



Terrorism and Radicalisation



European Network based prevention and learning program

A review of the literature on radicalisation; and what it means for TERRA

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1 Executive Summary

TERRA is funded by the European Commission Directorate General of Home Affairs, and undertaken by Impact (the Netherlands), the Network of Associations of Aid to Victims of Terrorism (NAVT) and the Association of Aid to Victims of March 11 (Spain). It aims to support prevention and de-radicalisation through producing tools which can be used by professionals, such as for example police workers, teachers, or religious leaders, whose work brings them into contact with vulnerable groups or individuals.

The literature review, an initial phase in the TERRA research, is described in this report. After a brief introduction of TERRA, its goals and aims, the methodology section describes how Impact researchers developed search terms and carried out a literature search. Terms relating to radicalisation and terrorism are defined according to current literature.

Various authors have attempted to formulate a model to express the process of radicalisation, and these models are explored. The decision of TERRA researchers to used Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism model as the basis for its research is discussed.

Finally, some initial recommendations for TERRA's follow up research, and for its target groups are derived from the literature. These are:

For TERRA: Recommendations should be broad, bearing in mind that some ethnic, political and religious groups are more vulnerable to radicalisation than others, but by no means singling these groups out explicitly.

Our approach should be youth orientated, placing educators in a central role, and making use of youth-friendly media.

While the gender bias is more difficult to include in terms of which media to use, or which key figures are more relevant, it should be born in mind when creating recommendations.

For teachers and youth workers: Teachers, as being in daily contact with members of the group TERRA ultimately seeks to reach, are in a unique position to implement prevention activities.

The teachers of some subjects are especially relevant to prevention activities, as their subjects are most closely bound to issues surrounding personal, religious, political or ethnic identity. These subjects are history, religion, mother tongue and foreign languages, and other subjects dealing with issues such as citizenship.

Teaching of history should focus upon building a foundation for the future which all ethnic and religious groups feel able to invest in and which allow pupils a sense of their place as an individual in history.

Teaching of religion should focus on awareness of comparative religions, and promoting a positive religious identity.

All teachers can usefully be provided with tools which help them to recognise the signs that a pupil is engaged in a radicalisation process (derived from the assertion of De Wolf and Doosje that each stage of this process is visible in the behaviour of the individual.)

The use of narrative is important and impactful in the recruitment process. A vital skill which a toolkit for teachers should include is the teaching of the analysis of narratives for accuracy and bias. Students should be able to question extreme narratives, could helpfully be exposed to alternative narratives, with an emphasis on critical thinking.

For religious leaders: They can observe the climate within the place of worship, and any activity which they feel may be undertaken by radicals.

As a vital point of contact for young people seeking religious identity, they can emphasise love, brotherhood and compassion to ensure that this identity is a positive one.

For journalists: This group should avoid a rhetoric in which a sense of "us and them" is underlined.

Promote a positive identity for ethnic and religious minority groups, including providing positive examples of cooperation between minority and majority groups, and of minority contributions to majority society.

Avoid negative reporting on specific ethnic and religious groups.

Avoid "feeding" the thrill seeking tendency of young men at risk of radicalisation by reporting on aspects of terrorist activity which might be construed as exciting and adventurous.

Be aware of the importance of reporting on discrimination.

For policy makers: This group is uniquely placed to promote prevention or de-radicalisation measures undertaken by the other key figure groups.

Offer personal (though not political) concessions to radicals, allowing them to disengage from the group without fear for their personal safety.

Recognise that ex radicals can play a key role in community building programmes in the aftermath of violence.

2 Introduction

The TERRA project is run by Impact, the Dutch national knowledge and advice centre for psychosocial care concerning critical incidents, and the Network of Associations of Victims of Terrorism (NAVT) and the Association of Aid to Victims of March 11 (AVM11), Spain. In 2012, Impact and AVM11 were awarded a grant from the European Commission Directorate General of Home Affairs for the project "Terrorism and Radicalisation: European networkbased prevention and learning program - TERRA".

"Terrorism constitutes one of the most serious violations of the universal values of human dignity, liberty, equality and solidarity, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms on which the European Union is founded." With these words, the European Union describes the terrorist threat it faces, a war against an invisible enemy, waged upon civilians by fellow civilians, which has claimed thousands of victims in Europe.

Even during the initial phases of the research phase certain trends appear to emerge. In broad terms, it appears that Europe faces three generalised threats: that from animal rights activists, which tends to target industrial property or individuals working directly with animals in a way which is perceived to be unjust, right wing extremism, and the more widespread threat from Al Quaeda, affiliates of this group, or other Islamic militant groups, who target the Western population as a whole. These overarching threats do not emerge from the literature as fixed entities, threatening all of Europe with the same intensity, but rather as fluid groups which intensify their threat in a particular area for a particular timeframe, and then in another elsewhere.

Alongside these more generalised threats, some European regions have been troubled by localised radical groups. Cyprus, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom are all or have all been targeted by Separatist or Unionist groups, while Greece and Italy have experienced smaller scale anarchist attacks. Right wing parties who focus largely on anti-immigration policies are active in Estonia, France, Germany, Norway, Latvia and Lithuania while some extreme Communist groups are still active in Italy and Spain.

We might therefore picture terrorism within Europe as being comprised of larger scale, more or less common threats, and some localised, smaller scale ones – which nonetheless can have devastating effects.

2.1 The TERRA project

The TERRA research is designed to provide information about social psychological factors which play a role in the radicalisation process. This knowledge can be used to positively impact upon supporting prevention and the de-radicalisation process, through people who come into daily professional contact with vulnerable individuals and groups. Teachers, religious leaders, journalists, law enforcers, social workers and policy makers are target groups for TERRA's work as the key figures who will implement the knowledge gained through the project. TERRA also gives the role of victims and de-radicalised individuals a

¹ From COUNCIL FRAMEWORK DECISION 2008/919/JHA of 28 November 2008 amending Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA on combating terrorism

primary place in its model. It provides a unique opportunity to involve their narratives in the creation of new prevention and de-radicalisation materials.

TERRA takes a European approach to addressing terrorism from the point of view of prevention and de-radicalisation. It carries out research through a literature review, and through this identifies its target groups and the key figures which can play a role influencing this group in a positive way. During a scientific research phase, interviews with these key figures will be conducted, so as to assess their needs, and to gather their expertise in this field. Using the voices of victims of terrorism, and those of former radicals, and combining these with the knowledge and expertise which we have gathered in the research phase, TERRA will create tools which are designed to support key figures in their daily professional contact with TERRA's target groups. Further, the project will utilise and support networks of victims of terrorism in their awareness raising and prevention work, and bring other networks into contact with one another so that they can complement one another's expertise.

3 Methodology

TERRA brings together a unique group of experts on terrorism, including those who have been directly affected by acts of terrorism, and those who have perpetrated them. Its target groups are professionals whose work brings them into contact with groups or individuals who might be vulnerable to radicalisation. These professionals may be teachers, law enforcers, religious or community leaders, prison personnel, social workers, or policy makers. This target group has been identified through a study of the literature on this subject, which will be described in full below.

TERRA will produce a series of tools which will support this target group in its work. In order to fulfil the objectives of the TERRA project, the research which underpins it has been designed to take place in a number of phases. The first of these is a literature review, intended to gather current state of the art knowledge on radicalisation and terrorism as phenomena, and to focus the attention of our research on practical initiatives and needs which we can try to address. The literature review will be followed by a qualitative research project, based upon the results of the review and conducted amongst the key groups mentioned above.

3.1 Literature Search

An immense body of literature exists around terrorism and radicalisation. The search which we undertook was designed to filter this body of literature according to its direct relevance to TERRA. In order to provide the basis of a research structure, our literature review was designed to answer specific questions central to the TERRA project. These are:

- What are the crucial factors in the process of radicalisation which a prevention or deradicalisation program might hope to tackle?
- Are there specific social or demographic groups which are particularly vulnerable to radicalisation?
- Who are TERRA's key figures which professional figures play a key role in influencing a radicalising individual?
- Are there clear lessons to be learned from the literature surrounding these key figures which can influence our choices in the research process, or inform us in writing tools?
- Are there lessons learnt from previous de-radicalisation programs which might influence and inform the design of TERRA research and/or tools?

Europe has a long history of being troubled by terrorism, which had already given rise to a dedicated literature even before the September 11 attacks in 2001, which precipitated a new literature largely dedicated to Islamic extremism. In order to gather the wealth of modern knowledge on the subject, a comprehensive search of this literature was conducted. Christmann² provides a valuable list of search terms, and the current authors used this as a

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² 2012, p.74

basis for formulating the table given in Appendix 1. Christmann's research focusses upon Islamic terrorism and radicalisation in the UK; in order to reflect the broader scope of TERRA, terms covering other forms of terrorism were also included. These terms were clustered and then mutually combined, and then further combined with other terms which related to either religious or political terrorism, for example, right or left wing, separatist or unionist, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, and were derived from an internet review of current forms of European terrorism. Appendix 1 gives a list of primary and secondary search terms, and a diagram visualising the search strategy used.

In order to refine the search in time frame, we included articles published since 1990. This allowed us to ensure that literature preceding the upsurge of Islamic radicalisation in the US and in Europe could also be included.

Further, while TERRA's focus is on terrorism and radicalisation within Europe, relevant literature ensued following the September 11th attacks which focussed upon terrorist activity against America. Where these works were found to be particularly relevant, they were also included. Please refer to Appendix 1 for a full list of primary and secondary search terms.

The search rendered 48 total hits, whose abstracts were then screened for relevance and which were then read in full by Impact researchers. Our search followed a snowball method, in which references gleaned from articles found in the initial search were also read and, where found to be especially relevant, included.

4 Literature Review

4.1 A Definition of Terms

The difficulty of defining the term "terrorism" is widely remarked upon in the literature on the subject, to the point that some authors conclude that it is "unlikely that any definition will ever be generally agreed upon." This difficulty appears to originate in the scope of activities which are considered to be terrorist actions, the purpose for which these activities are carried out, and the vocabulary which surrounds them: "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter."

TERRA's focus is a broad, European one. Both common European threats and smaller national groups will be included in our definition of terror organisations. For the purpose of this study, we emulate Neumann and Rogers⁵ who follow the United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Changes, defining terrorism as: 'any action... that is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such act, by its nature and context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.' This definition forms a condensed version of the much more detailed European Union version, amended in 2008.

In order to metamorphose from an ordinary citizen into a fully fledged terrorist, the individual must progress through psychological and practical process. This process is described throughout the literature as radicalisation, and described thus by McCauley and Moskelenko: "Functionally, political radicalization is increased preparation for and commitment to intergroup conflict. Descriptively, radicalization means change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviors in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defense of the ingroup." Christmann membasises the shift which radicalisation represents: ":...radicalisation is best viewed as a process of change, a personal and political transformation from one condition to another." Consequently, de- radicalisation is considered by TERRA to be the disengagement from this process – a positive movement away from the support of intergroup violence.

³ Shafritz *et al* 1991 p. 260 and Silke (2008) p 99 -124.

⁴ Moghaddam (2005) p. 161

⁵ 2007 p7

⁶ United Nations document A/59/565 (2004).

⁷ http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CONSLEG:2002F0475:20081209:EN:PDF

⁸ http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:330:0021:0023:EN:PDF

⁹ Although Schmid (2013 p.7) points out that the term "radical" need not lead to violence, and has, in the past, been used to express political ideas which were held by the few and are now held by the many – women's right to vote, for example.

¹⁰ McCauley and Moskalenko 2008 p416

¹¹ 2012

¹² P10

¹³ Horgan and Braddock (2010) however, warn against an over specific definition of de-radicalisation, pointing out that "No...program has formally identified valid and reliable indicators of successful de-radicalisation or even disengagement, whether couched in cultural, psychological, or other terms." P268

While de-radicalising might be visualised as a step down the staircase of terrorism, prevention can usefully be seen otherwise. Moghaddam argues that terrorism arises, essentially, when one ethnic, religious, political or even professional group feels that they suffer from deprivation when compared to other groups. Prevention, then represents a broad approach, in which tolerance and equality are promoted within society at large, so as to avoid misunderstanding, distrust, inequality and discrimination between ethnic groups.¹⁴

4.2 The psychological models of the radicalisation process

In recent years a wealth of literature has emerged to answer the fundamental question with which most researchers working on this topic seem to wrestle: why would a civilian turn to violence in a bid to achieve his/her¹⁵ political or cultural aims? To address this question, various theories on what triggers an individual¹⁶ to become radicalised, what factors lead him or her along the path of increasing commitment to the cause, and what finally prompts him to carry out an act of violence. The theoretical papers on this subject which our literature search yielded most focussed on Islamic terrorism, but often named factors which seem applicable to other forms of radicalisation as well.

At first glance, these papers appear to be very similar in the process which they describe. Ostensibly, all document the process through which an ordinary member of the public forms a certain set of beliefs, seeks a group which seems to appropriately reflect them, and ultimately, carries out an act of violence against civilians in the belief that this act will somehow further the aims of this group. These theories vary drastically in scope, and a closer examination illustrates that they do not tend to contradict one another, but instead to complement one another, some highlighting in greater detail one stage in the process than another.

The preference of TERRA's researchers for Moghaddam's Staircase model will be considered in full below, but can in part be explained by the fact that his theory documents the progress of an individual through this process in a way which is highly relevant to a research program which (as TERRA does) seeks to look at radicalisation in terms of prevention and deradicalisation. Its focus is individual at a psychological level, and it tracks the radicalising individual with the same degree of attention throughout his process; from ordinary civilian all the way through to fully operational terrorist. This is not necessarily true of other models, some of which describe this process only in part, some of which focus instead on the most appropriate response to radicalisation, and some of which provide a non-chronological view of radicalisation, or set it in a broad social context. While none of these approaches are in any way irrelevant, their scope renders them less appropriate for direct use by TERRA. Where aspects of their focus are found to be useful, they will be included as an augmentation of Moghaddam's model.

¹⁴ Staub 2007 provides a detailed description of what prevention activities might include, and what they might hope to achieve in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

¹⁵ For reasons which will be given below, the radicalised individual will further be referred to as male.

¹⁶ Schmid (2013) makes an extremely valuable point on trends in radicalisation, noting that radicalisation can be observed not only on an individual level, but on a political one too, with ostensibly democratic countries resorting to practices such as torture and "rendition" which do not conform to international human rights standards. TERRA's scope focusses on the individual, but Schmid's point highlights an important viewpoint for future research.

Christmann¹⁷ provides an excellent overview of some of the leading theories, which we replicate in brief here.

The Prevent Pyramid¹⁸ in which a pyramid is divided into four tiers, the lowest representing all the members of a community, the second representing the most vulnerable of these, the third the moment in which some of the more vulnerable members are moving towards radicalisation and the fourth, in which some individuals are actively breaking the law. Each of these tiers is met with an appropriate response from civil society; respectively a universal approach, a targeted approach, an interventionist approach, and an enforcement approach. In this model, the emphasis is laid mostly upon the appropriate response from the context towards an individual who is radicalising. The actual process of radicalisation itself is not detailed in psychological terms, but forms the gradient up which an individual would progress in order to reach the top tier. The Prevent Pyramid, though a valuable visualisation of a response to radicalisation, does not lay a specific emphasis on the psychological factors which TERRA hopes to explore. It should not be seen as providing a challenge to Moghaddam's Staircase, but rather as reflecting it in response terms.

The New York Police Department's four stage radicalisation process¹⁹; The individual (described in step one as "pre-radicalised"), moves through a process of "self identification," "indoctrination," and finally "Jihadisation". The authors identify a series of factors which can initiate or hasten this process, including experiencing discrimination, economic hardship, and changes in a personal situation, such as the death of a member of the family. The authors do not explain which group of people they are considering as being their base line – "pre radicalised," nor what the motivating factors might be for their choice for radicalisation.

Sageman's four stage process: ²⁰ Sageman's work, informed by many years of research and acting as advisor to the US government, forms an impressive body of evidence. He focusses upon Islamic militancy at international level. The process which he describes is composed of four steps, in which a member of a broader public experiences a sense of moral outrage as a direct result of perceived violations of a sense of what is right, for example the killing of Muslims in Bosnia. In the second step, this sense of moral outrage is then translated into an interpretation of events in which these incidents are no longer seen as isolated, but as part of a more generalised war on Islam. In the third step, this perception is echoed in the individual's daily life; that is, discrimination which the individual himself experiences or perceives appear to echo his perception of a generalised war on Islam. Finally, these feelings are translated into action, when the individual seeks out a network of like minded individuals. Interaction with them in fact forms his radicalisation process.

Sageman's model is a persuasive one. However, in terms of the focus of its attention, it appears to be somewhat asymmetrical, focussing a great deal of attention in stages 1,2 and 3 upon the factors motivating an individual to seek out a radical group, but letting him slip out

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¹⁷ 2012, pp 11-22

Audit Commission (2008) Preventing Violent Extremism: Learning and Development Exercise. Report to the Home Office and Communities and Local Government. (p12)

¹⁹ NYPD 2007 p21

²⁰ Sageman 2004, 2008

of sight as soon as he has formed a bond with a radical group. Sageman's model could helpfully be visualised as the movement between Moghaddam's ground, first and second floors. 21 His model expresses only the early stages of the radicalisation process, and does not follow the individual's progress from making an initial link with this group to committing an act of violence in its name. However, an attractive feature of Sageman's work is that it includes thrill and fame seeking behaviour as a factor influencing young men in their gravitation towards a radical group. This aspect (which is not reflected in Moghaddam's Staircase) provides some valuable insights for our discussion of the implications of the literature review for the key target groups of TERRA, with particular regard to journalists.²²

Taarnby's eight-stage recruitment process: 23 Taarnby's work draws upon Sageman's, though it extends the time frame of his model up to the time of the terrorist act itself. It includes the following steps:

- 1) Individual alienation and marginalisation
- 2) A spiritual quest
- 3) A process of radicalisation
- 4) Meeting and associating with likeminded people
- 5) Gradual seclusion and cell formation
- 6) Acceptance of violence as a legitimate political means
- 7) Connection with a "gatekeeper"
- 8) Terrorist act²⁴

Taarnby's model used the cell which carried out the 9/11 attacks as a case study, and while it follows the individual throughout his process of radicalisation appears to describe the specific case as opposed to proposing this as a generally applicable model.

Gill's pathway model: ²⁵ Gill's model is unique, in that it presupposes the progress of an individual from member of the public to terrorist, and proposes that various factors influence or trigger this progress. These factors do not, he argues, necessarily occur in chronological order, but comprise four main elements: a socialisation process through which an individual is exposed to propaganda, a catalyst event in the personal circumstances of the individual, some family or friendship ties with a radical group which assist recruitment, and an in group radicalisation, in which views become polarised. Gill's model provides useful insights into key moments in the radicalisation process, and a helpful reminder that it need not be seen as following a fixed and predetermined path.

Wiktorowicz's al-Muhaiiroun model²⁶ This research is based upon field work conducted with a radical Islamic group based in the UK, which supports the use of violence against Western interests in Muslim countries and the establishment of an Islamic state. The process

²⁶ Wiktorowicz (2004)

²¹ See below for an explanation of Moghaddam's theory.

²² See below for further discussion.

²³ Taarnby(2005)

²⁴ Christmann p14

²⁵ Gill (2007)

which they describe does not differ significant from others mentioned here, but lays more emphasis on the seeking for a religious identity, a subject which will be discussed more fully below in the section on the implications of this research for religious leaders.

McCauley and Moskalenko's 12 mechanisms model: ²⁷ McCauley and Moskalenko's impressive research by no means contradicts Moghaddam's model, but rather sets it into a broader context. They identify three domains in which radicalisation can take place: individual, group, and mass:

Figure 1: McCauley and Moskalenko's 12 mechanism model²⁸

Level of Radicalisation	Mechanism
Individual	Personal victimisation
	2. Political grievance
	3. Joining a radical group- the slippery slope
	4. Joining a radical group – the power of love
	5. Extremity shift in like-minded groups
Group	6. Extreme cohesion under isolation and threat
	7. Competition for the same base of support
	8. Competition with state power - condensation
	9. Within group competition - fissioning
Mass	10. Jiu-jitsu politics
	11. Hate
	12. Martyrdom

Within this model, most terms are self explanatory. We might add that on an individual level, joining a radical group – the slippery slope describes the process in which the individual experiences an increasing degree of commitment to and involvement with the group, joining a radical group - the power of love shows how an individual is recruited through family or friendship ties and extremity shift in likeminded groups refers to how contact with like minded group members lead to a polarisation of the views of group members as a result of the confirmation which they receive from one another. At a group level, the authors identify four mechanisms: extreme cohesion under isolation and threat, competition for the same base of support (in which groups display greater radicalisation or, in some cases, violence, in an attempt to win support from a limited base) competition with state power (in which an exchange of actions, sometimes in increasing violence, might be a reaction to state intervention against the group) and within – group competition in which factions of the group become more polarised in comparison with other factions of the same group, potentially leading to a greater degree of radicalisation. At the most macro level, their model includes a mass level, in which the authors identify three possible mechanisms: Jiu-jitsu politics (in which a population can solidify in support for a leader or movement as a result of external threat, hate (in which an "out group" is portrayed as so remote they become dehumanised in the eyes of the whole population, thereby justifying acts of extreme violence, and martyrdom,

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²⁷ McCauley and Moskelenko (2008)

²⁸ McCauley and Moskalenko (2008) p418

where the memory of those who have died for the mass cause is revered and appears to personify the cause itself.

If we integrate Moghaddam's Staircase model with that of McCauley and Moskalenko, it is evident that the Staircase occurs in the individual domain, but is influenced by the group and mass domains. McCauley and Moskalenko's model does not contradict the Staircase, but places it in a broader social context.

While these models all illustrate a comparable process through which a civilian person connects with a radical group, becomes increasingly involved with it, and ultimately carries out a violent act in order to further goals of his group, they place varying degrees of emphasis upon the psychosocial factors involved in this transition, which, in order to address the issue of prevention, TERRA focusses upon.

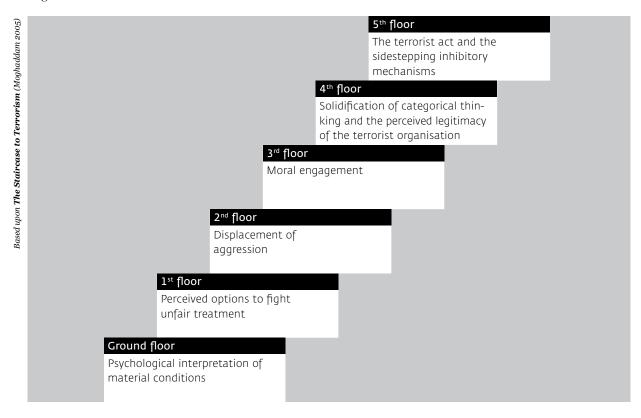
All of the models described here make a valuable contribution to the theoretical discussion on radicalisation; how it can best be envisaged and approached. The focus of TERRA's research, however, requires that we take a viewpoint which is both very focussed - on the psychological factors influencing an individual in the radicalisation process – and very broad, in that it should be applicable to all the forms of radicalisation which our internet search identified as posing a threat to European society at the current time. For these reasons, and because of the clarity of its description, and emphasis upon the psychosocial aspects of this process, we have chosen to adopt Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism²⁹ as the basis of TERRA's research.

Moghaddam's Staircase to Terrorism describes a process through which an individual progresses up five conceptual "stairs" on a staircase, beginning on the ground floor and ending on a fifth stair – the terrorist act itself.

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²⁹ Moghaddam 2005

Figure 2: The Staircase to Terrorism



As we have already noted, Moghaddam's emphasis is on the psychological aspects of this process. He describes the ground floor, then, as being composed of the general perception of a population of their material conditions. Crucial to this perception are the elements of fairness and just treatment. Moghaddam uses the phrase of "perceived deprivation" to express the psychological phenomenon by which an individual feel that he, and his fellow members of an ethnic, religious, political or even professional group do not have the same advantages as those from other groups. This perception can guide an individual's behaviour, leading him up the staircase. The sense that he is unable to influence this situation through legitimate means can lead him to progress to the first floor, which Moghaddam entitles "perceived options to fight unfair treatment." On this stair, an individual's progress up the staircase can be halted by having access to legitimate means through which to address the perceived unfairness. These legitimate means may be, for example, legal proceedings, or the opportunity to participate in democratic processes which can positively influence the situation of his group. If these options are not available to him, however, his sense of injustice may be crystalised yet further, leading him to the next floor: "displacement of aggression."

The key point is that it is psychological perceptions that guide behaviour. Consequently, there might in practice be available certain legitimate paths for social mobility and society might be fair in many respects, but certain sub-culture norms could guide individuals to perceive society as closed and unjust. In this respect, Moghaddam's model places the highest emphasis

on 'soft power' and the struggle to influence normative systems, including in the sphere of electronic communications.

On the second floor, some individuals feel that 'injustices' which they experience cannot be redressed through legitimate means, and these perceptions form the basis for a new morality. This involves laying the blame for the unjust situation at the feet of the group perceived to be in a better position, and accepting that terrorism is morally acceptable. Thus, 'the ends justify the means' thinking develops.

On the third floor, "moral engagement", this parallel morality becomes more developed within the individual, leading him to believe that an ideal society is achievable, and that any means are justified to achieve it. It is on this floor that commitment to a terrorist organisation and/or cause takes place.

In some instances, those who become morally dis-engaged from mainstream society and morally engaged with 'terrorism is justified' type thinking are 'lone wolves', or they work with only one or two others rather than having actual operational links to extensive terrorist networks. These 'lone wolf' or 'self-generated' terrorists are often highly influenced by Jihadi websites and information gained from Jihadi magazines, which include detailed information about bomb-making.

Moghaddam posits that once an individual has progressed to the fourth floor, "solidification of categorical thinking and perceived legitimacy of the terrorist organisation," there is little chance that he will exit alive. ³¹ At this point, the terrorist organisation along with its parallel morality, have become central to his daily life. He now functions as a member of a terrorist cell, from which he receives a great deal of positive attention, both from a recruiter and from a cell leader. In the case of lone-wolf, 'self-generated' terrorist individuals and small groups, the reinforcement of behaviour is often through the internet and Jihadi websites. This reinforcement is also sustained through a 'parallel universe' that is created by the terrorist individual, a universe that is completely secretive and sees mainstream society as evil and a justifiable target for terrorist attacks.

The fifth and last floor is entitled "the terrorist act and sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms." At this stage, the individual, now a fully fledged terrorist either as a lone wolf of a terrorist cell member, categorises civilians firmly as "them" in the "us and them" formulation, and justifies violence against them in this way. The terrorist act is carried out through sidestepping mechanisms which usually prevent civilians from harming one another (such as pity), through the suddenness of the terrorist act and the belief that the act is perpetrated against an enemy population.

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³⁰ Jessica Stern (2004) argues that the terrorist comes to see himself as perfectly morally "good." pxxviii

³¹ Moghaddam 2005 p5.

Critics of Moghaddam's theory are few and far between, with one example from Lygre et al.³² These author's literature review sought to find evidence to support Moghaddam's theory in studies on terrorism. They concluded that while the phenomena described on each floor were broadly supported by empirical evidence, 33 movement from one floor to the next was less clearly visible in empirical research.³⁴

Lygre et al's research confirms that Moghaddam's theory is a sound one. Support for his "floors" is strong, and their argument that transition from one floor to the next is not supported by empirical evidence does not form any obstacle to the use of his work as a basis for TERRA's research, as what fails to show clearly in the empirical research - that an individual moves up these floors - is amply demonstrated in the worldwide news on a regular basis - that people who were once civilians mobilise up the staircase to carry out terrorist attacks.

A further element which supports the use of Moghaddam's staircase model is the fact that it forms the basis of extensive research carried out by Doosje and De Wolf in the Netherlands. Their research deals with Islamic extremism in the Netherlands, and convincingly uses Moghaddam's Staircase model as the foundation for a yet further developed model.

De Wolf and Doosje³⁵ envisage the process of radicalisation as described by Moghaddam as being, as it were, one axis of a graph, with the other axis representing the factor "time." They have studied which social psychological factors are important, and when, in the Staircase model. Furthermore, they present what indications of radicalisation are noticeable at each stage, and implications of their findings for de-radicalisation. On the basis of their research, they also identify key-figures who can play a role in intervention on each level of the radicalisation process. For their analysis they have made use of literature studies and interviews with people who are involved in counter terrorism in the Netherlands.

Figure 3: Matrix of de Wolf and Doosje

	Social psychological factors		Signals		Implications deradicalisation programs		Ke	y figures
Ground floor	•	Frustration because of relative deprivation and discrimination	•	Is potentially open to explaining ideology	•	Reduced feelings of deprivation Stimulate social creativity	•	Municipality, government, schools, media Municipality, government,
	•	Uncertainty	•	Searching for positive social identity	•	Create contact with		mosque

³² 2011

³³ P612

³⁵ 2010

	Openness to close others	Influenced by others	people who can provide positive influence	 Municipality, government, schools
First floor	Hope for improvement versus frustration in case of failure	 Loosing faith in justice of 'the system' Loosing belief in effectiveness old groups 	 Take away feelings of a 'glass ceiling' Stimulate the effectiveness of the own group 	Municipality, government, schools, media
Second floor	 Search face-to-face and via internet 'Commitment' to the group 	Exploration of radical ideology	 Present other groups with clear ideology 	Municipality, mosque
Third floor	Uncertainty about status within the group Stronger belief in the group through: Reciprocity principle Cognitive dissonance Justify efforts Depersonalisation Polarisation Learning through role models Foot-in-the-door principle Use of power	Isolate himself from former environment Dress and behave like prototypical members of the group Rebelling against other groups particularly those very similar to the own group Adopt another name	 Prevention of isolation Point out costs of group membership Present alternative groups Provide information on the power of the group over the individual Signalling and pass on of signals 	 Significant others and acquaintances Schools Municipality, government, mosque, clubs, employ Schools Significant others and
Fourth	More commitment to the group through: • Fusion of personal and social identity • Increase of power of the group • Change in self image because of functional role	Members become less noticeable as a result of their increasing participation in a shadow world Prepare an attack Members start dressing and behaving in a more western fashion again Express hate against 'unbelievers' Teach new members the 'true doctrine' Produce legacy Re-socialise by instilling fear	 Signalling and pass on signals Take care that 'detectors' know where they can go to Questioning violence as a means 	acquaintances Teachers, community workers, youth workers, youth care institutions, police officers, guards, neighbours, parents and close others Infiltrators
Fifth floor	Commit to an attackAvoid inhibitory mechanisms through:	Make a (video) testament Withdraw all money	Signalling and pass on signalsPoint out irrational	InfiltratorsInfiltrators

 Moral exclusion by dehumanisation Apocalyptic thinking Belief in a just world Decrease of own responsibility by 	from the bank Expression of moral exclusion of other groups	character of used justifications Openly acclaim doubters	Infiltrators
compliant state			

We propose using this matrix as a foundation on which to base TERRA's research. Building upon Moghaddam's already substantial contribution to our understanding of the radicalisation process, De Wolf and Doosje's work provides a solid theoretical framework which we would like to broaden out, so that it is applicable at a European level, and includes all forms of radicalisation and terrorism.

5 Findings; The implications of the literature review for TERRA's target groups

TERRA's focus is, above all, practical. Its ultimate objective is to translate the knowledge contained in research, and writing on the subject, along with that held by former radicals, people who have been affected by terrorism and experts in the field, into format in which it will be applicable and usable to the target group of TERRA; professional people whose work brings them into daily contact with potentially vulnerable individuals and groups.

As we have already seen, De Wolf and Doosje's research³⁶ is extremely helpful in identifying who these key figures are. Based upon their findings, we identified the following professional groups as being of particular interest: teachers and other youth workers, religious leaders, journalists, community leaders, law enforcers and policy makers.

Given that TERRA's approach seeks to embrace all forms of radicalisation, and not just Islamic radicalisation, which is vastly over represented in current literature, we also sought to further crystalise the secondary target group of TERRA, the potentially vulnerable groups and individuals which we ultimately seek to reach through the literature review.

Moghaddam's Staircase makes it clear that on the ground floor, it is those groups who are in a less privileged position who might be vulnerable. This implies that ethnic or political groups who are in a minority or opposition position would be more likely to contain radical factions than those within the majority. However, difficulties in identifying which members of these groups might be especially vulnerable have been clearly shown in the literature. Sageman notes that radical individuals can be found from all walks of life – those who are well educated and those who are less so, those who are from poor backgrounds, and those who are from wealthy ones. Talke shows that in spite of the apparent irrationality of their actions, those who commit terrorist acts are not usually suffering from a mental disorder.

Further, we bear in mind that focussing attention on one particular ethnic or political group could even have negative consequences for well intentioned researchers or policy makers, as is shown by Bux, ⁴⁰ who argues that, far from leading to greater integration and cooperation with Britain's Muslim population, Britain's domestic policy of fostering greater bonds between police and communities can lead entire sections of the community to feel that they have been singled out for negative attention.

Silke's research does, however help us to delineate some demographic factors which are very helpful. He suggests that the vast majority of terrorists are young (in their late teens or early twenties) and male. He gives the following argument to support this theory:

"It is already well established in other spheres that young males are associated with a multitude of dangerous and high-risk activities ... Statistics on violent crime consistently

³⁶ 2010

 $^{^{37}}$ See Sageman (2004) See above all chapter three on the Mujahedin, pages 61 ff.

³⁸ 2008

³⁹ P104

⁴⁰ 2007

show that perpetrators are most likely to be males between 15 and 25 years of age ... his is a very robust finding that is remarkably stable across cultures and regions ... more crime in general is committed by teenagers and young adults than by any other age category. Adolescence brings with it a dramatic increase in the number of people who are willing to offend, and cross-cultural studies tend to show that the peak age for male offending has generally been between 15 and 18 years of age, falling off quickly for most individuals as they grow older (Farrington 2003)." ⁴¹

This theory is further supported by Christmann, ⁴² and Sageman, ⁴³ who adds that the attraction of danger, "heroism" and adventure can be significant "pull factors" for young male recruits. This theory holds helpful recommendations for TERRA's work. It suggests that, while focusing too much attention on any particular ethnic or political group could even be damaging to the objectives of TERRA, ethnic and political groups who are in a minority or opposition position are more likely to contain radical factions than those in the majority or in power, and amongst those groups the young, male members of it are those who are the most vulnerable to radicalisation. This leads us to conclude that for TERRA:

Recommendations should be broad, bearing in mind that some ethnic, political and religious groups are more vulnerable than others, but by no means singling these groups out explicitly.

Our approach should be youth orientated, placing educators and schools in a central role, and making use of youth-friendly media.

While the gender bias is more difficult to include in terms of which media to use, or which key figures are more relevant, it should be born in mind when creating recommendations.

5.1 Teachers and youth workers.

De Wolf and Doosje's matrix already identified education as playing a key role in the (de) radicalisation process. Silke's assertion that young people – sometimes those still within the age range of the secondary education system – are the most vulnerable to radicalisation, places teachers in a central role for TERRA. Besides the parents of a teenager, teachers are arguably the most important adult figures in a young person's life. Christmann's review confirms that young people are especially vulnerable, suggesting that a search for identity (in the case of his review, which is about Islamic extremism in the UK, this is a religious, Islamic identity) or, more specifically, a confirmation of identity through interaction with like minded individuals, is a crucial factor which prompts young people to seek out a radical group. The issues of identity conflicts for young people from an Islamic background growing up in a Western society is further illustrated by Moghaddam and Solliday,⁴⁴ who identify a problem which they name the "good copy" problem – that is, the situation in which an ethnic or religious group develops the sense that it, and its members, can only at best hope to be a good

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⁴¹ Silke (2008) p105-6. This suggestion is further supported by Christmann 2012 p 23

⁴² 2012 p23

⁴³ Especially 2008.

⁴⁴ 1991

copy of the society into which it seeks to assimilate. On a macro level, this phenonemon can, they argue, affect whole countries; on a micro, individual level, can cause great tensions for young Muslims growing up in the West. Research by de Koster and Houtman, who examined right wing extremism in the Netherlands, confirms that the sense of searching for identity at a young age is applicable not just to religious groups, but political ones, too. ⁴⁵

The theory that a search for identity can lead, if not channelled in a more positive way, to radicalisation, is reflected by the Learning Together Toolkit, an online resource developed by the British government. 46 This website has been created to be used by schools seeking to address radicalisation through a prevention approach. It suggests that within a school context, this search for identity is particularly bound to the curriculum of certain subjects, suggesting that religion, citizenship and history are key subjects for schools keen to engage in prevention. It further points out that radical groups tend to use narratives as a highly emotive (and therefore effective) tool in convincing potential recruits of the legitimacy and urgency of their cause. 47 Staub, 48 in his article "Preventing Violence and Terrorism and Promoting Positive Relations Between Dutch and Muslim Communities in Amsterdam," also places schools in a central role in prevention work, suggesting that a lot of prejudice from white Dutch communities towards Muslim population, and vice versa, stems from ignorance about one another's history, culture and feelings about modern Dutch society. He argues that this lack of knowledge can contribute to a dehumanisation of the "other" population – a factor which, when placed in the context of Moghaddam's Stairway, can play a very influential role in the movement up the floors and should therefore be tackled at grass root level. Staub further points out that the teaching of history – especially, a version of history which is acceptable to and agreed upon by both ethnic groups, is crucial, both to the humanising of the "other" group, truthfully looking at past wounds, and building a shared, positive vision of the future. He recommends a policy of information exchange between the two groups, especially in schools, to tackle underlying ignorance and misunderstanding, to foster contact at a profound level, and to promote a vision of the future which both ethnic groups feel reflect their identity and hopes.

These findings contain clear implications for TERRA:

Teachers, as being in daily contact with members of the group TERRA ultimately seeks to reach, are in a unique position to implement prevention activities.

The teachers of some subjects are especially relevant to prevention activities, as their subjects are most closely bound to issues surrounding personal, religious, political or ethnic identity. These subjects are history, religion, mother tongue and foreign languages, and other subjects dealing with issues such as citizenship.

⁴⁵ 2008

⁴⁶ https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/standard/_arc_SOP/Page11/DCSF-00804-2008

⁴⁷ See also Lee and Leets 2002 on the use of storytelling by radical groups on-line.

⁴⁸ 2007

Teaching of history should focus upon building a foundation for the future which all ethnic and religious groups feel able to invest in and which allow pupils a sense of their place as an individual in history.

Teaching of religion should focus on awareness of comparative religions, and promoting a positive religious identity.

All teachers can usefully be provided with tools which help them to recognise the signs that a pupil is engaged in a radicalisation process (derived from the assertion of De Wolf and Doosje that each stage of this process is visible in the behaviour of the individual.)

The use of narrative is important and impactful in the recruitment process. A vital skill which a toolkit for teachers should include is the teaching of the analysis of narratives for accuracy and bias. Students should be able to question extreme narratives, could helpfully be exposed to alternative narratives, with an emphasis on critical thinking.

5.2 Religious leaders

It's evident that the factors described here above in relation to teachers can also have implications for religious leaders, and more can be found in the literature on the subject. Griffin⁴⁹ suggests that radicalisation can be the expression of a group or individual's need to find meaning, a search for nomos. In a globalised, post modern world, he argues, a vital human drive can be left un-met – that is, "the drive to orient our lives towards the fulfilment of a higher cause or purpose whose significance transcends that of our own brief existence."50 Assertions within the literature that a search for a religious identity can be a key factor leading young people to seek out radical groups provides a clear view of how religious leaders are well placed to offer guidance, support and positive influence in the lives of these people. Rothschild, Abdollahi and Pyszczynski⁵¹ provide a scholarly contribution to this discussion, ascerting, on the basis of quantitative studies amongst 113 and 121 participants respectively in two studies, that laying emphasis on the compassionate teachings of Christianity and Islam reduced support for military or violent action, as long as this information is received from someone perceived as a legitimate religious authority. If we combine these findings with those of Christmann and Staub, 52 it becomes clear that religious leaders have a vital role to play in prevention. It is likey that a young person in search of a religious identity will come into contact – probably frequent and close contact – with a religious leader. If that religious leader promotes a compassionate, loving world view, and a positive religious identity, emphasising the positive role an individual can play in society, we might theorise that the individual will be more inclined to develop a religious identity which, rather than turning to violence and extremism, leans instead towards brotherhood and compassion, both

⁵⁰ P24

⁴⁹ 2012

⁵¹ 2009

⁵² Both discussed above

characteristics which are clearly visible in the leading religions of the West now, Islam, Judaism and Christianity. ⁵³

On a more practical level, literature suggests that radical elements, most notably recruiters, might be identifiable to religious leaders. In their excellent study of recruitment to terrorist organisations in the UK, Neumann and Rogers⁵⁴ assert that mosques used to be a recruiting ground for radicals but that this is no longer so, as mosques have been placed under scrutiny by law enforcement bodies. However, they suggest that certain behaviour is still very visible; visiting clerics who seek to lecture the devout during worship, people distributing leaflets, and those who approach young or vulnerable members of the community to drawn them into a more radical group (although this activity usually takes place outside the mosque.)⁵⁵

Religious leaders have a vital role to play in TERRA. They are well placed to:

Observe the climate within the place of worship, and any activity which they feel may be undertaken by radicals

As a vital point of contact for young people seeking religious identity, they can emphasis love, brotherhood and compassion to ensure that this identity is a positive one.

5.3 Journalists:

Increasingly, certain elements appear from within the literature which are relevant to several key groups. Some guidelines for journalists already exist,⁵⁶ but TERRA will take a broad perspective, suggesting that journalists can play a vital role in tackling some of the issues underlying the causes of radicalisation, especially issues on identity, ignorance or misunderstanding of ethnic, religious or political groups who are living within the same country.

We have already touched upon Moghaddam and Solliday's "good copy" theory. Within this theory, and on an individual level, a young person from an ethnic minority group, living in the west and searching for identity may be presented with the sense that he can, at best, become a good copy of his Western peers. This feeling could be influential in a sense of "perceived deprivation" as identified by Moghaddam's Staircase as a key factor in the beginning of a radicalisation process.

Further up the Staircase, a sense of "us and them" plays a key role, along with the dehumanisation of "them". 57

The portrayal of ethnic or religious minorities in the media can play a crucial role in the formation of both of these identities; group and individual, especially for young people. An inventory of current activities in this field is necessary before we provide recommendations

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⁵³ Silberman *et al* 2005 provide a sobering reminder that religion should be seen as a double edged sword which can be used to promote violence and resist change just as well as to promote compassion and peace. ⁵⁴ 2007

⁵⁵ Neumann and Rogers 2007 p19-20

⁵⁶ See for example Sindelarova and Vymetal 2006 and Vymetal et al 2008

⁵⁷ Moghaddam 2005 and Staub 2007

on it. However from the theoretical standpoint it is clear that promoting a positive identity within the media at large for members of ethnic and religious minorities through, for example, making children's television programs about families from non Western backgrounds, or providing examples of members of a minority ethnic group contributing positively to European society could help to promote a sense that members of ethnic or religious minorities need not feel that they can only aspire to being a good copy of their Western counterparts. Fair reporting on events is also crucial; for example the lack of a rhetoric which underlines a sense of "us and them" in reporting. Sageman sagements also underlines the dangers of reporting on the words of radical clerics within the media; this can, he points out, mistakenly convey a sense that their words reflect the Islamic religion as a whole, or the general beliefs of a Muslim population. He further points out that as young men are often attracted to radical groups in search of fame, it is inadvisable for journalists to place too much emphasis on the arrest of terrorists, and to avoid a triumphalist portrayal, as again this can underline an "us and them" mentality.

Some recommendations for journalists can, therefore, already be derived from the literature:

This group should avoid a rhetoric in which a sense of "us and them" is underlined.

Promote a positive identity for ethnic and religious minority groups, including providing positive examples of cooperation between minority and majority groups, and of minority contributions to majority society.

Avoid negative reporting on specific ethnic and religious groups.

Avoid "feeding" the thrill seeking tendency of young men at risk of radicalisation by reporting on aspects of terrorist activity which might be construed as exciting and adventurous.

Be aware of the importance of reporting on discrimination.

5.4 Policy Makers:

In attempting to formulate recommendations for the key figures of TERRA, TERRA researchers encountered a slight lack of equilibrium when it came to policy makers. While the literature yielded some excellent recommendations for prevention amongst most of the key groups, very little concrete evidence regarding prevention could be found to base recommendations on prevention for policy makers upon.

What may be derived from the literature is perhaps more vague than the concrete recommendations given for the other key figures – but it is by no means less relevant. It is clear that radicalisation and the prevention of it should be high on the agenda of European policy makers, because if it is not so, the measures suggested above can only form, at best, isolated initiatives of limited scope. If, on the other hand, TERRA's key figures can depend

⁵⁹ 2008

⁵⁸ Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil, 2004, provide an interesting discussion of how George Bush, Tony Blair and Osama Bin Laden all utilised the "us and them" terminology to mobilise support for their respective policies in the wake of the September 11 attacks.

upon support from policy making level, a broader approach can be taken, reaching a wider pool of young people within the country.

While literature on prevention for policy makers was scarce, there were plenty of observations regarding de-radicalisation to be found. Most of these were derived from the fact that Europe has, comparatively speaking, a long history of terrorism, which has now yielded a small group of former radicals whose process of de-radicalisation has been studied. Alonso, ⁶⁰ in a study of former ETA members and the circumstances surrounding their disengagement, names three key factors in the Spanish government's negotiations with ETA: that ETA itself was not demanding political concessions in return for disbanding, that the government was not offering political concessions, and that the former radicals were offered social reintegration measures, which would allow them to start a new life, free from violence. Both Gunaratna and Bin Ali's⁶¹ study on two Egyptian ex radicals who are now working against Al Quaeda, and Kassimeris'62 study on two Greek ex radicals, name a crucial psychological factor – that the key reason behind the decision to disengage was a gradual realisation - leading to convictionthat violence did not in fact provide a means to reach the political end they sought. What is perhaps noteworthy about these case studies is that they illustrate that the processes which lead these individuals to disengage took place on a personal level. No concessions were offered on a political level, and as a result a personal shift took place – a disillusionment with the means which the terrorist group was using, an a recognition that violence would not achieve the political aims of the group. Reinares⁶³ adds an interesting point to this debate. His qualitative research amongst 35 ex ETA activists revealed that while disengagement from terrorist activity could usually be attributed to one or more of three factors (structural, organisational or personal), it was not necessarily concomitant with de-radicalisation.

McAuley, Tonge and Shirlow⁶⁴ offer an interesting study of post peace process Northern Ireland, and the role that ex Loyalist Paramilitaries are playing in their communities. They point out that time in prison is often when an individual has access to possibilities for education, and becomes more politically aware. Their point here indirectly supports Moghaddam's visualisation and Staub's argument - that inequality and a lack of understanding of the "them" group can be key to radicalisation. Had these former radicals had opportunities for education and developing political awareness at a younger age, perhaps they would not have radicalised at all.

Additionally, these authors point out that ex radicals in this context can be key in community building programs. As former radicals can be seen as, for want of a better word, champions of a radical cause, their voices can lend extra strength to de-radicalising activities – for example, in Northern Ireland these former radicals worked with local youth groups to demilitarise local murals. Similarly, their support for liason programes with the "other" (in this case, Catholic) community, was perceived as lending legitimacy and value to this process.

⁶⁰ 2011

⁶¹ 2009

⁶² 2011

⁶³ 2011

⁶⁴ 2010

Some recommendations for policy makers can be derived from the literature, then, although its emphasis is slightly different to that for the other key figure groups, which are largely centered upon prevention.

Promoting prevention or de-radicalisation measures undertaken by the other key figure groups.

Offering personal, but not political, concessions to radicals, allowing them to disengage from the group without fear for their personal safety.

Recognising that ex radicals can play a key role in community building programmes in the aftermath of violence.

Our research has to date taken the form of a literature review which has, in summary, yielded a broad overview on the theories surrounding the psychological mechanisms behind radicalisation, and the implications of current studies for TERRA's key groups.

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Appendix 1: search terms

These search terms were intended to cover two areas highly relevant to this study. Firstly, Part 1 was intended to gather literature on the various kinds of terrorism which play a role in Europe. Part 2 covers the target groups of TERRA, as named in our proposal. It is designed to filter literature which can shed some light on the role played by these various key figures in the radicalisation/ prevention processes.

Please note that a + symbol indicates that variants of the term have been included. These variants might include the prefixes de-, anti- and counter- and suffixes – ation, - ized, - ised, - s, -ist, -ism, - tion, -ic, -men and -women where appropriate.

Primary search term	Secondary search term
	Part 1
Extreme +	Anarchy
Fundamental +	Animal Rights
Intervention +	Capital+
Jihad+	Catholic +
Terror +	Communist +
Prevent +	Environment+
Violence+	Global+
Radical+	Islam
	Jewish
	Judaism
	Left wing
	Loyalist
	Neo Nazi
	Pro life
	Protestant
	Right wing
	Separate+
	Sikh
	Union +
	Part 2
	Community leader+
	Imam+
	Journalist+
	Pastor+
	Police+
	Police officer+
	Policy
	Policy maker+
	Priest+
	Prison guard+
	Prison officer+
	Prison warden+

Prison ward+
Rabbi+
Religious leader+
Social worker+
Teacher+
Victim+

The search strategy was based upon these search terms shown in the table below. The terms were grouped into various clusters of meaning, for example "processes of radicalisation". These were mutually combined and later combined with other search terms derived from relevant sources. Title, abstract, heading word, table of contents, key concepts, original title, tests & measures and/or subject headings (where appropriate) were searched.

The search strategy was implemented in PsycInfo (Ovid) and only items published since 1990, in peer reviewed journals, were included. Items found through the search strategy were supplemented by items found through snowballing and cherry picking.



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Partners in the project are Impact, National knowledge and advice centre for psychosocial care concerning critical incidents, partner in Arq Psychotrauma Expert Group, The Netherlands and The Network of Associations of Victims of Terrorism (NAVT) and the Association of Aid to Victims of March 11th (AAVM11) Spain.

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 $\it TERRA$ is run by the following organisations:





