cohesion of the EU Member States to tackle

such issues. In the above explained sense, terrorists are the top of a pyramid, consisting of other radicalised individuals, violent, non-violent, extremists and non-extremists who share the same ideology. Furthermore, those beliefs that terrorists claim to be defending often coincide with those of the rest of the population or parts of it; however, they are more extreme in their application and practices of expression. Nobody is ‘born to be a suicide bomber’, but at a critical developmental stage in those young Europeans’ lives, the potential future terrorists start adopting a different kind of reasoning to interpret the same issues that other peers of theirs are facing as well in the modern world. This type of risk and violence-oriented reasoning becomes what they consider as the “only one correct view”, which needs to be “defended with every way” (Della Porta & LaFree, 2012). Via this logic they also justify the loss of innocent lives; if they are lost for a greater purpose their sacrifice is justified and purposeful. The anger that comes with specific ages of those young individuals, any personal frustration, loss of any kind or disappointment experienced, leads them to turn against the society that bestowed this feeling upon them, their own EU society, making them become ‘homegrown terrorists’. When these young EU citizens are disappointed by the weaknesses of the modern democracy, they can theoretically see the terrorists as an alternative, as a balancing mechanism of state power treating them unjustly in different ways (Adorno, 1950). The problem arises with the misconceptions behind this reasoning of the extremely radicalised young people. The person that will reach the point of performing a terrorist act for the reasoning explained above and all that they believe in - the justice they fight for, the revenge and show of power that they try to feel, etc. - will find the path to express these feelings and out them in the world, but will also cause much more damage, which is the main goal; to spread fear, doubt, uncertainty, distrust in the state or other institution - here EU and its Member States - and its ability to security and life and provision to its citizens.

Poverty and social inequality, the history of violence in a society, the failure of peace efforts or lack of social dialogue, the class and racial segregation or religious passions cannot interpret or justify under any circumstances the forces that lead to violent extremist radicalisation and terrorism against the fellow citizens of these individuals, and lead them to act marginally (Georgiadou, 2016). Every and any ideology could give rise to a terrorist act: environmental motives, animal rights, the war on the water or resources, the protection of migrants, political ideologies, religious beliefs and so much more. But not all believers radicalise to the point of terrorism against their own state, and the above motives do not explain why not all citizens resort

to terrorism, to protest their demands against a failed – in their reasoning and point of view - state.

The ones that do radicalise to the point of turning against their own country “feel that they belong to a political, religious or national elite that are the elect chosen to foreword their ideology as a counterweight to social injustice”, that they and the rest are experiencing (Georgiadou, 2016).

THEORIES

i. Radicalisation – Terrorism relation

The recourse to terrorist action suggests one model of development of extreme radicals, meaning that changes in ideological beliefs, in political activity and the declared strategic objectives of one or more components of a movement group or an individual, are so intense that they cause growing incompatibility of their values and practices than what social legitimacy instructs. The mechanisms of growth and expression of terrorist activity as a form of development of radicalisation are extended to the four levels of analysis of the socio-political and psychological reality: the interatomic, the diatomic, the intergroup and the ideological one (Gamson, 1992, Lorenzi & Doise, 1990, Prodromitis, 2015). Those can be externalised in the everyday world respectively under the forms of social stance, social performance, social influence and social representation. If we imagine each of these with respective expressions of violence with the meaning of radicalisation of violence, which as explained in earlier chapters can be a predecessor of terrorism, or is in itself a form of terrorism, we reach a theory of a broad interpretation of terrorist activity, or the intention of it, stemming from radicalisation. The interpretation of this radicalisation-terrorism nexus refers then to many forms of violence which, despite their severity, do not necessarily entail the intention of materialisation of a terrorist act, even if that violence causes grave material, physical and psychological damage, even death. This is one of the theories that this dissertation is based on, and plainly expressed is that radicalisation elements and features have been detected in a great percentage of terrorists. However, as has been as well explained earlier, this does not support the stereotypical view that radicalised individuals and groups will become terrorists, or vice versa, that all terrorists do have a radicalised background. The argument I raise upon the relation between radicalisation and terrorism is neither to revoke nor to accept the arguments which singlehandedly create a causal relationship between the two, but to accept that terrorism is indeed an extreme radical form of expressing beliefs (DeAngelis, 2009, Schmid, 2016) and imposing them on others via violent means. This is the case whether those are political, ideological, religious, etc. This in itself creates a relation to radicalisation but not a causal one. Radicalisation, therefore, is not an exclusive factor pre-existing to terrorism, but there is a multiplicity of combined motivations and factors. The point stemming directly from this theory intended to become the basis of this research is that radicalised young individuals or young ones that show signs of becoming radicalised need to be supported by the EU educational

system early enough. This should happen not at the scope of preventing their radicalisation in general, which as explained in the previous chapter can simply be a form of radical beliefs which can lead to positive outcomes at times, but preventing them from following those types of violent radicalisation pathways that can develop into terrorist activity later on. Taylor and Horgan identify three variables that need to be considered when examining radicalisation processes, which affect those specific routes towards terrorism. These variables are the setting of events, the personal factors and the social, political and/or organisational contexts (Taylor & Horgan, 2006). There are certain complications to this process however. The fact that those variables are altered according to the purposes and methodologies of each individual or group in each case make it difficult to intervene.

An education related theory that comes to complement the theory above helps to complete the theoretical foundation of this dissertation.

ii. Education

The pedagogical theory upon which this dissertation is based, is that of critical pedagogy. Critical Pedagogy focuses on the qualitative aspects of school life as it treats schools as places in which a struggle of ideas and practices takes place and where one can develop by applying to the influx of information and knowledge the virtue of critical thinking (Giroux, 2010). As Ira Shor described it, critical pedagogy is:

“Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse (Shor, 1992, p. 129).”

In practice critical pedagogy grew out of the work of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. It is the theory and practice that helps teachers and students gain critical social consciousness through the understanding of the causes, the social context and ideologies that shape their lives. The teaching method used by Freire is qualitative research form. The teacher does not consider the learners as empty vessels to be filled up with knowledge. It addresses them as actors and agents, who have

specific views of the world they are living in. The challenge thus for the educator is to detect together with the learners those views and circumstances surrounding their lives, and transform them into productive topics of discussion and issues. Those will then draw the students into a critical dialogue process, through which they will together learn, will develop as beings in a society and will manage to find out and make their own choices regarding the ideological, socio-political, religious, economic and other forces that affect their lives (Grollios, Karantaidou, Korompokis, Kotinis & Liampas, 2003, McLaren, 2000, McLaren, 2007, Shor, 1992). The learners are thus the ones making the meaning of the knowledge received. The tools are given to them to become their own decision-makers, and the action and hermeneutics of what they received is up to them to apply, make mistakes, learn from them, reconsider ideas actions and consequences and so on and so forth.

iii. How the two are combined to apply to this research

In one of his articles, anthropologist Scott Atran discusses the birth of suicide terrorism that the most effective way of protecting societies from a possible future terrorist attack is to fight the process(es) of radicalisation that lead to it (Atran, 2003). His article, despite certain pieces of information that could be considered outdated, raises certain important points regarding radicalisation leading to terrorism in young individuals.

Therefore, while the demand for security undoubtedly arises, strongly and clearly, a request for humanism and equality in a Europe of different ethnic minorities, religions and cultures simultaneously remains. For this reason, and based on this early prevention of radicalisation forms leading to terrorism, an argument will be raised and analysed in this research regarding the role of education in this prevention process. The argument to be raised, based on the above discussed theories, is that concrete actions, common and binding at EU-wide level regarding education, promoting EU common values, are necessary. This is the case as well for projects aimed at promoting social integration, an intercultural understanding and aiding those young individuals showing early signs of the ‘wrong’, violent kind of radicalisation. This will have a direct impact on the general society, promoting tolerant, open and inclusive societies, and a new approach to accepting the other, the different, what was until now considered previously estranged, children belonging and being raised as parts of the community but finding reasons to

embrace extreme violence and eventually at times resort to criminality and terrorism. General issuing of regulations and directives does not seem to be enough and has proven so, while what is really needed are concrete early detection mechanisms and concrete steps to follow to direct those children away from possible 'terrorist' paths within the schools, and for those who work closely with young people outside of them to understand and address the extreme violent radicalisation.

Hence this research will be built and developed, having as a starting point these theories, the fact that terrorism is a form of expression of extreme violent radicalism, and the fact that education can offer values and shape characters through critical thinking.

RADICALISATION OF YOUNG EU CITIZENS

i. Why?

To begin with, what can cause this urge towards this ‘bad’ radicalisation within the young individuals? How have internal and external factors affected the heart of the society, the young Europeans, to ensure its loss of balance and cause great commotion and violent expression of feelings and beliefs towards other individuals?

Radicalisation, under any form, is a situation of ‘liability’ for any governing body, whether that is a state, or in our case, the EU as a whole. A lot of people, even the individuals that are considered radicals, do not risk joining the ranks of the violent radicals or to follow their own path of extreme radicalisation towards societal violence due to the potential societal and legal consequences and risks they fear (Giannikos, 2016). Certainly those risks cannot always be calculated, or are even not clear enough to them. In the worst scenarios, those risks at times are masked for recruiting purposes, when we refer to recruitment by extremist or terrorist groups masking the perils and promoting the benefits. As a general rule, the average citizen subconsciously adopts the ‘politically correct’ behaviour indicated by the regulations and laws of society, instead of taking such risks. However, there are those who, motivated by different factors, take a leap in any other value or belief coming as a salvation to them, which in return they follow unquestionably. This behaviour creates visible cracks in relations between individuals, groups and societies, and their governing institutions and powers.

These ‘lost’ young individuals are a consequence of mismanagement concerning the impact of globalisation within European societies. This ultimately led to undermining the very concept of the global vision and political participation that formed its foundation in the first place. As a consequence, the expected urges that come with young rebellious age by nature have been left to be channeled towards anything that might absorb it and ‘shelter’ it (Giannikos, 2016).

Elissavet Vozemberg-Brionidis of the EPP argued recently that the latest researches in Europe have shown a dramatic increase of teenager and young people criminality, which should be raising red flags for national but also European leaders, since those individuals resort to such a violent expression of their energy and feelings due to the fact that they are desperate, marginalized, or hopeless due to certain political decisions that have brought them in such positions in the past years (Vozemberg, 2016). According to her, these young people do not have

hope in pursuing their dream job, do not have adequate perspective, idolise criminals and feel powerful, having a sense of control of their lives, only through violence, expressions of hatred and spreading panic. According to this view, these young extreme violent and radicalised individuals of the EU described in Vozemberg's speech embrace the principle of "bellum omnium contra omnes" - war of all against all – (Thomas Hobbes as quoted in Schneewind, 2003, p. 115). It is concerning how exactly these young individuals choose to radicalise; what paths they take. The main explanation is the failed operation of European institutions; not failed in a practical operational and functional manner, but in an ideological one. These young people seem to lack the values, those that the EU itself established in the past and currently still promotes, which they should be gaining and learning within educational environments (schools, universities, prisons, internet, etc.). These environments seem to not be focusing enough on fundamental values and rights, making it easier for the shaping minds of those young people to embrace others, such as violence and hatred without inhibitions. They need to be taught, and they most importantly need to experience, through their education, values such as humanitarianism, solidarity, accountability and empowerment.

This road to extreme violent radicalisation is in line with what many studies on the behaviour of terrorists have suggested in the past decade, and it is far from the idea of "indoctrination" (Bond, 2014). The paths that young individuals might follow towards this type of radicalisation are many, and there is not one story to it, argues Clark McCauley (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). However, most researchers argue that aside from the social environment in which these young people grow and get affected by, there is a series of factors involved that do play a role; a smaller or bigger one, depending on the situation and the type of radicalisation. Those can be a personal bitterness as an identity crisis, which makes them open to a new religion or political ideology; a feeling that the cultural group to which they belong is persecuted; the moral indignation against an injustice (discrimination against a relative, for example); and access to a politically active network (Bond, 2014). This is confirmed further by Silke's arguments that no matter the background of a radicalised individual or group, the threat towards one's identity is always the drive to act. The feeling of threat towards one's values, whether ideological, religious political or other, is common in the "pools" that terrorist and violent extremists emerge from (Silke, 2005). "Unemployment, lower average incomes, lower educational achievement, and less political representation" are the portrayal of those forms of identity threat in the everyday society (ibid).

The difference from those pools of radical individuals to becoming a terrorist, is usually one life-changing event away. It has been found that direct exposure to such an event, like a speech heard, a video watched, an article read, an action witnessed etc. (ibid), is not necessary to initiate the slippery slope to terrorist activity.

Although there are indications that some have been influenced by ideology and religion preachers, this is rarely the primary cause. Why have then such myths been maintained? Mark Sageman, psychiatrist and criminologist advisor of several US agencies, believes that this is because many politicians and commentators, in the media and outside of them, are allowed to believe in purely religious and especially Islamist radicalisation and to ignore broader causes of it such as political injustice or mismanagement, which can be difficult to admit and to publicly start to improve when it comes to Member States' governments or EU officials (Sageman, 2004). It is a "popular opinion that terrorists must be insane or psychopathic", and this is not contributing to the resolution of the terrorism issue (Victoroff, 2005). Scott Atran, on his side, as well argues to support the above statement. The vast majority of the terrorists acting within Europe or leaving from the West to become foreign fighters have been radicalised in their homeland, within a circle of friends oriented towards such an ideology, which comes to reject the popular theory of 'brainwashing' by preachers (Atran, 2003). This view is supported by data gathered by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation - ICSR) of King's College in London. The ICSR monitors about 450 foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq by contacting dozens of them with the tools offered by social media such as Facebook and WhatsApp, and interviews with some of them around the border of Syria. Their estimates show that 80-85% of those marked as violent extremists and possibly being terrorists are becoming mobilised through their social groups (ICSR, 2014). This data is specifically about those radicalised young individuals acting in the name of ISIS, but the same rules can be applied to the other extremist forms of radicalisation. All religions and ideologies can fanaticise, especially when the person on the receiving end is a young person who is still looking for their place in the world and is within the sensitive process of shaping their identity. This can happen through rhetoric happening via the media, the school, a peer group, the family, etc. Ideas are what shape the identities of those people, which is why the focus on imprinting universal values and rights on them through education is of vital importance. The ideas are not fought with weapons, but if caught early enough, before they become one with the entity of the

young people, they can be fought with other ideas fairer and more humanistic. Because we are referring to young people, who are still learning about judgement, critical thinking and are still shaping their identity. They have not learned the process of processing all incoming information and filtering it before rejecting or embracing it and know why they do so. Just like other peers of theirs, who lack the same tools of personal judgement and values and are turning to other forms of destructive behaviour such as drugs, alcohol, gambling, and other harmful habits to themselves and the society.

ii. How and who?

Regarding those possible pathways mentioned earlier, that young individuals might follow to end up through certain forms of radicalisation to terrorism and violent extremism, McCauley with Moskalenko demonstrate that the sociological – combined in some of those cases with psychological - study of terrorism is much more important when detected early, in order to prevent the extreme radicalisation process, rather than the “scientific-profiling” performed on terrorist personalities (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008). For this reason, they listed several such mechanisms and processes, leading young individuals to extreme violence and radicalisation, which in turn might lead to terrorist and extremist activity:

1. “Personal ‘victimization’”: It is associated with traumatic experiences of the past of the individual, who has experienced extreme exercise of authoritarian violence and is gradually turning to extreme radicalism.
2. “Political Grievance”: An individual reaction to specific political situations or events. The feeling of belonging to a beleaguered team, combined with having experienced extreme violence against oneself or a significant other, gives one the necessary impetus to get involved in violent extremism.
3. “Joining a radical group—the slippery slope”: An individual’s radicalization when joining an extremist group, the 'slippery path of progressive strict initiation' and free acceptance of subordination and self-convincing”.

4. “Joining a radical group—the power of love”: Refers to recruiting members from the environment of friendly or related persons of an already radicalised individual. The comradely devotion and common experiencing challenges and risks increase group cohesion.
5. “Extremity shift in like-minded groups”: The tendency of the members of a radicalised extremist group to accede in more extreme views and attitudes - their adaptation to the attitudes of more radical and violent extremist members of a group that accepts and legitimises violence.
6. “Extreme cohesion under isolation and threat”: Turning the team to extremism via the group’s societal isolation and sense of "shared destiny" and of common risk of its members. The value of the common reality manufactured by the group under conditions of absolute cohesion and strong interdependence among members. The group life becomes a source of meaning and its members swear to absolute loyalty to its purposes.
7. “Competition for the same base of support”: Turning the team to extremism due to competition with other groups of the same beliefs in order to gain over the possible new supporters. Otherwise can be explained as intergroup violence.
8. “Competition with state power—condensation”: The turning of a group towards extremism as a form of competition with the state power. It is described by actions of violence against a wider movement or group and leads to violent retaliatory actions.
9. “Within-Group Competition / Fissioning”: Team extremism resulting to intragroup conflict. Characteristics of it are the possible pressure for compliance, dynamic degradation and civil violent competition.
10. “Jujitsu Politics”: External aggression towards the general public or another political/ religious/ ideological group becomes a reality as a result of increasing intergroup cohesion, idealization of the leader and idealization of the group’s ideals. The use of force is becoming the means to support the latter.
11. “Hate”: Massive torque extremism due to competition with another team- Role of Speech: cross-table clash at the symbolic level, bias and stereotypes aid, emergence of essential beliefs- "dehumanising 'enemy and turn against intense negative emotions of anger and contempt as based "release ethics' for the use of extreme violence.

12. “Martyrdom”: Massive torque extremism due to competition with another team - Catalytic image of 'witness' social construction and idealization of "dead hero" as a standard of credible and fully consistent servant highest values (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008, Prodromitis, 2015).

We see therefore that there are a lot of forms, steps and/or processes of radicalization that lead the members of societies to violent radicalism and at times terrorism. What is also demonstrated is that the above explained processes, are not nationally or religiously or politically-specific and can therefore take place in any society whether that is Western or Eastern, Northern or Southern. Assailants who commit acts of terrorism can be people born and raised in the country in which they committed the terrorist act, or in another country within the EU territory, often in response to or motivated by internal (personal) or external (political/ societal/ religious/ etc.) situations of the country where an attack takes place.

Silke also supports this argument, identifying a number of common factors found in the backgrounds of terrorists that have been examined: age, gender, education, career, marital status, social identity, experiences of marginalisation and discrimination, catalytic events, perceived injustice, financial status, access to employment opportunities (Silke, 2008, Veldhuis & Staun, 2009). In this way the image of the terrorist-psychopath is once again shattered. On the contrary, it is supported once again that radicalisation occurs in groups of like-minded individuals, and from there on the process to terrorism and violent extremism that may or may not occur is a gradual one. The study of the psychology of terrorism should therefore focus more on “small-group dynamics and psychological processes”, and less on the psycho-pathological sides of radicalisation (Silke 2008).

A very characteristic depiction of the process of radicalisation of young individuals is that by Fathali Moghaddam. He perceives radicalisation as a linear and gradual process towards the acts of violent extremism and terrorism stressing what was argued in previous chapters; that radicalisation does not necessarily lead to terrorism and is not a ‘bad’ process in itself. The author describes in his article the process as a ground floor and five more floors with a staircase connecting them which becomes narrower the higher you go. The narrowing of the staircase represents the fact that more people are present in the lower floors of the radicalisation process and they become less and less as it gets more violent and extreme with few ones resorting to terrorist acts (Moghaddam, 2005). The idea behind this explanation of his, is that many more other individuals experience the same conditions, whether those are injustice, violence or

anything else that might be torturing their lives. However not all of them proceed to such high levels of violence such as terrorism. When radicalisation remains within the form of opposition and expression of feelings of, for instance, anger, injustice, deprivation, this is not done in a harmful way and is a freedom of expression and belief. At times however these feelings become extreme to the point of “you are either with us or against us” (Moghaddam, 2005). The ones that reach that point, begin to embrace the practices of terrorists in order to follow-up to that statement and belief, and eventually some of them reach the top floor of the staircase by actually performing such an act. It is important thus to differentiate between the types of radicalisation that escalate to violence and those that do not. Barlett and Miller provide some explanations as to why certain radicals proceed further to the point of extreme violence and terrorism while others do not do so. They mention it as an emotional reaction to things such as anger, injustice, etc. as mentioned above. They also mention it as being a step towards achieving a higher status in a group, whether that is a family, an organisation or other. Last but not least they perceive it as the result of peer pressure (2012).

It is, therefore, not necessarily violence in itself that initially draws the victims of radicalisation down that path, and potentially further to extreme violence, extremism and terrorism. As Giannikos argues in his research article, and as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the radicalisation of young European individuals is neither due to the so called ‘preachers’ of extremism, nor to unknown strangers who appeared suddenly in the lives of young people, dragging them into the extremist paths, leading them to terrorism (2016). Despite the fact that social media plays a big role in the recruitment process of European young people in the extremist and terrorism-leading ranks, the majority of radicalisation processes in that violent direction is nevertheless caused by 75% via friends and peer networks, by 20% through radicalised members of the wider family environment and only 5% due to ‘preachers’ towards religious extremism (Giannikos, 2016). Professor Atran argued and presented striking investigations in the UN Security Council, in April and November 2015 (UNSC, 2015). They revealed that the parents of radicalised youth have been unwilling to discuss foreign policy and ISIS issues with them, at the same time that their children had been desperately trying to understand, and find out explanations relevant to those topics. This puts even more stress on the point attempted to argue in this dissertation. The educational environment needs to be formulated in such a way so as to be able to provide such support to the young individuals, to give them the

necessary critical and moral tools to be able to look for the desirable answers in the right places, using the right means and from the right people, and judge for themselves how to adapt them to their reality instead of becoming swayed around by their times, their questions and problematics. Violent extremism does not signal the revival of culture, values and virtues, as many extremist groups have the tendency to promote to the masses through their propaganda, but the collapse of it. The young people who resort to violent radicalisation, extremism and potentially terrorism, do so because they have been detached from such values and are desperately searching for a social identity which would provide them with social recognition and a meaning to their lives, and what they pursue through them. This is the “dark side” of globalisation, where young individuals radicalise in an effort to find meaning, a purpose, and identity, in a fast moving world that gives them no chance or time to do so. The vertical connecting axes between different generations have been replaced by “horizontal networking peer-to-peer connections” (Giannikos, 2015). Researchers like Scott Atran warn that without coordinated spiritual and intellectual effort, education, sensitivity and attention to the person as a unit, progress will not be achieved against extreme violent radical movements (2003). The incomplete, non-universal and non-sequential form of such efforts so far is what leaves those young people with the only alternative: the use of power and violence to achieve something that they believe in. At hard times extremism and radicalism might seem to some to be the only possible successful thing they might be able to achieve, when they are unaware that other options and resorts exist for them.

CURRENT EU EDUCATION POLICIES AGAINST VIOLENT RADICALISATION

For quite some time there have been different efforts by the various European institutions to tackle the phenomenon of radicalisation. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to make a lengthy analysis of each of those efforts. However, those that relate to prevention of terrorism and are associated specifically with the issue of prevention through education, which is the central point here, need to be mentioned briefly.

Until the last few years, counterterrorism efforts have been focused on mainly the “capture and severe punishment” of assailants (Silke, 2006). As understood in the previous section, it is of great importance to ultimately be able to prevent the possibility of upcoming or future extreme radicalisation of young European individuals, or groups of individuals, and to develop intervention possibilities in order to direct them in different personal development pathways. It is necessary for the EU to perform the *reverse internal reinforcement* of the young Europeans through the formal education process that the biggest percentage of them goes through. The young individuals need to have the necessary ‘tools’ to be able to choose, answer, judge, interpret or tackle whatever temptations, questions, problematics and dilemmas come towards them.

Since 2015, after the first attacks on France, the EU has adopted several concrete, more specific and more targeted education goals and policies in the direction against the violent extremist radicalisation forms that lead, at times, to terrorism. On the 17th March 2015, the EU adopted a declaration on promoting “citizenship, and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education”, named the Paris Declaration (European Council, 2015). The main purpose of the declaration, after the Charlie-Hebdo terrorist attack in January 2015, was to promote inclusive education against discrimination and supporting a society understanding and open to differences and to “the Other” as expressed by Harve, Neumann and Welsh (1994, 1991).

Upon this issue of radicalisation and its prevention through education Mr. Avramopoulos argued in his speech that the EU “supports the Member States in all policy areas, from education and employment to youth employment, the judicial and detention systems, involving all stakeholders and governmental authorities of interest” (European Commission, 2016). Some concrete steps regarding specifically the educational sector that the EU has taken are the following.

The European Commission in its effort to promote online counterterrorism awareness campaigns, has increased cooperation with the EU Member States via the Strengthening Programme of the Civil Society⁸. Next to the campaigns generated by the European Commission, the EU is supporting the Member states in creating their own national campaigns for their schools in an effort for them to be more targeted for each Member State's needs. This is done via the different national Advisory Communications and Strategy Groups. Part of this project is as well the Education Working Group of the Radicalisation Awareness Network⁹. As far as the Commission is concerned, the latter is the middle of setting up a programme of scheduled sessions with role models of the local communities and national ones of each Member State. These will be taking place in schools and other youth frequented facilities (sports clubs, libraries, youth centres, etc.). Together with the European Parliament and the Council of the EU, the Commission is also working on the adoption of an anti-discrimination directive¹⁰. Another step that the Commission is planning on taking, is to promote a Council Recommendation for a "policy framework on promoting inclusion and fundamental values through education". The aim of the recommendation will be to provide assistance in implementing the EU education policies on radicalisation.

Exchanges of knowledge, students, shared projects etc. are very important in experiencing diversity in practice and cooperation between the different Member States. Part of this effort is the Erasmus+¹¹, the EU education and training programme. As of March 2015, after the publishing of the Paris Declaration, € 400 million is available to spend on school projects and policies promoting social inclusion, non-discrimination and respect for the fundamental values (European Council, 2015). The EU encourages as well tertiary level education institutions to award credits to students volunteering in the framework of the Erasmus+ programme, in an effort to promote engagement of young individuals in the community and to encourage them to be an active part of it. As far as primary and secondary level education exchange programmes, the EU

⁸ The European Commission provides financial support for non-state actors working in civil society and development.

⁹ Bringing together first-line education practitioners throughout Europe to empower them to counter radicalisation. Schools have the objective to provide a safe and respectful environment for their students. It is part of their role to teach democratic and social values, and to help students form their identity. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/index_en.htm

¹⁰ Proposal for a directive of 2 July 2008 against discrimination based on age, disability, sexual orientation and religion or belief beyond the workplace.

¹¹ Erasmus+ is the EU's programme to support education, training, youth and sport in Europe. Its budget of €14.7 billion will provide opportunities for over 4 million Europeans to study, train gain experience, and volunteers abroad.

is continuing to promote and support the eTwinning Programme¹². The idea of the Commission is to expand gradually the programme into the neighbouring non EU countries and those of the general MENA region, in an effort to enhance cooperation between different cultures from a young age, promoting understanding and non-discrimination.

All these efforts, recommendations, directives and policies that are already being applied and others still on the making, are proof of the fact that education is a crucial link in the chain of efforts towards the prevention of violent extremism and violent radicalisation leading to terrorism. The fact the EU is investing even more manpower and funds into enhancing those efforts and expanding them proves as well the fact that educating minds and teaching them to learn how to think critically, judge, accept, question, evaluate and process whatever input they receive while they are still young is of vital importance.

The downside of all these efforts mentioned above is that they still lack specificity in their application on day to day school/ university environment, which results in their undermining and non-appreciation. Furthermore, what is as well interfering with the more specific application of such policies, is the legal framework binding the EU through several articles of the TEU and the TFEU. Officially the education policy of each Member State, falls within the framework of its national jurisdiction. According to Article 6 of the TFEU¹³, the EU can only adopt actions of support and coordination when it comes to the policy area of education, which makes any initiative on behalf of the EU non-binding for its Member States. However, since the case is that education can play a vital role in the issue of counterterrorism, it is important for the Member States to understand that there is an imperative security issue in this area which requires attention and binding collective action. What is the suggestion here from a legal perspective is that certain recommendations coming from the EU, be passed on as regulations, directives or decisions in order for them to be binding as explained in Article 288 of the TFEU¹⁴. Before this takes place

¹² eTwinning is part of Erasmus+, the EU programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport. It is the free and safe platform for teachers to connect, develop collaborative projects and share ideas in Europe. In September 2016 it includes 399868 teachers, 50922 projects and 164497 schools from the EU Member States.

¹³ The Union shall have competence to carry out actions to support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the Member States. The areas of such action shall, at European level, be: (a) protection and improvement of human health; (b) industry; (c) culture; (d) tourism; (e) education, youth, sport and vocational training; (f) civil protection; (g) administrative cooperation.

¹⁴ A regulation shall have general application. It shall be binding in its entirety and directly applicable in all Member States. A directive shall be binding, as to the result to be achieved, upon each Member State to which it is addressed, but shall leave to the national authorities the choice of form and methods. A decision shall be binding in its entirety. A decision which specifies those to whom it is addressed shall be binding only on them. Recommendations and opinions shall have no binding force.

however, to avoid cases being brought at court for the EU overstepping, it is necessary for the Member States to accept and understand the importance of collective application of certain EU education policies, since it is a matter of security¹⁵. As long as such measures to be agreed upon by the EU and the Member States fulfil the principles of subsidiarity, proportionality, necessity and conferral as described in Article 5 of the TEU, there should be agreement upon such measures' EU-wide application, for such a crucial security issue as is that of terrorism and violent extremism to be tackled.

As long as Member States agree on the cooperation with the EU on a legal level into preventing violent extremism and terrorism through more concrete and binding education policies, what remains to be solved is the non-specific nature of the measures taken so far. The next chapter will discuss some suggestions for the different education levels, taking as a given that the legal constraints between the EU and the Member States become resolved.

¹⁵ EU-Member States shared competence in the area of freedom, security and justice Article 4, Paragraph 2(j) TFEU

ADDITIONAL AGE-SPECIFIC EU EDUCATION REFORMS TO BE CONSIDERED

Like Federica Mogherini, EU High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission, said during her Europe Day message via social media, the EU is currently facing “an existential crisis” that does not have its roots in terrorism, radicalisation, migration or any issue of the kind that we are currently facing. This threat that we are facing, she argues, is coming “from within our own borders...and our Union is at risk when we discriminate...because then our identity is based on diversity”. She continues to argue that what the EU needs right now is to be preserved, but also to be reformed, because it is time to “change our Union to save our Union” (EEAS, 2016). In this precise direction, Albert Einstein is remembered to have made a metaphor of our time, presenting a paradox in a discussion with Werner Heisenberg. He argued that in the Western world “we’ve built a beautiful ship, and in it, it has all the comforts. But actually the one thing that it doesn’t have is a compass and that is why it does not know where it’s going” (Einstein quoted in Holton, 2005). If we stop for a moment to think about those words, people have built this environment to sustain their lives. However, somewhere along the way we lost the connection to the essential values and virtues in humans. Nowadays, even education is focusing more on the acquisition of technical training and equipping young people with technical skills, and less on cultivating the wholeness of the young human entity. The latter is what through understanding and respect of the fundamental rights and values could help to stick to humanistic behaviours, spread them and imprint them in the young minds, and eventually ‘install’ that missing compass that Einstein was talking about. Nothing is more essential than life itself – and not just the human one – and all the technical knowledge and focus mentioned above should come complementarily to facilitating and supporting the course of its preservation. And this is precisely where this gap in the European education reforming policies can be found. Education should be reinforcing what was in the ancient times identified as ‘paideia’, defined by Isocrates as the goal to construct a practice of education and politics that gave validity in the democratic deliberative practice while remaining intellectually respectable (Wilms, 1995). This type of learning has remained in the side lines compared to the more technical and practical skills and knowledge provided in schools. If young people receive more of this type of schooling – in balance with the technical knowledge -, which strengthens the human and European values, they can keep an equilibrium on the struggles bothering them on the ‘inside’, and therefore apply it on

the outside ones in the modern world as well. They could be able to find ways of reacting to those challenges of young and teenage life that they face, without resorting to reactions that nullify the human entity and do not value the human life of themselves and/or the others. The young Europeans, as the rest of the young people worldwide, are fascinated by the aesthetics of violence, which we know through the media, film industry, everyday life and video. This violent and risk-generating behaviour of young people, and especially the fascination of the feeling of power through violence, murder and even suicide when feeling powerless towards the injustices of today's society, have grown significantly (Roy, 2008). For this precise reason they need this *reverse inner reinforcement* to counter such stimuli, instead of embracing them as a resolution option.

The worst opponents to terrorists are not those on the 'other side', opposing themselves to them through counter-violence and equally violent reactions to their actions, but those young individuals also faced with myriads of problematics, who instead choose non-violent reaction ways and struggle towards their goals and defend their beliefs through different courses of action. Inside these young Europeans rages a divided self, having on the one hand a disappointed, failed or hurt self, due to school, social situation, employment or the lack of it, interpersonal relations, as well as an angry side due to the same conditions which, by them being unable to control and manage it due to lack of the necessary critical thinking skills, is materialised via violent and terrorist actions.

How can formal EU-wide education thus be further altered to achieve this *reverse* to violent stimuli *inner reinforcement*? In order to overcome the technical impediments related to the implementation and binding status of such reforms, the following suggestions are proposed based on an age-specific categorisation of primary, secondary and tertiary education. Taking as a given the compulsory character of education, the latter also takes up the role of reinforcement of the self, and completion of the gaps possibly stemming from the social and family environment.

i. Primary education

- In primary education, with an education policy containing an intercultural orientation for amplification of conflicts, and respect to the otherness and the diversity (national, cultural, etc.), the respective actions supporting the above, should have binding, compulsory and broad (times wise) character.

- Targeted activities, provision of stimuli, involvement of all children, in a process of education, art and civilisation towards the understanding of the virtues of life, the respect towards 'the other' and the peaceful coexistence but also sense of team spirit, interaction and cooperation.
- Via curricula such as for instance the theatre, where in an experiential way one acquires knowledge and abilities related to behavioural problems, violence, criminality, etc., the mediation of the school from the very young ages of primary education, could contribute positively with the compulsory character of such courses.
- The phenomenon of terrorism is triggered by a variety of factors as argued in earlier chapters. To counter this phenomenon, education can offer inner pillars of self-preservation and protection and can strengthen creative and not destructive methods of questioning, opposing or resisting, by placing emphasis on humanitarian educative sectors (European and world history, language(s) as a primary means of communication, that reflects the human mind), modern curricula which combine the knowledge of the life of different civilisations stressing the values of isonomy, democracy, respect, acceptance, tolerance with exploratory and critical eye.
- Increased attention of the educators to the character and personality of each and every student, for the safeguarding of conditions allowing and securing the latter's emotional stability, strengthening their understanding of the self, facilitating their critical dialectic ability; all conditions allowing the development of their personality.
- Presence and cooperation of institutions, aside from the educator, in dealing with the psychological health of the child in a stable and consistent framework of cooperation and not in the inconsistent and selective manner that it is offered.
- Permanent and compulsory basis of projects and initiatives regarding Human Rights education of the EU institutions and agencies such as Compass (2012), Composito (2009 – first published in 2002), World Programme for Human Rights Education (Phase 1, 2005-2009, Phase 2, 2010-2014). It is not enough to rely merely on the teaching of such matters during Human Rights Day or diversity day for instance. Such programmes and others, composed by EU institutions after the cooperation and agreement of the ministers of education of all EU Member States, should be promoted for permanent materialisation within the countries, realising the urgency of the teaching of such topics nowadays.

ii. Secondary education

Before listing a series of measures for secondary education, it should be mentioned that the primary education field is more extensive, considering the fact that a certain number of those measures should be applicable and receive updates and developments of a different level based on the new young teenager target group of students, throughout the duration of secondary education as well (e.g. Human Rights teachings).

- Increase emphasis on humanities curricula– even in scientific track specialisations. Orientation of school curricula in subjects such as History (including European Integration History and not only national of each Member State), Socio-political Education, Ethics (e.g. Ethics Theory¹⁶).
- Exchange between schools’ good practices and student experiences of violence, exclusion and dogmatism. → The eTwinning programme is already in place and is a great initiative of the European Commission in the field of exchange of practices, however, it is a voluntary programme and it is either implemented or not, depending upon the will of each educator to apply it or not.
- Mentors’ Participation in school every-day work, raising the awareness of students on humanitarian values through project programmes. → The speech-like and Q&A sessions with experts and entrepreneurs could be strengthened by engaging those ‘mentors’ in longer project procedures involving and engaging students in the community and society in a longer-term and follow-up basis, instead of one-time meetings.
- Use of Internet and communication technologies in the direction of intercultural and interreligious dialogue. Systematic use of the theoretical lessons within the other curricula.
- Compulsory activities of experiential learning and role-playing of human rights. (e.g. through Art class, Theatre – see Primary Education suggestions-, Ethics class, Music class – projects such as Music Uniting the World- etc.). Through such activities, terminology such as refugee, immigration, asylum, freedoms, HR and other should be touched upon to ensure understanding and ‘friction’ with such global issues, which in combination with the critical thinking could lead to the desired results.

¹⁶ An example is that of the twelve moral virtues described by Aristotle in Nicomachean Ethics Book VI

- Schools cooperation with global humanitarian organisations, and optimal use of their resources and material (e.g. provided by UNHCR, Unicef and other). Once again this material is existent and available to use, however upon will, instead of it containing main compulsory content to be taught and used accordingly within the courses.

iii. Tertiary Education

Due to the fact that tertiary education does not fall within the category of formal compulsory education in any EU Member State - but nonetheless, a large crowd of young people nowadays is choosing university education – it is important to introduce courses on humanitarian issues, offered on a mandatory basis in all scientific and other academic fields at this level. The age at which someone usually enters higher level education is an age of growth and stabilisation of personality, exchange of views and contact with many different perspectives. The opportunity through such curricula to achieve ‘sculpting’ of ideas, and guiding them towards a positive life centric perception, could add one more positive point to the general education orientation to be received from a younger age as explained above.

As mentioned in the beginning, tertiary level education does not fall within the jurisdiction – in many cases – of either the EU or its Member States. Many tertiary education institutions are not even state funded and therefore have almost absolute independence in the shaping of their curricula, and as such there cannot be any binding decision concerning them. However, following the security-related incidents and phenomena of our times, the need for adaptation of the institutions of higher education to the new requirements to serve a universal purpose of safety and security, is deemed necessary, and therefore it would be probably be of use t include such curricula in the requirements of the existence of each tertiary education programme.

CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of terrorism in the last decades has targeted the EU Member states not just individually as was the case in the past within the context of each country's socio-political and historical circumstances, but also collectively, targeting the EU as an entity, and a "symbol" (TESAT, 2007, p. 36). It has been argued by several counter-terrorism experts that current methods and legislations are not effective and new or improved approaches are necessary (Silke, 2006). Detection and repression approaches against terrorism need to be complemented by effective long-term preventative ones. In order for this to happen the focus needs to be on the young generations and their education, experiences they are exposed to, upbringing environment, etc.

The younger generations seem to be experiencing an overload of information thanks to technological developments, which is not accompanied by the necessary guidance and background to be able to evaluate, process it, and think critically. It is challenging to adapt to this new globalised fast-pacing world without the inner balance of the self of the young people to be challenged. Whatever 'gaps' and questions – family, societal, belief-related, ideological - each of the young Europeans is facing in their lives, a formal EU education should provide the means and the ability to fill them, either via personal individual struggle or with the guidance and assistance, direct and/or indirect, of the teachers of each level of education. This type of education needs to be not only based on the same values and common EU guidelines, but needs to be so as well in practice in its application, through more specific and binding measures. Throughout this process, however, it is important to be vigilant about the balance between the strengthening of civil security, without prejudice to respect for human rights and values that govern the cultural identity of Europe. The application of intercultural education, through targeted steps per education level, aims to establish a society of interaction and interdependence, reciprocity and equality. It aims at establishing a spirit of non-violence and social acceptance of the different states, religions, civilisations, ethnicities and their respective values, in accordance with the Charter of Human Rights.

There is not enough consciousness and awareness of who "the Other" is, and what consequences and effects each of our decisions has upon the others. For this reason, through education, we need to address the fact that people in the 21st century have more degrees and technical and

academic qualifications than any other generation before us, but young individuals seem to have lost the sense in doing things in a ‘humanistic’ way. There is more knowledge being passed on but people seem to lack the judgement to make the right choices towards a better humanity. In order to return to a balanced society, we need specific and targeted steps with common EU-wide application that combine the old knowledge with the new and achieve this *reverse inner reinforcement*. We need to research modern alternative teachings, means and methodologies, based on classic theories and philosophies teaching important values and giving the necessary tools to the young generations to face modern society without getting ‘lost’. This does not necessarily prescribe that no one will resort to violent extremism or terrorism due to various reasons that the EU cannot intervene to prevent, but they will at least have learned about those values and the importance of life and human rights, and resorting to terrorism. If they still do resort to terrorism and violent extremism, it will have been a choice, for reasons that policy-makers and experts might not be able to intervene in.

To conclude, in this age of globalisation, nations, states and cultures show strong interaction amongst them. The EU, based on the principles of human rights, the rule of law and democracy is in itself a tool for peace, international cooperation, and the political culture of freedom, tolerance and openness towards the world. In order to achieve the above explained type of education, the EU Member States, need to reject the idea of ‘culture’ as an unchanged entity taught through the education system of each EU Member State individually (European Parliament, 2014). Globalisation and the increasing interaction between people with different religious and cultural backgrounds in the modern world, can lead to the development and strengthening of an EU core of common values without the loss of the national or regional cultural roots. This core can only be based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights as a fundamental and primary part of education of every EU Member State.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1.

Cover page painting: Edvard, Munch, (1893). The Scream - Der Schrei der Natur. Oil, tempera and pastel on cardboard. Perhaps the most recognizable version of the painting, located at the National Gallery in Oslo, Norway.

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