

Conference

**Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization:  
Presentations and Abstracts**

**Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF), Bielefeld,  
April 6-8, 2011**

*The conference is hosted by*  
**the International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)**  
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*In cooperation with*  
**the Working Group “Orders of Violence”**  
**in the German Association for Political Science (DVPW)**

*Organized by*  
**Lorenzo Bosi, Chares Demetriou, Stefan Malthaner,**  
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## Panel I. Transitions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

### Wilhelm Heitmeyer

#### Introduction

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Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer is professor of socialization and director of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence at Bielefeld University. His research interests concentrate on violence, social disintegration, right-wing extremism, and ethnocultural conflicts. His publications include *International Handbook of Violence Research* (co-edited with John Hagan); *Rechtsextremistische Orientierungen bei Jugendlichen* [Right-Wing Extremism Among Young People] (1987); *Gewalt* [Violence] (1995); *Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaften* [Urban Societies Under Threat] (coedited with Reimund Anhut) (2000). He is editor-in chief of the *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* (with D. Massey et al.). He is organizer of the international research group "Control of Violence" at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF), Bielefeld University (with Heinz Gerhard-Haupt/Bielefeld, Florence).

### Martha Crenshaw

#### Radicalization and Recruitment into Terrorism

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Martha Crenshaw is a senior fellow at CISAC and FSI and a professor of political science by courtesy. She was the Colin and Nancy Campbell Professor of Global Issues and Democratic Thought and professor of government at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., from 1974 to 2007. Her current research focuses on innovation in terrorist campaigns, why the United States is the target of terrorism, the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies, and the organizational development of terrorist campaigns.

She has written extensively on the issue of political terrorism; her first article, "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," was published in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* in 1972. Her recent work includes "Terrorism, Strategies, and Grand Strategies," in *Attacking Terrorism* (Georgetown University Press), "Terrorism and Global Security," in *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World* (United States Institute of Peace Press), and "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay," in the journal *Security Studies*. She is also the editor of *The Consequences of Counterterrorism* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2010). This fall Routledge will publish *Explaining Terrorism*, a collection of her previously published work.

She served on the Executive Board of Women in International Security and chaired the American Political Science Association (APSA) Task Force on Political Violence and Terrorism. She has also served on the Council of the APSA and is a former President and Councilor of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP). In 2004 ISPP awarded her its Nevitt Sanford Award for Distinguished Scientific Contribution and in 2005 the Jeanne Knutson award for service to the society. She serves on the editorial boards of the journals *International Security*, *Orbis*, *Political Psychology*, *Security Studies*, and *Terrorism and*

Political Violence. She coordinated the working group on political explanations of terrorism for the 2005 Club de Madrid International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security. She was a Guggenheim Fellow in 2005-2006. She served on the Committee on Law and Justice and the Committee on Determining Basic Research Needs to Interrupt the Improvised Explosive Device Delivery Chain of the National Research Council of the National Academies of Science. She was a senior fellow at the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism in Oklahoma City for 2006-2007. In 2009 she was awarded a grant from the National Science Foundation for a project on "mapping terrorist organizations." The grant is part of the Department of Defense Minerva Initiative. Since 2005 she has been a lead investigator with the National Center for the Study of Terrorism and the Response to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland, funded by the Department of Homeland Security.

### **Michel Wieviorka**

Perspectives on De-/Radicalization

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Michel Wieviorka is Professor (Directeur d'études) at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, since 1989 and Director of the Centre for Sociological Analysis and Intervention (CADIS) since 1993.

Further current Positions are: Director (with Georges Balandier) of the Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie (since 1992). Member of the Editorial Committees of Ethnic and Racial Studies ; Ethnic and Migration Studies ; Critical Horizons ; International Review of Sociology ; the Collège des Évaluateurs du Programme des Chaires de Recherche, Canada (2000-2002), and member of the Executive Committee of the International Social Science Council, UNESCO, since 2004.

ISA: member of the Program Committee of the XV World Congress in Brisbane (1998-2002) and of the Executive Committee (2002-2006). Member of RC47 Social Classes and Social Movements since 1982.

### **Gary LaFree**

The Impact of Black Swans on Terrorism Stereotypes

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Gary LaFree is Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice and Director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland. He received his PhD in Sociology from Indiana University in 1979. During 2005-2006 Dr. LaFree served as President of the American Society of Criminology (ASC). Dr. LaFree was named a Fellow of the American Society of Criminology in 2006 and a member of the National Academy of Science's Committee on Law and Justice in 2008. He has also served as the Past President of the ASC's Division on International Criminology (1991-1993), the chair of the American Sociological Association's Section on Crime, Law and Deviance (1991-1993), the Executive Board of the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation (2001-2006), and the Executive Committee of the Justice Research Statistics Association (2000-2001, 1993-1994). While at the University of Maryland, Dr. LaFree has been a founding member of the Democracy Collaborative and an invited member of the National Consortium of Violence

Research. Before joining the faculty at Maryland, Dr. LaFree served as the Chair of the Sociology and Criminology Department at the University of New Mexico for six years and as the Director of the New Mexico Criminal Justice Statistics Analysis Center for thirteen years. Dr. LaFree was appointed by the Governor of New Mexico to chair the State Crime and Juvenile Justice Coordinating Council—a position that he filled for four years. Dr. LaFree received the G. Paul Sylvestre Award for outstanding achievements in advancing criminal justice statistics in 1994, and the Phillip Hoke Award for excellence in applied research in 1994 and 1998, from the Justice Research Statistics Association. LaFree has written over 60 articles and book chapters and three books and is currently on the editorial boards of seven journals.

## **Panel IIa. De-/Radicalization in repressive settings**

### **Pénélope Larzillière**

Political Commitment and Authoritarian Regime: the Jordanian Case

#### *Abstract*

In Jordan, activism and politicisation are tightly controlled by the monarchy. The political space is very constrained and defined by the strict “red lines” that monarchy imposes. Even if the necessary institutional ingredients -parties, elections and so on- are there, the regime itself cannot be considered as democratic and many authoritarian and repressive processes are implemented. Since the so-called democratic opening, political parties are authorized, however they faced many restrictions and membership is limited by the fear of the Jordanians to face retortion if they participate.

It does not mean that there is no opposition at all to the monarchy. In that context, mainly two kinds of political activism can be identified. In the absence of real partisan system, the professional associations have become an alternative arena of politicisation and mobilisation. They build on their professional expertise, which is economically needed by the monarchy, to express -in a limited way- some kind of opposition. And the Muslim Brothers, which were for a long time considered by the monarchy as an ally against leftists and nationalists and, because of that, less repressed, have managed a real social hegemony over the society. Hegemony is always thought of as a creation of those in power, even if it is an indirect one. In Jordan, however, the social hegemony belongs to the Islamist line, although such groups have never been at the head of political power. The professional associations and the mainstream Islamist movement have a deradicalisation influence because they both offer a space to express opposition, even if a limited one, and their leaders, directly confronted to cooptation and repression policies do try to moderate the mobilisations (sometimes against their local leaders).

However, they have become more and more an integrated opposition that do not want to challenge directly the monarchy. At the same time, the monarchy has started to increase pressure on the elections and on this moderate activism. Tensions have then appeared inside the Islamist movement, and its strategy has been partly delegitimized, since even the ones accepting to play on the limited political scene become repressed. Thus, the policy of

destabilisation of the mainstream Islamists undermines the moderates and leads to a radicalisation of the movement or the support for other more radical Islamist movements. Some activists left them in the search for more radical opposition, like the jihadi salafism. A second strategy of the monarchy to undermine the Islamists was to depoliticise by favoring tribal trends (through electoral law for example). However, the process has gone so far now that intertribal clashes between youth have appeared.

Based on the analysis of the Jordanian case, we will therefore argue that in repressive settings (de)radicalisation processes have to do with the emergence (or not) of alternative arena of politicisation and the way it integrates into the regime. Secondly, it seems that non political violence, which can sometimes be linked to depoliticisation processes, should also be taken into account while analyzing radicalisation.

### **Felix Heiduk**

Between a rock and a hard place: radical Islam in modern Indonesia

#### *Abstract*

This paper focusses on the question of differences between radicalisation processes in liberal and authoritarian regimes. Radical Islam in Indonesia is a great case study, as Indonesia's modern history contains various attempts by radical Islamists to challenge what is perceived as a secular state in order to turn Indonesia into a negara Islam (Islamic state). While the existing literature mainly emphasises the regime type as the explanatory factor for a radicalisation of political Islam. Accordingly the regime type seems to determine the political strategies (radical, militant or moderate, civil) chosen by Islamists. In a nutshell the hypothesis derived from here is inclusion through political participation leads to moderation, exclusion through repression leads to radicalisation. While this argument certainly makes sense in explaining the role of Islamists in various Middle Eastern countries, where opportunities to participate in elections have led to a deradicalisation of political programs and strategies, this hypothesis doesn't carry us very far with regard to Indonesia. The opening of the political regime after the fall of Suharto in 1998 provided Islamists, who until then had faced strong state repression, with new opportunities to participate in electoral politics. But at the same time, the fall of Suharto and the weakening of the repressive character of the state opened up space for militant, radical Islamist groups. Analyzing the role of radical Islam in the Suharto and the post-Suharto era this paper hopes to contribute to the overall debate on radicalisation processes in liberal and authoritarian settings by questioning the correlation between liberalization and deradicalisation processes advocated in democratization theories.

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Felix Heiduk is a visiting Postdoc fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Previously he worked as a research fellow at the German Institute for International Affairs in Berlin and obtained his doctorate from Free University Berlin. His research interests include International and Security affairs in Southeast Asia, Security Sector Reform, and transitions from authoritarianism to democracy.

**Magaly Sanchez R.**

Violence and radicalization in a “Democratic” “Authoritarian” regime: The Venezuelan Case

*Abstract*

This article reviews the progressive “Authoritarian” behavior on a political system paradoxically called “Democracy”. As a result of an ideological and political governmental authoritarian position, magnified by State mass media communication, we assist to the formation of conflictive social relations and unstable equilibrium.

In the last decade, Venezuela has become a country with a very contrasting and conflicting reality, where violent actors related to the Criminal Perverse economy co-existed with the recent political violent actions and actors creating insecurity and deterioration of quality of life.

We explore in this article the existence of radicalized youth actors connected with informal and illegal ways of living, and which in turn are dependent on an already growing international organized crime.

Also, the most recent political arena as well as ideological values like “Nation, Socialism or Death ” allow and tolerate the formation of new radical (political) actors, that are gaining power in specific urban areas of the metropolis, as well as in other regions of the country. In such a setting producing insecurity and deterioration of quality of life, human rights violation, and mass media expression control among others, one of the most significant side effects has been a notorious exit of Venezuelans HSE.

**Christian de Vito**

Processes of radicalization and deradicalization in Western European prisons (1965-1986)

*Abstract*

The paper investigates the processes of radicalization and deradicalization from the perspective of the prisons. Choosing a comparative, transnational point of view, it takes Western Europe as the geopolitical field of reference and it focusses on the period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s in order to consider the whole cycle of the social movements in the “long 1970s”.

The paper is based on the findings of historical researches on the West European prison systems, on the 1970s prisoners’ movements, on terrorism and antiterrorism in the 1970s and on the role of technicians and intellectuals in the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Unpublished archival sources from various West European countries form the core of the paper, together with the suggestions coming from the historical and sociological literature, although the latter appears to have consistently ignored or underestimated the perspective of prisons in the analysis of the processes of radicalization and deradicalization in the 1960s and 1970s.

Indeed, the whole topic of prison history remains largely marginal in the literature as far as the post-1945 period is concerned, notwithstanding the fundamental role prisons have played in some moments of the recent European history, e.g. WW2, deportation towards the concentration camps and the 1960s/1970s social movements. Even in the case of the research on terrorism and antiterrorism, where the multiple connections with the prison

history are apparently evident, a scarce attention has been devoted to them even in the “classic” studies by Donatella Della Porta and in recent comparative studies such as those by Beatrice De Graaf and Isabelle Sommier.

The processes of radicalization and deradicalization in the prison context are considered here through four moments/perspectives of the “long 1970s”. For each of them, the countries taken as case-studies are mentioned here, together with the main topics relating to radicalization/deradicalization.

a) The second half of the 1960s: the origins of the prisoners movements

Notwithstanding the differences in the political cultures and in the material conditions of the prisons, prisoners protests explode in much the same period (1967-69) and with similar patterns in countries such as France, Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Italy and Britain. In order to explain this phenomenon, the paper investigates the changing composition of the prison population and its relationship with the transnational nature of “1968”.

b) 1972-73: the peak of the prisoners’ movements

The focus lies here on the repertoires of action – e.g. refuse to go back to their cells, protests on the roofs of the prisons, hunger strikes – and on organizational forms, both inside the prisons – “union” model in Britain and the Scandinavian countries and “extraparliamentary” model in Italy and France – and outside the prisons – the role of left wing “extraparliamentary” groups in Italy and France and the role of groups of critical criminologists, sociologists, social workers and ex prisoners in the Northern European countries.

Three specific examples of the States’ response in this early stage are also considered in their connection to radicalization and deradicalization: amnesty; punitive transfer of prisoners from one penal institution to another (legitimacy of radicalization and the geographical spreading of the protests); trials against protesting prisoners (which, as in the case of those in Nancy and Pescara in 1973, turned into “trials” against the brutality of the penal institutions).

c) 1974-75: repression and reforms

These years mark the end of the protests led by common-law prisoners in all the above mentioned countries. This outcome points out at the changing general context (economic crisis, end or crisis of the social movements outside the prisons), but also at specific strategies of deradicalization. The latter, however, vary considerably from country to country, according to different political cultures e.g. of the government, the prison administration, the judiciary. For instance, reforms are the dominant response in the Scandinavian countries, while they are coupled with harsh institutional violence in Italy and France.

d) The second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s: terrorism and antiterrorism in the prisons

In this period, the geographical map and the characteristics of the prison protests change here dramatically. While in many of the above mentioned countries the prisoners protests cease to exist, in West Germany, Italy and Northern Ireland they are now mainly led by



political prisoners belonging to armed (“terrorist”) organizations. The repertoire of action and the forms of organization also change: all in all, they are no more focused on the creation of internal solidarity networks with common-law prisoners, but aim more and more often at escapes and violent actions linked with the external violent “campaigns” of the organizations.

Antiterrorist strategies differ greatly from country to country and variously contribute to the processes of radicalization and deradicalization. The creation of maximum security prisons around 1977 and the growing differentiated attitudes towards various groups of political prisoners (such as for the *irriducibili*, the *pentiti* and the *dissociati* in the Italian case) are given here a particular attention.

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Christian G. De Vito (Rome, 1976) studied contemporary history at the University of Florence, completed his PhD at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and later received scholarships from various research centres. His main research interests relate to the post-1945 European social history, with particular stress on the history of prison, psychiatry, welfare, migration and social movements. Beyond articles in specialised journals and collective volumes, he published three monographs. Since 2009 he lives and works in The Netherlands.

## Panel IIb. Legitimacy of De-/Radicalization

### John Stone

Where Have All the Moderates Gone?: Sociology and the Study of Violence, Conflict and Peace.

#### *Abstract*

The sociological tradition has not been particularly focused on the analysis of radical violence, genocide and warfare, despite the centrality of “the problem of order” and the conflict perspectives emanating from Marxian and other critical approaches. However, the salience of violent conflicts linked to a variety of global trends -- political revolution, racism, imperialism, together with both religious and secular nationalisms -- throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries -- have forced sociologists to search for basic explanations of these ubiquitous events. In this paper, I will consider some of the common factors that have been used to explain the processes of radicalization and de-radicalization in a range of different situations. These will include the Civil Rights movement in the United States, the Anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa, and the conflicts in Northern Ireland and the Balkans. The challenges to legitimacy and the role of internal, external and third party elements in trying to establish peace processes will also be evaluated.

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John Stone is Professor of Sociology at Boston University. He has also held academic positions at Columbia University, St. Antony’s College, Oxford, University of London, and

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George Mason University. His research interests are in racial and ethnic conflict, migration and sociological theory.

### Eitan Alimi

Struggling to Remain Relevant: Intersecting Ties, Boundary Deactivation, and Controlling Contention in the Jewish Settler Struggle against the Gaza Pullout

#### *Abstract*

Scholarly works on the factors and processes that push radical groups to engage in violence, including terrorist-like one, are rich on confirmatory cases. In their attempt to understand radicalization, scholars from various disciplines employing different approaches have suggested a variety of explanations to why individuals and groups are willing to engage in violence. A central strand of research, known as the socio-cognitive approach, stresses the importance of perceptions and subjective socio-cognition in explaining the support for political violence among discontented individuals and groups. It has been demonstrated that what actually links perception of relative deprivation to support in political violence is related to perception of political legitimacy (writ large), as a critical intervening cognitive construct that needs to be unpacked to its various dimensions, such as social alienation, confidence in existing government, legitimacy of political actors/institutions, sense of political efficacy, etc.

The strengths of this social-psychology perspective rest, first, in moving beyond dispositional or behavioral explanations according to which aggressive propensities and motives are triggered in response to sudden changes in one's environment. Second, and relatedly, support in, and willingness to engage in political violence is treated as an indeterminate process – a gradual psycho-political formation along which the "group-at-risk" is influenced by the behavior and attitudes of the "other". Notwithstanding the contributions of this body of research to our understanding of the willingness to engage in political violence on the part of faction of the broader opposition movement, little is known about the mechanisms that account for what contentious actors actually do. The truth remains that (1) there are instances of contention where despite the existence of radical ideas and rhetoric that support engagement in political violence we see little violence, (2) the relationship between perception and action is always two-sided – just as consciousness shapes behavior, behavior too shapes consciousness, and (3) values, perceptions and beliefs are always relationally embedded in space and time – to delegitimize and dehumanize the other presupposes the existence of a relational framework. It is argued that to further understanding of the process of radicalization we need to focus on those relational causal mechanisms that "alter connections among people, groups, and interpersonal networks" (MTT 2001:26) and provide the social context for cognitive mechanisms. Additionally, we need to provide a "counterfactual": an episode of contention where despite everything radicalization was impeded.

The contentious episode of the Jewish settler movement against the Israeli government-initiated Disengagement Plan (a.k.a. the Gaza Pullout) is employed. Despite deeply rooted and ingrained violent-prone ideologies, profound collective perception of deprivation and

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indignation, and multiplicity of actors with different orientations and positions vis-à-vis the Israeli political establishment, the Gaza Pullout campaign was predominantly nonviolent. To learn about this "anomaly" a sequential mixed-methods design was carried out including a series of in-depth interviews with main actors and parties involved and a content analysis of several settlers' media outlets, representing various ideological groupings. Findings suggest that several key relational mechanisms operating between and within the central actors involved not only mitigated the saliency of cognitive mechanisms but also impeded radicalization. My findings are evaluated in relation to other existing relationally-oriented works on radicalization in other structurally similar cases.

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Eitan Y. Alimi is assistant professor of political sociology at the department of political science, the Hebrew University. His research interests include social movements and contentious politics, conflict dynamics and processes, and political violence and terrorism. Recent publications include articles in *British Journal of Political Science*, *Political Studies*, *Mobilization*, *Theory and Society*, *Comparative Politics*, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, and *International Political Science Review*. Alimi's recent book titled *Israeli Politics and the First Palestinian Intifada-Political Opportunities, Framing Processes and Contentious Politics* was published by Routledge in 2007. He is currently engaged in a comparative research project on the relational dynamics of political radicalization.

### **Bill Kissane**

Elections as a mechanism of deradicalisation in independent Ireland.

#### *Abstract*

Irish nationalism went through a remarkable metamorphosis from revolutionary to peaceful politics between 1921 and 1937. This process has produced many narratives (democratization, counter-revolution, the search for identity), but underpinning all of them was deradicalisation. Elections were a crucial mechanism linking the nationalist elite to a general public that lost the appetite for radical politics. Elections generated legitimacy for the painful confusing metamorphosis the nationalist elite went through after 1921. I combine some standard explanations for these outcomes from the democratization literature with specific arguments about Irish political culture. I discuss the paradox of a relentless process of deradicalisation succeeding in a society where political legitimacy still remained based on the claim to a revolutionary past.

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Bill Kissane was born in the Republic of Ireland in 1966 and lives in North London. After receiving a BA in Modern English and Sociology from Trinity College Dublin (1984-88), he received an MSc in Sociology (1992), and a PhD in Political Science (1998), from the London School of Economics. Since 1999 he has been a lecturer in Political Science at the Government Department of the London School of Economics. He has also taught for Greenwich University, Helsinki University, the University of Notre Dame, and New York University. His research interests lie broadly within the areas of comparative and Irish politics. Kissane has published *Explaining Irish Democracy* (UCD Press, 2002), and *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 2005). His *New Beginnings*:

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Constitutionalism and Democracy in Modern Ireland(UCD Press, 2011) will come out this June. Bill Kissane is currently on the editorial board of the Journal Nations and Nationalism.

**Abdel Samad**

*Presentation*

Radicalization in Morocco: The Impact of the Participation in the Political System and the Historical Roots of El Zawia in Islam

*Abstract*

While the literature on radicalization has focused on factors affecting entry and exit of individuals into radical groups (Sageman 2004; Horgan 2005), Tilly (2001) studies group behavior and the effect of exclusion and grievance on minority groups' use of violence. Groups that experience exclusion and feel unable to advance their objectives from within the political system may become radicalized and use violence as a means of achieving their goals because of an absence of other means. However, participation in political decision-making processes grants disenfranchised groups a window to achieve their objectives from within the political system, thereby giving them a stake in the government (Tilly 2001). These groups have an opportunity to use political means for change rather than violent means, and we would expect to see these groups experience lower levels of radicalization.

This paper examines factors that have influenced group radicalization and the use of political violence in Morocco from the perspective of Moroccan lawmakers and political experts. The paper is based on multi-method field research in Morocco that included interviews with sixteen Moroccan parliamentarians and other political experts, and Arabic and French language archival analysis. While the data support scholars' arguments that participation in the political process is an important element affecting the use of violence, it also finds that the Zawia religious culture of Morocco plays an important role in tempering religious radicalization. Zawia is a moderate, decentralized tradition within Islam with ties to Sufism, and the Zawia movement is considered an important element countering Salafi religious fundamentalist beliefs in Morocco. Radicalized groups often cite Salafi fundamentalist beliefs as a justification for violence. In contrast, interview participants and archival analysis suggest that the decentralized nature of Zawia makes it difficult to mobilize followers. This inability to mobilize followers in addition to more moderate teachings means followers of Zawia are less likely to become radicalized. While much of the radicalization literature focuses on the individual, this paper presents ways that group-level factors such as religious culture and political participation have prevented radicalization in Morocco.

## Panel IIc. Historical periods, transnational diffusion

**Emin Alper**

Protest diffusion in the Turkish '68 movement: The Arab-Israeli war and the 'Paris May'

### *Abstract*

In my paper I intend to highlight two cases of indirect diffusion of protest ideology and repertoires, which significantly contributed to rendering the Turkish '68 part of a global protest movement. The first of these two cases is the diffusion of anti-imperialist demonstrations to Turkey, following the Arab-Israeli War of June 1967. The second case pertains to the diffusion of mass protests and action repertoires of European students to Turkey after the May '68 of Paris, conveyed mostly by media coverage.

Regarding the first case, I will emphasize the role of the Arab-Israel War in the diffusion of anti-imperialist demonstrations. Particularly, my aim is to focus on the role of agency and selective adoption of anti-imperialist demonstrations on behalf of Turkish students. While anti-imperialist views and support for the Vietnamese people had already been a common cause among radical leftist activists in Turkey, the latter had refrained from massive demonstrations to support the Vietnamese resistance before, as 'Vietnam' itself was not a popular case in the Turkish public opinion overall. However, with the Arab-Israel War, Turkish students seized the opportunity to popularize anti-imperialism and consequently organized the first massive anti-imperialist demonstration, which could be considered equivalent to the Vietnam protests organized by Western students. Moreover, they managed to create a very popular symbolic target during the course of the events, that is, the Sixth Fleet of the U.S. Navy, which became the key reference point of the American military existence in the Eastern Mediterranean. The anti-imperialist demonstrations of the summer of 1967 marked the beginning of a gradual radicalization in the student movement. The second case concerns the immediate diffusion of the events of the May '68 of Paris to Turkey and the almost simultaneous eruption of university occupations in June in Istanbul and Ankara. Parallel to the existing literature of diffusion, I will emphasize the role of the media coverage of the 'Paris May', which reinforced a common identity of "students" between the Turkish and the Western European ones, and created thus "a sense of shared identification between activists," that facilitated the diffusion. Moreover, the media significantly increased the self-confidence of students in their capacities to bring about political change, by warning the public of the coming of a new wave, which would be almost impossible to resist and which would be initiated and carried by a new social actor, namely radicalized and 'internationalized' students.

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Emin Alper

Istanbul Technical University

Department of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Roel Meijer**

*Presentation*

The politics of de-radicalization in the Middle East: how does it work and what are its goals?  
The Case of Saudi Arabia.

*Abstract*

Saudi Arabia has become famous for its radical religious ideas as well as its successful war on terror. This paper will analyze both processes and try to see whether they are linked by looking at the processes from the perspective of the state's counter-terrorism strategies. My major question is whether these have been really successful and whether they account for the decline in violence in the country, or is radicalization and de-radicalization a construct of the Saudi state and should one rather speak of a politics of counter-terrorism to contain violence (disengagement) as such rather than a process of de-radicalization.

After giving a brief overview of the rise of dissident movements and violence in Saudi Arabia and I will look more closely at the response of the Saudi state to these historical movements and analyze its discourse against "extremism" and "passions" and the campaigns it has waged against especially al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula since 2003. I will try to show that although the state has been successful since 2005 in preventing bomb attacks to occur, this is mainly because it has been able to repress the movement rather than it has been able to come up with a convincing counter-narrative and strategy. I will bring out the dilemma's the Saudi state finds itself in by on the one hand trying to reform society and on the other having to fall back on a discourse of de-radicalization that is closely related to the same discourse the violent groups use.

After this case study, the paper/presentation the paper will highlight the problems Middle Eastern authoritarian states face in fighting "terrorism" by relying on authoritarian religious discourses of political and religious obedience that do not work with a public that is becoming better educated, more critical and more demanding in regard with religious autonomy and political rights. Comparisons will be made Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Egypt.

**Manuela Caiani / Linda Parenti**

Right-Wing Political Radicalization Using the Internet in Italy and Spain

*Abstract*

Internet is generally regarded as an important tool in diffusing global thinking, universalism, and equality. But what do we know about its dark side? Focusing on extreme-right organisations in Italy and Spain, this article addresses the specific use of the Internet by extremist groups and its potential role for the formation of their collective identity, the organisational contacts and their mobilisation. The analysis includes different types of extremist right wing organizations from neo-nazi groups to subcultural violent skinhead (for a total of about 200 groups). Through a standardized web content analysis of those web sites, we argue that various forms of usage of the Internet by right wing organisations are on the rise, with the exploitation of Internet for diffusing propaganda, promoting 'virtual communities' of debate, creating transnational organizational contacts with other similar groups and for organising mobilisation and political campaigns. The various specificities of

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the usage of the Internet by extreme right organisations in the two countries are demonstrated and linked to the offline political opportunities. The article also highlights how different types of extreme right organisations use Internet for different functions and purposes. Our research confirms that the ever-expanding internet medium represents an opportunity for such groups and individuals that would be otherwise banned by the public discourse and market of ideas, to have their views heard.

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Manuela Caiani is Assistant Professor in Comparative European Politics at the Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS) of Wien. After her Phd in political science at the University of Florence she worked as research assistant for 5 years at the EUI. She has worked on several comparative projects on contentious politics and European integration (Europub, CID I and CID II) and, more recently, on right wing extremism in Europe and the USA (VETO). She is currently working on a project on extreme right organizations in the USA and Europe and their political use of the Internet. Her main research interests concern social movements and collective action, Europeanization, right wing extremism, politics and the Internet. Among her publications: *“Quale Europa, Europeizzazione, Identità e Conflitti”*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2006 (with della Porta Donatella) and *“Social Movements and Europeanisation”*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009 (with Donatella della Porta).

Linda Parenti has received her PhD in Political Science at the University of Florence with a thesis on democratic conceptions and practices of pro-immigration groups in Italy and Spain. She works on immigration policy, pro-migrant organizations and European politics. Her main research interests are social movements and civil society associations, political participation, democracy and immigration, Europeanization.

### **Thomas Olesen**

Transnational injustice symbols in islamic terrorist communication

#### *Abstract*

The paper begins by identifying a cultural deficit in the expansive literature of the last 10-15 years on transnational activist communication. To illustrate the utility of a cultural approach the paper discusses how contemporary Islamic terrorist activists, exemplified by al-Qaeda, draw on and produce, a rich complex of transnationally available injustice symbols. Primary among these are the Guantanamo Bay detention center, the Muhammad cartoons, and Palestine. The main argument is that reference to these symbols in a communicating text generates transnational cultural resonance and, as a result, facilitates communicative diffusion and reception across a wide variety of geographically and culturally dispersed audiences. This argument has considerable relevance for the discussion of radicalization and de-radicalization. First, it suggests that processes of radicalization in today's world must be understood and analyzed within a transnational theoretical framework. Radicalization may occur locally and nationally, but it is energized by grievances that are transnationally shared and diffused. Second, these observations have implications for the issue of de-radicalization. They suggest that policies and efforts to avoid radicalization and facilitate de-radicalization need to take into account the transnational sources of the radicalization process. Not in the

sense that national solutions are necessarily inadequate, but rather that these need to be based on a developed analytical and theoretical sensitivity to the transnational dimension.

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Thomas Olesen is associate professor, Ph.D. in the Department of Political Science, University of Aarhus, Denmark. His research interests are social movements, communication, solidarity and globalization.

Recent publications include *International Zapatismo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization* (London: Zed Books, 2005). He is currently working on two research projects: one on solidarity movements, distant issues and globalization in Denmark in the period from 1945 to 2008, and another on symbols and culture in transnational activism.

### Panel IIIa. Institutional De-/Radicalization

#### Hank Johnston

Radicalization, Deradicalization, and State Heterogeneity

##### *Abstract*

This paper examines the processes of state radicalization in the new century from a broad comparative perspective, drawing on examples of numerous authoritarian strategies, but with special analytical focus on the “prevailing strategies” (Koopmans and Kresi 1998) in China, Russia, and Iran. The goal is to clarify the basic concepts and identify the generalizable processes of state radicalization. Specifically, the analysis explores the concept of state heterogeneity in radicalization-deradicalization processes, referring to (1) diversity of elite interests within authoritarian regimes; and (2) the complexity and vertical structure of social control apparatus in modern, high-capacity authoritarian regimes. One goal of the analysis is to identify junctures when elite interests may diverge, thereby creating opportunities for deradicalization. Another goal is to identify patterns of challenge and threat when elite interests converge, thereby leading to increasing radicalization of repressive measures. The dual principles of both interest-based and vertical state heterogeneity, however, make broad generalizations fraught with danger. Radicalization-deradicalization processes are not only dynamic, recursive, and iterative in how elite interests unfold with regard to oppositional mobilization, but also demonstrate similar complexities at different levels of the social control apparatus of high-capacity authoritarianism.

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Hank Johnston is Professor of Sociology at San Diego State University and founding editor and publisher of *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*. His research focuses on political opposition in repressive regimes and on framing and cognitive processes in protest participation. He has studied political resistance in Francoist Spain, the Soviet Union, Poland, Latin America, and Transcaucasia. His most recent books are *States and Social Movements*



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(2011, Polity), *Social Movements, Culture, and Protest* (2009, Ashgate), *Latin American Social Movements* (2006, Rowman & Littlefield), and Dr. Johnston is also editor of the *Mobilization-Ashgate* monographic series, "Social Movements, Protest and Resistance."

### Scott Straus

Escalation and Restraint in African Genocide and Non-Genocide Cases

#### *Abstract*

The research problem driving this paper is the absence of a strong theory that can account for variation among cases that have similar probabilities of escalating to genocide and similar forms of organized (usually state-led) mass violence against civilians. Much of the existing theory on genocide and mass killing focuses on explaining under what conditions and by what processes countries and regimes would commit large-scale violence against civilians. Many theories are persuasive; they range in focus from strategic calculations, to ideological orientations, to conditions of deprivation or upheaval, and to the importance of armed conflict as a cauldron for mass violence. Yet existing theory performs less well in explaining variation, in particular in explaining why situations that meet the above criteria produce alternative trajectories from that of genocide and mass violence against civilians. Indeed, genocide is a comparatively rare outcome, and any theory of the phenomenon should also be able to explain its infrequency. The paper argues that a critical missing dimension to many studies of genocide and mass violence is the concept of restraint. That is, in addition to asking what causes situations and leaders to escalate violence, the paper argues that scholars should be emphasizing conditions that prompt moderation, deescalation, or non-escalation. A related subsidiary argument in the paper is that the literature on genocide and mass killing should be more closely connected to the existing literature on violence in civil war. The paper will present a synthesis of how the latter literature incorporates restraint into the analysis at macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. The paper will then present preliminary findings from a six country comparative analysis of patterns of violence in relatively recent wars in Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Senegal, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan (Darfur).

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Scott Straus is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he also directs the Human Rights Initiative. His primary research interests include the study of genocide, political violence, human rights, and African Politics. Straus is the author of *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2006), and, with Robert Lyons, *Intimate Enemy: Images and Voices of the Rwandan Genocide* (MIT/Zone Books, 2006). He is also the coeditor, with Lars Waldorf, of *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence* (forthcoming from the University of Wisconsin Press) and coauthor, with David Leonard, of *Africa's Stalled Development: International Causes and Cures* (Lynne Rienner, 2003). He has published in *World Politics*, *Politics & Society*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, *Journal of Genocide Research*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Patterns of Prejudice*, and the *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, and he has received grants from the Andrew Mellon Foundation, the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, the National Science

Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the United States Institute of Peace. The focus of his current research is why some armed conflicts escalate into genocide and similar forms of mass violence while others do not; he is also working on separate projects on electoral violence in Africa and on rethinking the moral hazard debate with regard to third-party intervention to stop mass atrocities.

### **Charlotte Heath-Kelly**

State of Exception, State of Prevention; the Radicalisation of British counter-terrorism policy during the War on Terror.

#### *Abstract*

This paper addresses the preventative counter-terrorism practices used in the United Kingdom since 2003. Known as 'PREVENT', the British approach has adopted the discourse of radicalisation to frame Muslim communities and individuals as potential threats. Counter-terrorism funds are used to finance interventions into the lives of 'risky' or 'at-risk' subjects; such actions can be relatively benign (like training exercises) or more authoritarian, for example the 'Channel Program' has performed secretive emergency interventions on more than 200 children. These counter-terrorism practices rely upon assumptions that radical jihadist ideas can flourish in Muslim communities, taking root through 'cognitive openings' when individuals are vulnerable. These ideas, treated like pathogens in the counter-terrorism policy documents, are then understood to cause violence.

This paper examines how British policymakers became convinced of seemingly irrational ideas, particularly the assumption that terrorism is predominantly linked to ideas (rather than political grievances or structural factors) which, in their understanding, spread like pathogens in Muslim inner-city ghettos. This governmental mindset is understood as radicalised due to the irrational depiction of minorities it provides, and the occasional shootings of suspected 'terrorists' it engenders. The paper will engage with theorising about the 'state of exception' (where sovereign power is exercised through the determination of the 'exception' – the issue, person or place which is beyond conventional law) and critical security theorising to examine why the British government repeatedly constructs counter-productive 'suspect communities' during terrorist 'emergencies'. It will connect the 'radicalisation' of British policy in these periods to the practice of security itself, which requires a dangerous other and emergency periods to justify itself.

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Charlotte Heath-Kelly is a PhD student at the Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University. Her work uses Foucauldian theory to investigate armed organisations and counter-terrorism policy. She has published in the journal 'Security Dialogue' and has a forthcoming article in 'Partecipazione e Conflitto'.

**Christian Davenport**

faster nation state, kill, kill: exploring proportional, excessive and limited responses to political threats

**Panel IIIb. Organizational dynamics**

**Veronique Dudouet**

Intra-party dynamics and the political transformation of non-state armed groups

*Abstract*

Although non-state armed groups are primary stakeholders in contemporary political conflicts, there has been so very little academic attempt to elicit self-analysis on the part of (former) members of such organisations on the internal drivers and dynamics which shape processes of radicalisation and de-radicalisation. Moreover, at the policy level, state and international actors often assume that bringing rebel leaders and ‘spoilers’ to the negotiation table or ‘converting’ them to peaceful politicians requires the weakening, splinting or complete dismantlement of militant structures.

The purpose of this paper is to re-evaluate these assumptions in the light of rebel leaders’ own accounts of the internal dynamics within insurgency organisations prior to, during, and in the aftermath of political conflicts and peaceful settlements. Based on findings from participatory action research with leading members from various (former) armed resistance or liberation movements, the paper describes insiders’ analysis on the role of political/military leaderships and the role of internal consultation and debate during processes of radicalisation and de-radicalisation. On the one hand, it highlights the rational decision-making process whereby visionary and proactive leaders constantly (re)assess and adjust their methods of action (from unarmed to armed tactics and vice versa) according to the evolving strategic environment. On the other hand, it also describes the relations and power dynamics between members at the horizontal level (e.g. between ‘moderates’ and ‘radicals’) as well as vertically (across the hierarchy), as critical factors which enable collective ownership of transformation processes from violent insurgency to peaceful transition and which prevent the formation of intra-party splits and disaffection during peace negotiations.

The second part of the paper critically examines the claim that rebel organisations should be broken down as quickly as possible during peace processes, by highlighted the importance of retaining (at least temporarily) coordination and communication channels through cohesive structures. The organisational transformation of armed groups after peace agreements can be described as a two-staged process which helps to prevent the creation of security vacuums and support the re-skilling process of combatants: short term maintenance of command structures as ‘interim stabilisation measures’; long-term institutionalisation of civilian entities that pursue the ‘struggle’ through non-violent means (e.g. political parties, veteran associations, social movements, etc).

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Dr. Véronique Dudouet is senior researcher at Berghof Conflict Research in Berlin, where she coordinates the centre's activities on non-state armed groups in transition since 2005. Her research interests include conflict transformation, negotiation and mediation in asymmetric conflict, post-war security governance, nonviolent resistance, participatory action research. Previously, she completed her PhD in Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford, UK. She also has an MA in Conflict Resolution from the same institution, as well as an MPhil in International Relations and Security and a BA in Political Science from the Institute d'Etudes Politiques, Toulouse, France. She also carries out consultancy projects for various civil society organisations and the European Parliament. She currently edits the Berghof Transitions publication Series, and has previously been co-founder and editor of several graduate and electronic peer-reviewed journals.

### **Gianluca de Fazio**

Intra-Movement Competition and Political Outbidding in the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland, 1968-1972

#### *Abstract*

In 1968, the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) mobilized the Irish-Catholic minority in Northern Ireland to protest against discrimination, meeting hostile resistance by the Protestant majority and brutal repression by police forces. Soon, the reformist CRM turned to increasingly antagonistic and violent tactics of protest, while its goals shifted from the reform of the Northern Irish state to its abolition. The initial civil rights struggle was thus replaced with an ethno-nationalist insurgent campaign and the re-emergence of paramilitary organizations like the IRA, ultimately leading to the outbreak of the "Troubles". Why do social movements radicalize? Combining both quantitative and qualitative research methods, I examine the trajectory of contention of the CRM in Northern Ireland from 1968 to 1972. In this paper, I look into the internal dynamics which facilitated the adoption of extreme contention and claim-making by the CRM in Northern Ireland. I argue that when movement organizations compete over resources and attempt to politically outbid each other, they will tend to move toward radicalism.

Social movement organizations often engage in competitive struggles, if not sheer open conflict. *Intra-movement competition* may revolve around the allocation of (scarce) resources, such as external funding, allies among the political elite, media coverage and recruits. A certain degree of intra-movement competition is physiological and even valuable for the efficient functioning of a movement, as it can help acquiring new resources, targeting new constituencies and fostering commitment among supporters. Excessive competition though may lead to organizational radicalization, especially when it entwines with a process I call *political outbidding*. The concept of political outbidding is borrowed from political science and international relations studies of ethnic conflict and ethnic party systems. In those fields the term ethnic outbidding indicates a process in which political parties compete with each other to promote increasingly extreme nationalist positions. I argue that a more basic process of political outbidding occur across a wide-ranging variety of political contexts and actors, in which radical groups use extreme claims to defend the vital interests of their constituencies, accusing moderate organizations of treachery. To avoid losing ground against their more radical competitors, moderates have to modulate their positions and tactics, or

they risk being portrayed as betrayers of their political group's cause. In a situation of political outbidding, moderates have few strategic maneuvers to sustain a gradualist platform of action, as it might compel them into political irrelevance. The mutually reinforcing interaction of intra-movement competition and political outbidding legitimizes radical repertoires of action and claims, thus facilitating organizational radicalization.

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Gianluca De Fazio earned an MSc with distinction in Sociology at the University of Reading (UK) in 2005, and an MA cum laude in Sociology in 2003 at the University of Trento (Italy). He is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at Emory University. He has published in *Research on Social Movements, Conflict and Change* a paper on the policing of protest during the Troubles in Northern Ireland, and a comparative/historical analysis of civil rights mobilization and repression in Northern Ireland and the US Deep South in *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture*. His current research agenda seeks to provide significant substantive, theoretical and methodological advances in the social scientific understanding of political violence and radicalization. In particular, his research strives to unveil the underlying social networks of conflict that explain the emergence of violent contention across different geographical contexts and historical periods.

### Alexandra Stein

From Social Structure to the Mind: Disorganized Attachment as a Means of Control in Extremist Organizations

#### Abstract

Radicalization often results from coercive processes employed within closed, totalistic groups. This exploratory social psychological study investigates the mechanisms through which people become tightly bonded to such groups and differentiates these mechanisms from those operating within democratic, open groups. Using a multiple methods, comparative case study methodology within an attachment theory framework, the study investigates two US-based groups: the extremist and totalistic Newman Tendency is compared with the democratic, non-totalistic Green Party of the US. An innovative analytical approach is employed combining attachment theory and methods, network theory and methods, field observation and discourse analysis to produce thick descriptions of each group along with analyses of attachment relationships, ego-centric networks and patterns of discourse. In-depth interviews were conducted with 14 former members of the Newman Tendency and 12 former members of the Green Party. Features of totalism—found in the Newman Tendency, but not in the Green Party—include: a charismatic authoritarian leader; a hierarchical, closed network structure; a total ideology; coercive persuasion, and resulting radicalization and exploitation of followers.

The study demonstrates the process whereby the Newman Tendency positions itself as a safe haven for followers while simultaneously arousing fear in increasingly isolated followers, resulting in a situation of “fright without solution”. This induces disorganized attachment of the follower to the group, as measured by the new Group Attachment Interview. Disorganized attachment (similar to a trauma bond) is associated with cognitive lapses, disorientation, dissociation and confusion and creates cognitive and emotional

difficulties for followers. These cognitive and emotional effects allow for further insinuation of the group's total ideology and thus create a key pathway for radicalization. In contrast, Green Party followers demonstrated only an affiliative – not an attachment – relationship to their group. They showed almost no signs of dissociation or disorientation in their thinking about their group involvement. These findings clarify the social psychological mechanisms leading to radicalization, hyper-obedience and deployability of followers in extremist groups.

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Alexandra Stein, Ph.D. is a visiting lecturer in social psychology at Birkbeck University of London. Her interdisciplinary research focuses on the application of attachment and trauma theories to understanding processes of conversion or brainwashing. Alexandra lectures, publishes and consults on the topic of extremist groups. She has trained young people, parents, trade unionists, government officials, university students and political activists in practical methodologies to address warning signs, recruitment attempts, and the risks of involvement with extremist groups across the ideological spectrum. Her 2002 book, *Inside Out: A memoir of entering and breaking out of a Minneapolis political cult*, documents her own experiences in an extremist group.

### **Ekaterina Stepanova**

Terrorist networks and beyond: exploring ways to weaken organizational asymmetry

#### *Abstract*

In recent decades the spread of network features has increasingly affected both non-violent and violent non-state actors at different levels of world politics. This has produced a variety of hybrid structures that combine elements and features associated with more than one organizational form. Attempts to view the 'new', post-9/11 loosely organized transnational terrorist networks as a radical departure from 'old' terrorism of the more traditional, hierarchized and localized forms have been inconclusive. Select network elements were introduced by some terrorist organizations well before the turn of the century, and network features are increasingly employed by terrorist groups of different types, at levels from the local to the global. In this sense, organizational differences between modern terrorism at the transnational and the more localized levels may be more gradual than substantial (with more centralized models more widespread in the localized contexts).

Militant/terrorist groups may also display some new features that are not typical of any known organizational forms. This can be illustrated by the transnational movement made up of autonomous, often self-generating micro-cells based in different parts of the world, but sharing al-Qaeda's brand and ideology (the 'post-Qaeda' movement). The movement's organizational patterns go beyond the standard network. While it displays some key network features, it also manages to overcome some of the main weaknesses inherent to networks (difficulties in making strategic political–military decisions, in ensuring that these decisions are followed by all the main elements within the network and in exercising control over the implementation process). The movement is too effective for a network. This may be explained by a combination of 3 characteristics. (a) select hierarchical features (it is a multi-level network that, in contrast to 'leaderless resistance', has its leaders, both at the strategic/ideological levels and at the micro-level of individual cells). (b) The unusually high

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degree of informal coordination of the activities by micro-cells is explained by coordination mechanism untypical for either networks or hierarchies and stems from the specifics of the movement's consolidated ideological/strategic discourse. It allows individual cells to engage in whatever violent activity they can master at the micro level—regardless of the context—in a way that still makes the perpetrators and the global audience see these activities as coordinated at the macro level and ultimately directed towards the same final goal. (c) This is reinforced by the unusually high level of inter-personal trust and coherence at the micro-cell level, often built as 'associations', or 'brotherhoods'.

The paper views organizational systems of militant-terrorist actors, along with the high mobilizing potential of their extremist ideologies, as their two key asymmetrical resources in confrontation with state actors who enjoy qualitative power and status superiority. The more structural patterns of militant/terrorist actor are different from organizational system of its main protagonist (state, group of state), i. e. the stronger is the organizational asymmetry between the two – the more significant are the former's comparative advantages in asymmetrical confrontation. The paper explores ways to weaken this 'organizational' asymmetry at different levels of terrorist activity, including local/regional level.

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Dr Ekaterina Stepanova is a Lead Researcher at IMEMO (Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences), where she has worked since 2001. The focus of her research and publications is on conflicts, terrorism and other forms of armed violence, the political economy of conflicts, and conflicts and networks. Dr Stepanova is the author of six books, including *Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict: Ideological and Structural Aspects* (Oxford University Press, 2008). The latest of her co-edited volumes is *Terrorism: Patterns of Internationalization* (Sage, 2009). She serves on editorial boards of journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* (UK) and *Security Index* (Russia). She lectures in English at European University in Saint Petersburg and European Peace University (EPU), Austria. In 2007–2009, she was on leave from IMEMO to lead the Programme on armed conflicts and conflict management at SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute).

For more detail, see personal web-page: <http://user.rol.ru/~katyasta/indexeng.html>

### **Panel IIIc. Outcomes of De-/Radicalization**

**Lasse Lindeskilde**

Intended and Un-intended Consequences of Radicalization Prevention Policies: Creating Liberal Citizens or Fostering Illiberal Counter-identities?

*Abstract*

This paper investigates the intended and un-intended outcomes of radicalization prevention policies, focusing on the Danish action plan to prevent radicalization from 2009, and Danish Muslims as the primary target group. The paper argues that the intended outcome of the policies is the transformation, shaping and disciplining through various governing techniques of illiberal and violence prone 'radicals' into active, liberal citizens. However, the paper asks if the implementation of the action plan in practice may yield also unintended (negative) consequences. Here the paper argues, building on empirical research, that at least three sets of unintended outcomes may occur. First, using insights from policy learning studies the paper argues that the formulation, content, presentation and implementation of policies conveys important information to target groups (in this case particularly the Muslim minorities) of their position in society. Concretely the argument is that the policies directed at Danish Muslims might learn them that they are not perceived generally as active, liberal citizens, but rather as a security risk. Secondly, and building on theories of recognition, the paper discusses if perceived misrecognition in policies may shape negatively identity strategies among target groups. Thirdly, the paper argues that at a more overall, political level radicalization prevention policies and the radicalization discourse in general, limits the possibilities for Muslim participation in public debates. The argument presented here is that through the concrete policy measures of radicalization prevention and the inherent definition of what constitutes radicalism such policies and discourses marks important limits on what can be tolerated in public life, not just in terms of practices and actions, but also in terms of attitudes, opinions and values.

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Lasse Lindekilde  
PhD, Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
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### **Kevin Bean**

Responding to radicalization: British state strategy and the Provisional Republican movement 1970-1998

#### *Abstract*

This paper discusses the changing forms of British government policy towards the Provisional Republican movement as a case study of how states respond to the challenges of radicalization. It will do this by considering the shifting aims and objectives of British counter insurgency policy and the developing balance of political, military and socio-economic elements within the state's strategic repertoire during this period.

The paper identifies a number of strands and phases in British policy, but places a particular emphasis on the importance of social and economic policy as a political instrument. In tracing the aims, objectives and methods of state strategy it shows how London made a direct connection between social and economic deprivation and political conflict, and developed a range of strategies that combined counter-insurgency with conventional urban, social and economic policies.

In the 1980s, for example, attempts were made to influence nationalist civil society and thus marginalize the insurgent challenge of the Provisionals. The peace process model adopted by



both the Major and Blair governments in the 1990s built on this experience: after 1997 these policies had the ambitious aim of transforming the region's economy and thus its social structure as the starting point for the creation and stabilization of a new political dispensation. Another strand drew on the international experiences of peace processes and the role of civil society in managing and transforming conflict.

The result was that by the 1990s a variety of factors had combined to draw the nationalist population in general into closer relationships with the British state in all its forms. In the case of the Provisionals, this process was one of institutionalization and incorporation that saw them develop from a social movement resisting the state to become a constitutional political party taking part in its government.

The paper concludes by looking at the patterns of these partnerships and relationships in Northern Ireland and assesses whether they reveal an underlying and continuing state strength or weakness in the face of an insurgent challenge. It also considers what British strategy tells us about the nature of the contemporary state and the limitations on its ability to shape the forms and structures of civil society.

In making these assessments, the paper will suggest that British state strategy in its various manifestations of both 'hard' and 'soft' power has been effective in creating an essentially stabilizing structure of power that will continue to define Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future. However, it will also suggest that the contradictions of this process of incorporation make the definition of success and failure a far from simple matter for both the state and the former insurgents. Given the international interest in the Northern Ireland peace process and the widely held view that it provides a model for how states should respond to radical challengers, this discussion should have broader relevance to our understanding of the processes of radicalization and de-radicalization in the twenty first century.

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Dr. Kevin Bean is a lecturer in Irish politics at the Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool. His research interests include Provisional republicanism, state counter-insurgency strategies, the development of nationalism as a political force in contemporary Europe, and mobilization theory and social movements.

His publications include *Republican Voices* (edited with Mark Hayes) Monaghan 2001, *The New Politics of Sinn Féin*, Liverpool 2007, 'Defining Republicanism: Shifting Discourses of Post-Republicanism and New Nationalism', in M. Elliott (ed.) *The Long Road to Peace in Northern Ireland*, Liverpool 2007, "'The Economic and Social War Against Violence": British Social and Economic Strategy and the Evolution of Provisionalism', in A. Edwards and S. Bloomer (eds) *Transforming the Peace Process in Northern Ireland*, Dublin 2008, and two forthcoming chapters in edited collections: 'The Politics of Fear? Provisionalism, Loyalism and the New Politics of Northern Ireland' (February 2011), and 'Civil society, the state and conflict resolution in the nationalist community' (autumn 2011).

He is currently researching aspects of politics and society in Northern Ireland after 1945, and British state strategy in Northern Ireland 1968-1976.

### Jocelyn Viterna

Re-mobilization, De-mobilization, or Incarceration? Understanding the Personal and Political Consequences of Guerrilla Participation for Women—and Women’s Rights—in El Salvador

#### *Abstract*

Waging war was once thought to be an exclusively masculine endeavor. However, over the last half-century, women have increasingly joined the front lines of battle in both state and rebel armies around the globe. Using data from in-depth interviews with 230 Salvadorans—guerrillas and non-guerrillas, men and women, leaders and grassroots combatants—I develop an identity-based theory that accounts for micro-level variation in mobilization processes. I then apply this theory to the case of El Salvador. I find that women who successfully walked the line between combatant and civilian during the war occupied powerful “brokerage” positions that in turn allowed them to capitalize on new political and economic opportunities after the war had ended. In contrast, women who “bent gender” the most during times of war—the full-time, front-line combatants—were the least likely to benefit politically or economically from their wartime actions, because they lacked the necessary connections or respect. Finally, I argue that the Salvadoran Left has actively promoted conservative gender ideologies as a strategy to “prove” their “deradicalization” in the post-war era—a strategy that has left their female supporters remobilized into a different (feminist) fight, altogether demobilized, or even incarcerated.

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Jocelyn Viterna is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. Her research explores the evolving relationship between the state and civil society in countries transitioning to democracy, and how especially how gender is utilized and changed with those transitions. Her region of emphasis is Latin America. Currently, she is developing four lines of research. The first project investigates the gendered causes and consequences of guerrilla participation in El Salvador in the 1980. The second examines cross-national variations in states’ genders with democratic transitions. The third interrogates the role of NGOs in both hampering and enhancing grassroots political participation in new democracies. The final project evaluates how political elites control women’s reproductive systems for strategic ends, and discusses the consequences of that control for gender systems more broadly. Her work has been published in journals such as the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *American Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, and the *Latin American Research Review*, and her book manuscript, *Women and War*, is under contract with Oxford University Press for publication in 2011.

### Niall Ó Dochartaigh

Outcomes of negotiated deradicalization in the Irish peace process

#### *Abstract*

A negotiation process that engages radical organisations and addresses radical grievances is one of the principal means by which deradicalization takes place. Negotiated deradicalization is a form of deradicalization that involves distinctive dynamics and outcomes that can be more fully understood through an engagement with the literature on

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negotiation and mediation. This paper argues that the process of negotiation itself is a key component in the process of deradicalization, a key mechanism for changing attitudes and building new relationships that generate a reassessment of radical positions even before a formal agreement is reached.

Negotiation is a cooperative process by definition. In negotiations between states and radical opponents it can become a joint project in which transformations in state positions and attitudes proceed in tandem with deradicalization of opposing forces.

Using interview evidence and newly available primary documentation on the Irish peace process this paper analyzes the gradual development of a negotiating relationship between the leadership of the Provisional IRA and the British government and traces the relationship between the negotiation process and the process of deradicalization. The paper argues that this distinctive form of deradicalization (through negotiation) produces distinctive outcomes. It can facilitate a transformation of relationships to the extent that radical organisations can move into a position of active cooperation and partnership with the state, acting as advocates of order. Rather than being marginalised and eliminated through deradicalization, radical organizations can be strengthened and moved to the centre of the political arena as they deradicalize, increasing the degree of political consensus and strengthening the state.

It argues that the negotiation process itself is a key mechanism for deradicalization through the restructuring of the relationship between the state and radical opponents. It suggests that radical ideologies should not be regarded as evidence of the impossibility of a negotiated compromise settlement because the negotiation process itself is a key mechanism for deradicalization.

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Niall O'Dochartaigh is College Lecturer at the School of Political Science and Sociology, National University of Ireland, Galway. His research is focused on the politics of conflict in Northern Ireland, conflict negotiation, conflict and new technologies and conflict and territory. He is the author of *Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish troubles* (Cork University Press 1997; 2nd edn Palgrave 2005) and two books on Internet research (Sage 2001; Sage 2007). He has published in *Political Geography*, *Mobilization*, *Irish Political Studies*, *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *Identities* and *Contemporary British History*.

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## Panel IV. Theories, methods, ethics and strategies: Transdisciplinary perspectives

### Donatella della Porta

Comparing the incomparable?

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Donatella Della Porta is professor of sociology in the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute. She is on leave of absence from the University of Florence, where she was full professor of Political Science, president of the corso di laurea in Administrative Sciences, and Director of the Department of Political Science and Sociology at the University of Florence.

Professor Della Porta received a Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales of Paris and a Ph.D in political and social sciences at the European University Institute in Florence.

She directs the DEMOS project (Democracy in Europe and the Mobilisation of the Society), financed under the VI FP by the EC. She coordinated the Gruppo di Ricerca sull'azione collettiva in Europa (GRACE), and has conducted research also at Cornell University, Ithaca N.Y, and at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. In 1990 she received a Career Development Award of the H.F. Guggenheim Foundation; in 1997 a Stipendium of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung.

Her main research interests concern social movements, political violence, terrorism, corruption, police and policies of public order. On these issues she has conducted investigations in Italy, France, Germany and Spain.

She has directed a project of comparative research on control of public mass demonstrations in Europe and one on the police in Italy. Currently she is involved in several comparative projects on citizenship and social movements. She is coeditor of the European Political Science Review (ECPR and Cambridge University Press; [journals.cambridge.org/epsr](http://journals.cambridge.org/epsr)).

Professor Della Porta has been appointed to the Chair in Sociology, and joined the Department of Political and Social Sciences on 1 April 2003.

### Tore Bjorgo

Deradicalisation and Disengagement: Some conceptual clarifications

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Tore Bjorgo is Professor at the Norwegian Police University College and currently involved in research on The Consortium for Research on Terrorism and International Crime. Since 2004 he inherits a position as senior research fellow at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI).

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**Heinz-Gerhard Haupt**

A Historical comparison between violent organisations and individual careers

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Dr. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt is professor of social history at Bielefeld University and head of the Department of History and Civilization at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His work focuses on social history and political history of modern Europe, methodology of comparative history. His current research projects encompass History of Political Violence in 19th and 20th Century Europe, History of Consumption in 19th and 20th Century Europe, History of Social Movements and Classes: The First of May in Europe after 1945, Comparative History of European Nationalism: Nation and Religion in 19th and 20th Century. Recent publications include *Neue Politikgeschichte* [New political history] (with Ute Frevert, eds.) (2005); *Exklusion und Partizipation* [Exclusion and participation] (with C. Gusy, Eds.); *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren* [Terrorism in the Federal Republic of Germany: Media, state, and subcultures] (with K. Weinbauer and J. Requate, Eds.) (2006). He is organizer of the international research group "Control of Violence" at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF), Bielefeld University (with Wilhelm Heitmeyer/Bielefeld).