

## 1. Preface

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Dear readers,

Hereby you receive the first external newsletter of the FP6-project Transnational Terrorism, Security and the Rule of Law (TTSRL). In the following months you will receive additional newsletters in which more results of the project will be presented. The TTSRL-consortium has been working together since June 2006 and has reached the phase of disseminating the results of the various specialized research topics. The Dutch partners COT, TNO and Clingendael, the Danish partner DCISM, the Czech partner IIR and the Spanish partner FRIDE are proud of these results and are looking forward to your ideas, suggestions or general feedback.

TTSRL is a project with two general objectives. First, the consortium will analyze the nature and significance of the evolving threat of transnational terrorism to the European Union and its individual Member States. Based on this primary analysis we will then examine the appropriateness and effectiveness of response options aimed at dealing with these threats and their impacts. The project will thus entail the conducting of a structured, well-founded survey into the various response options towards transnational terrorism and the theoretical assumptions on which they are based. The special value of the project will consist of benchmarking the approaches and policy-options currently in use within the various Member States, and assessing these comparatively. Combined with the conceptual underpinnings of this benchmarking exercise, the project will yield insights into the appropriateness and effectiveness of various approaches and measures from a national and a European perspective, the ethical issues related to this field, and cost-benefit considerations.

We are thankful for the fact that this research has been made possible through the support of the European Commission. We found that being part of a European research community gives us the benefit of exchange of relevant knowledge and ideas with several international partners. We believe that this has contributed and still contributes significantly to the quality of the results that this project brings forth. We have included a few of these projects, their studies and contact details at the bottom of this website for more information.

In this first newsletter we will provide you with a short outline of the project and its objectives, a short introduction of the partners involved and – most importantly – an overview of the first research results: a survey of the theoretical literature on how to define and categorize 'security'. In this analysis, special attention is of course devoted to the role that terrorism has played in this definitional development – both in the traditional concepts of security, in the various transition debates around the

end of the Cold War and in the subsequent decade, and in the new emerging consensus. The results of this survey provide for a theoretical basis on which the rest of the research is based.

We invite you to stay in tune with our research progress in the months to come. We look forward to discussing the research results with our research colleagues throughout Europe and also those from other corners of the globe. To do this, you can contact us either via our project-website ([www.transnationalterrorism.eu](http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu)) or via e-mail ([transnationalterrorism@cot.nl](mailto:transnationalterrorism@cot.nl)). The research proposal as well as all the written research results, news items and other relevant information are all published on our project-website. For further contact information, please check our website.

On behalf of the entire TTSRL-consortium,

Professor Erwin Muller, director of COT  
Roland Bron MA, LL.M., senior researcher and TTSRL-project leader, COT



## 2. Consortium

The TTSRL project is carried out by a consortium of six partner research institutes located across Europe. The following is a brief description of each partner institute. For more information on the institutes, please visit our research website ([www.transnationalterrorism.eu](http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu)) where you will also find links to each partners' homepage.



*The consortium and the program-officer, Angela Liberatore, during the kick-off meeting in The Hague*

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**COT Institute for Safety, Security and Crisis Management**

This institute is located in The Hague (The Netherlands) and is the leading partner in this academic research project. The project leader / coordinator is Ms. Frédérique Petit, MA.

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**Clingendael Institute of International Relations**

This institute is also located in The Hague (The Netherlands). It has four specific departments within international relations: Diplomatic Studies; European Studies; Security and Conflict and Energy. The project coordinator for TTSRL is Ms. Polyna Berlin BA.

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**DCISM Danish Centre for International Studies and Human Rights**

DCISM carries out research, analyses, and information activities in Denmark concerning international affairs. DCISM consist of two independently working institutions: Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS). Their project coordinator is Mr. Jorgen Staun, Ph.D. The other institute is The Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR). Their project coordinator is Mr. Hans-Otto Sano, MA.

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**FRIDE, A European Think Tank for Global Action**

This institute is located in Madrid (Spain), their main focus is International Relations and International dialogue. The project coordinator for TTSRL is Mr. Paulo Botta.

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**IIR Institute of International Relations Prague**

This institute is located in Prague (Czech Republic) and is focused besides international relations, on the Czech foreign and security policy. The project coordinator for TTSRL is Dr. Veronika Bílková.



- **TNO Technical Scientific Research Institute**

This institute is also located in The Hague (The Netherlands). The department of this institute which participates in TTSRL is the Defence, Security and Safety department. The TTSRL project coordinator is Drs. Erik Frinking.

### 3. The Project in short

As is outlined in the project proposal, which can be downloaded [here](#), the project consists of several workpackages, seven in total. The first and the last workpackage consist solely of management and dissemination activities respectively, whereas all the others are focused on specific substantive issues related to terrorism studies. Below we will provide you with a short overview of the substantive workpackages. In the first substantive workpackage (WP 2), we have placed the subject of terrorism within the security discourse, also providing an overview of the most fundamental changes within this general discourse. Lastly, this workpackage will point out the gaps that have been identified between the changes within the security discourse and the evaluation of terrorist practices.

The third workpackage (WP 3) focuses on several aspects solely concerned with terrorism. The results of this research will be presented in the form of two studies, one outlining the conceptual difficulties and issues related to (the concept of) terrorism, while the other will offer a practical outline along the lines of case studies of several terrorist and terrorist associated groups and organizations.

The following workpackage (WP 4) concentrates on the effects of terrorism on societies. This will be done by assessing the relationship between terrorism and the media, investigating factors leading to radicalization and presenting an overview of the current de-radicalization practices, concluding with the effects of terrorism and counterterrorism efforts on social order, the concept of civil peace in general and minority groups in particular.

Another workpackage (WP 5) will assess and make explicit what the negative economic effects of terrorism are, could be and how these can be countered by protecting critical infrastructure.

Finally, the last substantive workpackage (WP 6) will put forward studies that will outline an ethically comprehensive European counterterrorism strategy. Assessing the counterterrorism measures that have been taken in European and national context, the research will evaluate these and combined with the results of the previous workpackages put forward concrete proposals for a comprehensive framework in European and national policy making.

The results of all these workpackages will be disseminated through newsletters, the project [website](#), as well as various seminars, workshops and of course the concluding conference (see below) to be held in December 2008 in Brussels.

If you would like to know more about any of these specific workpackages you can always contact us at [Transnationalterrorism@cot.nl](mailto:Transnationalterrorism@cot.nl) and we will be more than happy to provide you with more information.

## 4. TTSRL Workpackage 2, Summary of Deliverable 1

The full text of this deliverable, including literature annotations and sources are available on the TTSRL-website.

In this first deliverable we analyzed the concept of security and the key contemporary debates in security studies. We also investigated how transnational terrorism fits into the conceptual development of security. Understanding the wider context of terrorism and counterterrorism will be crucial to the TTSRL project, which will increasingly focus on the phenomenon of terrorism itself and on specific counter-strategies. Analyzing the changing security discourse allows us to better understand both the current state of the field and its place in academic discourse.

Security is a contested concept which defies pursuit of a generally agreed definition. The concept refers to different sets of issues, purposes and values, often closely reflecting conflicting theories in International Relations. The debate remains among academics on the conceptualization of security, most notably on the level of analysis and the scope of the study of security. This debate can be traced back to the dominant theoretical traditions in International Relations and the continuing competition between these different traditions. The influence of this debate is not limited to the academic world. Policymakers and commentators alike invoke elements of the theoretical traditions when articulating solutions to security dilemmas. This preliminary report thus sets the stage for the remainder of the research project by presenting a survey of the academic literature. The focus is on the key debates and theories in security studies and on major contributions to this academic field published between 1991 and 2006.

The issues discussed reveal the multiple extensions of security proposed by scholars from the 1980s onwards. These extensions can be summarized in four inter-related themes. The debate on the 'broadening' of security reveals two main types of extension concerning the source of the security threat. First, a *horizontal* extension can be observed in concepts of security to include a range of non-military threats, such as transnational terrorism, environmental degradation and international migration. The horizontal extension of security has been accompanied by a second, *vertical* type of extension involving the extension of the political responsibility for ensuring security. Whereas in the traditional, neorealist concept of security state-level military forces were seen to play a crucial role in ensuring security, responsibility for security is now diffused in multiple directions: from national states, including upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local governments, and sideways to nongovernmental organizations, to public opinion and the press, and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market.

Two other types of extension can be identified with regard to the referent object of security, that is, the sorts of entities whose security is to be ensured. Critics of the state-centric approach to security have argued for an *upwards* extension of the concept of security, from the security of nations to the security of the international system, or of a supranational physical environment. Finally, the concept of security is extended *downwards* from the security of states to the security of groups and individuals. It is important to note that these themes are not entirely new. Both the multidimensionality of security and the conceptualizing of security at levels other than the nation-state are not new 'discoveries', as we have sought to show

in this chapter. Of particular interest for present purpose is the fact that the multiple extensions of security have become increasingly dominant in academic and policy discourses of security.

Thinking about security has been increasingly influenced by the four extensions outlined in this section, reshaping the more traditional concept of security into a broader and more diffuse understanding of security. Following this conclusion, we have examined the ways in which these developments have shaped the securitization of transnational terrorism.

We analyzed the multiple extensions of the concept of security in recent years. In particular, we have shown how scholars have argued for a broadening of the security agenda to cover a variety of economic, social, ecological and demographic issues. To illustrate this development, we described two 'new' security issues: environmental security and international migration. But we have examined in detail a third type of security threat: transnational terrorism. Although terrorism is by no means a new phenomenon, in recent years terrorism, and particularly its transnational dimensions, has come to be appreciated as a prominent threat to Western and European security.

While exploring the academic debate on terrorism during the Cold War, it is clear that the phenomenon of terrorism did not emerge for the first time during the Cold War. There are numerous incidents and groups in history that have been labeled 'terrorist', such as the Jewish Zealots and the Islamic Fidayeen. But to be able to classify certain actions, individuals or groups as 'terrorism' or 'terrorists', a definition of terrorism is required. The definition of terrorism constitutes a major element of the third work package of the TTSRL research project, and we have therefore not explored this issue at great length in this first deliverable. We did, however, briefly examine the academic debate on terrorism that emerged during the Cold War in order to outline the position of terrorism on the Cold War security agenda. It is clear that transnational terrorism is one of the issues that were increasingly viewed through the security prism, that is, as a prominent threat to international security. Although during the Cold War international terrorism occurred in many places and in different forms, the blanket of the Cold War that lay on the security debate prevented transnational terrorism from becoming a major issue in the academic literature. And despite the growing interest in the study of international terrorism in the course of the 1990s, the subject still lacked the academic and popular attention it would receive after the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001. 9/11 sparked fierce debate among scholars as to the implications of the events for international security and the threat of transnational (Islamist) terrorism.

The changing security perceptions in the West over the past two decades have been conceptualized as a shift from a 'Friend-Foe' to a 'Cosmos-Chaos' divide. During the Cold War period the bipolar divide between the 'Free World' and the 'Evil Empire' structured security perceptions. It was not until the Gulf War and the US-led coalition against Iraq that a partnership between the West and Russia against a new 'Other' became possible. The new 'Other' was no longer a major 'Foe'. It had now become those peripheral terrorist regimes and unpredictable rules that were to be policed by the 'World Society', giving rise to a 'Cosmos-Chaos' divide. But in recent years the two types of perceived divide appear to have become increasingly intertwined, at least rhetorically. The US-led 'war on terrorism' targets not only 'Chaos', but also a new major 'Foe': transnational Islamist terrorism. The promise of

a 'long war on terrorism', to be fought on multiple fronts, recalls in some ways the clearly defined enemy of the Cold War.

The predominance of transnational terrorism on the security agenda is visible in Australia and the United States, but also in Europe. This led to a recent convergence in security identities among Western democracies. Whereas before September 11, 2001 Europe and the United States were moving apart on a whole series of issues – for example on genetic foods, missile defense and a European military – 9/11 and the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London have, at least for the moment, generated a 'common security identity'.

The events of September 11, 2001 and subsequent terrorist attacks in Madrid and London had a major impact on the security agendas of European governments. They equalized threat perceptions among citizens of EU member states and led to a gradual harmonization of states' counterterrorism measures. 9/11 also triggered a re-evaluation of legislative, judicial and investigative policies to combat terrorism at a national and international level. The initial sense of urgency following 9/11 materialized in several measures aimed at the prevention of terrorist attacks, including the protection of critical infrastructures and objects, increased intelligence, the strengthening of legal structures and a crackdown on money laundering. 9/11 accelerated decision-making about terrorism at an EU level. The EU priority program placed 'combating terrorism in an area of freedom, security and justice' first in a list of six key priorities, even before the introduction of the Euro and EU enlargement. The program called the EU's future fragile '[...] with the emergence of new transnational challenges and dangers such as terrorism and organized crime'. During this period the EU also declared its solidarity with the US-led war on terrorism, resulting in a greater influence of US counterterrorism strategies on EU policy. Traditional internal threats were being reconceptualized.

The intensification of the fight against terrorism at an EU level can be identified on four different dimensions. The first sphere of activity is the active pursuit of legal harmonization. A second objective is the rapid expansion and reinforcement of institutional capacity within the EU. A third area of activity is the encapsulation of counterterrorism in the EU's foreign policy agenda and the reinforcement of transatlantic relations. The final dimension of heightened EU activity is 'the construction of a uniform conception of terrorism as a dominant security threat, building on the merging process between internal and external security'.

The Europeanization and the externalization of internal security have had a major impact on the policy-making process in the field of EU Justice and Home Affairs. The externalization of internal security issues created an incentive for national law enforcement agencies to devote an increasing proportion of their institutional and operational efforts to the international arena. The externalization of internal security has generated an increased overlap, and occasionally open competition, with the policy communities and public agencies traditionally dedicated to the task of ensuring external security.

As a final result of our research efforts, we present a concise set of conclusions regarding the notions and dimensions of security. In addition, conclusions are formulated concerning the development of transnational terrorism as a security issue and its consequences for the conceptualization of security.

1. Security is a contested concept which defies pursuit of a generally agreed definition. The concept refers to different sets of issues, purposes and values, often closely reflecting conflicting theories in International Relations. The debate remains among academics on the conceptualization of security, most notably on the level of analysis and the scope of the study of security. This debate can be traced back to the dominant theoretical traditions in International Relations and the continuing competition between these different traditions. The influence of this debate is not limited to academia. Policymakers and commentators alike invoke elements of the theoretical traditions when articulating solutions to security dilemmas.

2. The focus and scope of security studies has evolved significantly over the years. During the pre-Cold War years several scholars advocated a relatively broad understanding of security. At this stage the field of security studies was not yet as preoccupied with deterrence and nuclear weaponry as it would become during the Cold War era. In the Cold War period the concept of security became more narrowly defined, primarily at the nation-state level and almost exclusively through the military prism.

The concepts proposed in the pre-Cold War years have been neglected by the vast majority of scholars since the Cold War, despite the historical continuities in scholarly attempts to broaden the scope of security studies.

3. The dominant concept of security during the Cold War was intimately linked to realist theory, which focuses on states' behavior in ensuring security by military means. This concept equated security with military issues and the state-centered use of force. The conventional concept of security has been increasingly challenged on a number of issues. Some scholars criticized the almost exclusive focus on military threat in realist thinking about security, stressing the need for incorporating a range of neglected issues into the concept of security. Others challenged the state-centric focus of the concept, opting for a more multi-level analysis of security. Some academics also rejected the ethnocentricity of traditional approaches to and definitions of security, arguing that these approaches should be seen in their specific cultural context: the highly industrialized and modernized democracies of the West. Feminist critiques of security studies challenge the masculinist modes of domination underlying the concept of security, claiming that security serves patriarchal relations of power and therefore renders women insecure. Recent studies also emphasize the framing of certain issues as a security problem. In this view, there are no security threats in themselves, but only issues constructed as such by certain actors through speech acts and through the specific practices of security professionals. In the process of securitization an existential threat is designated, which requires immediate action or special measures to fight the perceived threat.

4. The end of the Cold War generated heightened scholarly debate on the future of national and international security. The new research agenda became broader in its focus. Several influential scholars concentrated on issues other than deterrence and military force, giving way to the multifaceted extension of the concept of security. One of the most dominant issues in this debate has been the consequences of globalization, notably the relations between states and non-state actors in the international system and the rise of transnational criminal networks. Globalization is commonly viewed to have fundamentally altered both the threats to security and the means for ensuring security.

5. Several scholars have argued for the 'broadening' and the 'deepening' of the concept of security. Each of these debates focus on different questions. The broadening debate essentially questions the source of threat to security. In this context, many scholars stress the importance of extending the concept of security to other issues or sectors other than the military one. The deepening debate deals

principally with the question of the referent object of security. In this sense, questions have been raised whether entities other than the state should be able to claim security threats, moving either down to the level of individual or human security or up to the level of international or global security, with regional and societal security as possible intermediate points.

6. The academic debate on the 'broadening' and the 'deepening' of security reveals the contested nature of security. The alternative concepts of security have, to varying extents, been challenged on several aspects. Incorporating new dimensions and levels of security, it is argued, may not be very useful at all since it may damage the term's conceptual coherence and render it void of meaning. There is no consensus on the analytical usefulness and operability of alternative concepts of security and, as a consequence, the concept of security is as contested as ever.

7. As recent terrorist attacks on American and European soil demonstrate, transnationally organized networks of non-state actors can pose a significant threat to national and international security. These recent events have had a profound impact on the scholarly debate concerning the consequences of globalization and, more specifically, the threat of non-state actors to security and the means for individual states to ensure security. Policy perceptions of terrorism have also been moving away from state-based terrorism to transnational terrorist networks.

8. Only in recent years has transnational terrorism come to be considered as a prominent threat to Western and European security. Transnational terrorism is one of the issues which are increasingly viewed through the security prism, reflecting the broadening of security studies in general.

Although terrorism is not a new phenomenon, during the Cold War the study of terrorism received comparatively little attention as the East-West confrontation dominated the international security agenda. The main focus during the Cold War was on state-sponsored terrorism, and more specifically on Soviet support for revolutionary movements. In the 1990s the focus of terrorism studies shifted towards the threat of terrorism with 60 weapons of mass destruction. Contemporary terrorism studies increasingly focus on fluid cross-bordering terrorist networks.

9. The perceived threat of transnational terrorism has had a major effect on EU member states' counterterrorism strategies, both individually and collectively. Recent attacks have generated a heightened and shared sense of urgency, although significant national variations remain. The recent terrorist attacks in the United States and in Europe equalized threat perceptions among member states and led to a gradual harmonization of states' counterterrorism measures, including specific anti-terrorist legislation. The heightened attention for terrorism at an EU level is based on the perception that the EU is not merely a likely target for terrorist attacks, but also an important stage for preparatory and logistic purposes. Recent terrorist attacks had led to an intensification of a fight against terrorism at an EU level, including increased cooperation with the United States.

## 5. Upcoming events

# Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law

[www.transnationalterrorism.eu](http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu)



### Presents:

## The Concluding Conference

December 2008, Brussels

Presenting the results of the research-project

With: workshops, lectures, plenary sessions

Speakers: Prof. Dr. Uriël Rosenthal  
 Prof. Dr. Erwin Muller  
 Dr. Edwin Bakker  
 Dr. Petr Drulák  
 Mariano Aguirre Ernst  
 And many others...

More information on the exact date, location and program will be announced in subsequent newsletters.

### Other Events:

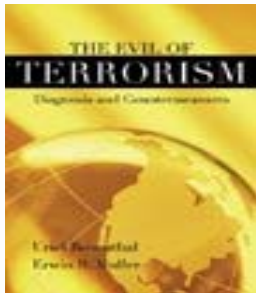
- **International Seminar for Experts in the series *Great Debates***, organized by the Cicero Foundation (Paris, France) (3 - 4 April 2008)  
*Justice and Home Affairs In The European Union:  
 Migration, Border control and counter-terrorism in an enlarged Schengen Area.*

Details and program and registration: [www.cicerofoundation.org](http://www.cicerofoundation.org)

- **15th World Congress of Criminology** (Barcelona, Spain) (20-25 July 2008)  
 Click [here](#) for more information.

## 6. Reading corner

### Books:



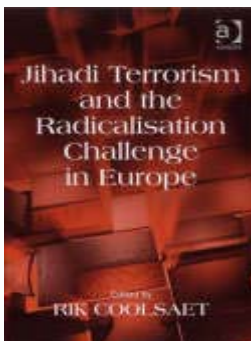
#### **The Evil of Terrorism: [Diagnosis and Countermeasures](#).**

Uriel Rosenthal, Erwin R. Muller

The United States and other countries throughout the world have suffered from catastrophic terrorism causing mass casualties. Elsewhere, terrorists have taken the lives of prominent people in ostentatiously cruel ways. In Iraq, bloody terrorist attacks are an endemic phenomenon. They have become part of daily life. There is no reason to expect a reduction of the new terrorism in the foreseeable future. On the contrary, there will be new waves of terrorism, including attacks with unconventional means.

The globalization of the new terrorism is reflected not only in the mobility of terrorists but especially in the worldwide distribution of ideas and methods practiced by terrorist networks. The world is facing the threat of a shift from terrorism to terror - towards a society intimidated by a continuous threat of arbitrary, massive violence.

[This book](#) addresses the shift in many parts of the world from terrorism to an atmosphere of terror. It stresses the lack of symmetry between democratic governments which have to obey the rule of law and international conventions, and terrorists cherishing a total denial of rules and norms.



#### **[Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe](#)**

Rik Coolsaet

The authors formulate five missions for democratic governments: do not deny the most serious threat; make life as difficult as possible for terrorists; upgrade the quality of acute crisis management in the case of a terrorist attack; improve the quality of consequence management after terrorist attacks; and increase the effort to channel collective stress in the aftermath of a terrorist assault.

The authors claim that the fight against terrorism is first and foremost a responsibility of democratic states. Throughout its existence, the United Nations has been unable to give shape and substance to an effective counterterrorism strategy. An alliance of democratic states would be in a much better position to take on the legitimate fight against international terrorism.<sup>1</sup>

Focusing on the situation of jihadi terrorism and radicalization in Europe, this volume looks at the growing tendency of self-radicalization and self-recruitment of individuals. Comprised of thirteen articles, this collective work provides a precise state of the threat as well as a thorough analysis of the radicalization process. Combining a theoretical approach with novel thinking and "out of the box" policy recommendations, this volume is aimed at a wide audience of policy-makers, academics and think tank practitioners.

<sup>1</sup> As abstracted from the Publisher.

Contributing to the volume are two of Clingendael's senior researchers, head of Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme, Dr. Edwin Bakker and former European Union Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, Mr. Gijs de Vries. With a revealing look at the threat of jihadi terrorists in Europe, Bakker focuses on the characteristics of European jihadi terrorists and the circumstances under which they join the jihad.

Building on the widely-cited research of Marc Sageman in *Understanding Terror Networks*, the work presents new developments including investigation of the changing shape and size of jihadi terrorism. The research identifies 31 jihadi terrorist incidents and presents a study of 242 individuals involved and their characteristics. Delving further into the individuals' circumstances of joining the jihad, the evidence suggests that while there is no standard profile attributable to jihadi terrorists in Europe, common traits can be acknowledged.

A more in-depth analysis of the jihadi terrorists in Europe as well as other insightful contributions can be found in the completed volume *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe*.

### ***The Evolution of Al-Qaedaism: Ideology, terrorists, and appeal***

By Edwin Bakker and Leen Boer

**([Clingendael Security Paper](#), December 2007)**

Given the extreme fluidity of 'Al-Qaeda,' this study will not try to analyze the latest developments or to describe the Al-Qaeda of today. Instead the authors go back to basics and look at the different forms and phases of Al-Qaeda, and investigate the persons and ideas behind it. With regard to the latter, their primary focus is not on the many post-'9/11' studies on Al-Qaeda, but on the documents and statements of Al-Qaeda itself. The basic research questions of this study can be divided into two sets. First it focuses on the following two questions: *how did Al-Qaeda develop since the early 1990s?*, and: *who are the Al-Qaeda terrorists?* Next, the study zooms in on Al-Qaeda's ideology: *what does Al-Qaeda stand for?*; *what does Al-Qaeda feed on?*, and *why, how and to what extent does Al-Qaeda appeal to various groups of Muslims?* The study concludes with a brief exposé on possible future developments and a number of recommendations for policy makers and suggestions for further research.

### ***Jihadi terrorists in Europe***

By Edwin Bakker

**([Clingendael Security Paper](#), December 2006)**

The exploratory study of jihadi terrorist in Europe focuses on the developments of jihadi terrorists as 'self-organized' and 'self-recognized' groups. Based on the methodological framework of Marc Sageman, the study examines characteristics of 242 individuals and 28 networks involved in jihadi terrorist activities in Europe in the period between September 2001 and October 2006. The study aims to shed light on whether the groups and individuals differ from global Salafi terrorists, or if the circumstances in which they joined are fundamentally different from those in which Salafis joined the fight. Finally, it compares the European sample with that of Sageman's research of 172 global Salafi jihadi terrorists.