

**THE UNITED NATIONS ACTION TO COUNTER TERRORISM AND AN
INTRODUCTION TO UNICRI INITIATIVES**

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I. INTRODUCTION

The scope of this paper is to provide a brief introduction to the mechanisms behind the United Nations (UN) global strategy to combat terrorism in all its forms with the aim of presenting a holistic view of the work carried out. What follows comprises a short summary of the UN action in the field of terrorism prevention, including a mention of some key resolutions and instruments, its strategy in broad terms, and information on some of the different UN entities working in this field. This will lead to the section describing the work of the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Institute (UNICRI) and its programmes relevant to advancing the aims of the UN in this area, where the Institute has more than ten years of experience. In the final part of the document, an introduction will be provided on the theoretical and practical foundation used by UNICRI for one of its projects on Counter-terrorism, namely the project on rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremists in prisons.

II. THE UNITED NATIONS COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGY

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is a unique instrument designed to foster and enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism globally. It was adopted by consensus on 8 September 2006 by the UN General Assembly during which all Member States agreed to a common strategic and operational approach to fight terrorism. Through this action, states have sent a clear message that condemns terrorism in all its forms whilst also resolving to take practical steps both individually and collectively in order to prevent and combat this global threat.¹

The Strategy, with its relevant resolution and Plan of Action, is composed of four key pillars,² namely:

- Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.
- Measures to prevent and combat terrorism.
- Measures to build states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard.
- Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.

In response to the reality of a constantly evolving terrorism landscape, the Strategy is revised every two years by the General Assembly, making it into a constantly updated and hence living document. The revisions respond to new challenges and threats as well as recommendations to address them.

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¹ United Nations General Assembly Resolution (A/RES/60/288) (2006) *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*.

² For more information see United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: <<https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>>.

III. OVERVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNTER-TERRORISM ARCHITECTURE

For decades the issue of terrorism has been on the agenda of the United Nations. Within the UN system, there are specific entities and programmes that are mandated to carry out and monitor mechanisms to more effectively implement and assess the components of the aforementioned Strategy. The current section comprises a summary of the activities that the different UN entities on counter-terrorism carry out.³

Since 1963, the international community has promulgated 19 international legal instruments to address terrorism. One landmark Security Council Resolution (1373) was adopted in 2001 and urged Member States to become part of the international instruments. Resolution 1373 called on States to implement measures related to combating the financing of terrorism and law and justice related to this matter.⁴ The Resolution led to the establishment of the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). The CTC⁵ is guided by the Security Council resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1624 (2005)⁶ and is mandated to support Member States in their prevention efforts both within their borders and across regions. Due to the complex nature of the activities carried out, the CTC is assisted by the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), which was established in 2004. The Security Council knows different bodies to enhance the capacity of Member States in terrorism including the CTC, the 1267/1989/2253 ISIL (Da'esh) and Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee, as well as the 1540 Committee on the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. The Counter-Terrorism Committee has its Executive Directorate (CTED) to conduct expert assessments of Member States and to implement its policy decision whereas the 1267 Committee works with a Monitoring Team.⁷

A central component of the UN architecture is the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), which was established by the UN Secretary-General and endorsed by the General Assembly in line with the requirements and recommendations set out by the aforementioned Counter-Terrorism Strategy.⁸ The CTITF consists of 38 international entities and INTERPOL,⁹ each with individual mandates, which are assigned to carry out efforts to maintain consistency across the UN system whilst aiming to strengthen the coordination, given the multilateral nature of terrorism and the systematic response to counter the series of phenomena that it entails. Although the Task Force's major responsibility is to observe, implement and improve the series of recommendations that the Strategy comprises, its mandate relies on working to ensure that the UN system is adaptable to the evolving needs of Member States whilst countering terrorist activities. Moreover, this mandate refers to offering policy support, improving in-depth knowledge of the Strategy, and where necessary, expediting the delivery of technical assistance.¹⁰

Another entity that supports the Strategy is the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Centre (UNCCT). The Centre was established within the CTITF Office in 2011 with the aim to promote international cooperation and support Member States in the implementation of the Strategy.¹¹

On 15 June 2017 the UN Office of Counter Terrorism was established through the adoption of General Assembly Resolution 71/291.¹² The new UN Office for Counter Terrorism incorporates the CTITF and the UN Counter-Terrorism Centre (CTC) which were moved out of the Department of Political Affairs. The office is headed by an Under-Secretary-General and has close relationships with the Security Council bodies

³ The information in the following section has been compiled from the United Nations (2017) Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, available at: <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/about-task-force>.

⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution (S/RES/1373) (2001) *Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts*.

⁵ For more information of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, see: <https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/>.

⁶ United Nations Security Council Resolution (S/RES/1624) (2005) *Prohibition of incitement to commit terrorist acts*.

⁷ For more information see the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism <http://www.un.org/en/counterterrorism/overview.shtml>.

⁸ United Nations (2017) Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. Available at: <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/about-task-force>.

⁹ To learn more about the structure of the CTITF, see: <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/structure>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ To learn more about the CTITF, see <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/about-task-force>.

¹² United Nations General Assembly Resolution (A/RES/71/291) (2017) *Strengthening the capability of the United Nations system to assist Member States in implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*.

and Member States, and aims to strengthen existing and developing new partnerships.

Numerous agencies, offices and programmes throughout the United Nations system are assisting Member States in their counter-terrorism efforts. The diversification and multiplicity of the efforts undertaken by UN system reflect the fact that terrorism involves a multitude of issues and must be addressed comprehensively. The combined endeavours of all these entities make for a multi-disciplinary and tailored approach to counter-terrorism.

IV. THE UNITED NATIONS INTERREGIONAL CRIME AND JUSTICE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) is part of the CTITF. The Institute is one of six training and research Institutes of the United Nations. It was established by the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1965 following Resolution 1086¹³, which urged an expansion of the UN activities in crime prevention and criminal justice. Its mission is to advance security, serve justice and build peace in support of the rule of law and sustainable development.

The Institute works in specialized niches and selected fields of crime prevention, justice, security governance, counter-terrorism and social cohesion.

UNICRI's goals are:

- To advance understanding of crime-related problems;
- To foster just and efficient criminal justice systems;
- To support respect for international instruments and other standards;
- To facilitate international law enforcement cooperation and judicial assistance.

The Institute's programmes (divided into thematic areas) aim to create and test new and holistic approaches in preventing crime and promoting justice and development.

The Institute supports the designing and implementation of holistic and innovative modalities to confront traditional and emerging threats, at both national and cross-border levels. In particular, the Institute:

- Assesses countries' threats and needs.
- Develops and shares knowledge.
- Acts as a worldwide training and capacity-building centre.
- Acts as a worldwide forum to identify, tailor and test strategies and practical models.
- Assists countries in strengthening national and international law enforcement cooperation and judicial assistance.
- Establishes platforms for consultation and cooperation.
- Provides advisory services.

Using research as a foundation for projects, the Institute builds from this by offering training and technical cooperation programmes to requesting Member States. The Institute organises specialised trainings and workshops as a direct way to disseminate knowledge and build capacity with a range of targeted actors, including policymakers, practitioners (i.e. law enforcement officers, prosecutors and judges) and international experts. UNICRI promotes the exchange of expertise and fruitful discussion among representatives from different sectors that lead to concrete recommendations and identification of areas in need of more understanding and cooperation.

UNICRI serves as a platform for consultation and cooperation acting as an honest broker in bringing together different partners such as Member States, local governments, research institutions, international organizations, private entities and the civil society at large, in forging a common approach to addressing

¹³ United Nations Economic and Social Council Resolution 1086 (1965) *Statute of the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute*.

common challenges.

Establishing and promoting partnerships are central components of UNICRI's work, and events like these represent important opportunities to share experiences and knowledge.

V. UNICRI AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

UNICRI contributes to the implementation of coordinated and coherent efforts across the United Nations system to prevent and counter violent extremism as part of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. In this framework, the Institute supports Member States in preventing and countering terrorism's appeal and recruitment into violent extremism by strengthening national and regional capacities.

UNICRI plays a leading role in a number of initiatives. Within the Counter-terrorism (CT) field, the Institute works on numerous projects which together cover a vast array of topics. For the scope of this paper, some of the main UNICRI projects which are cross cutting in the field of CT are listed as follows:¹⁴ the initiative on chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear risks mitigation; cyber-crime; addressing hate speech and hate crimes; returning foreign terrorist fighters; rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremists in prison settings; juvenile justice and diversion or alternatives to incarceration, and; the nexus between transnational organized crime and terrorism. Exploring these intersections in greater depth makes UNICRI's work multi-dimensional and builds a more detailed picture of the areas of need in the field of crime and justice.

UNICRI has conducted several initiatives to support Member States in fulfilling their international commitments (starting from UNSCR 2178) to address the threats posed by foreign terrorist fighters (FTF) by increasing awareness, understanding and capacities of national and international stakeholders. Moreover, activities are aimed to provide technical assistance in the identification of risks to be addressed, capabilities to be strengthened and actions to be undertaken for developing and implementing a comprehensive and holistic strategy to counter the FTF's phenomenon.

UNICRI liaised with other international organizations to ensure that various and separate efforts are incorporated into one coherent approach in order to build up and strengthen capacities for addressing the threat posed by returning FTFs.

UNICRI is working in close cooperation with selected target countries to collect relevant data and promoting the implementation of a tested method based on real case scenarios. Such activities facilitate the preparation of action plans addressing the issue of rehabilitation and reintegration of returning FTFs, under the different stakeholders' perspective.

UNICRI has conducted a research project to assess the pre-conditions for developing a juvenile diversion pilot programme for potential foreign terrorist fighters and others at risk. A preliminary analysis of the juvenile justice systems and alternative measures/diversion programmes enforced in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Morocco, Nigeria, Kenya and Tunisia was conducted.

Furthermore, UNICRI is conducting a pilot project to counter radicalization and violent extremism in the Sahel-Maghreb region. The initiative integrates international, regional and local resources to support the countries of the region in countering the growing threat of violent extremism. The initiative promotes inclusive activities through the development of more responsive and inclusive societies. The project is based on the assumption that civil society actors enjoy a genuine grassroots support and could offer key assets in the implementation of actions to limit the influence of violent extremist ideology and challenge the narratives of extremists by offering positive alternatives to violence.

While being context-specific and people centred, the project facilitates the sharing of experiences, guidelines and good practices in the region and among the different stakeholders. It supports cross-border

¹⁴ For more information of other important initiatives that UNICRI works on in the field of Counter-terrorism, please consult the UNICRI website at: <www.unicri.it>.

cooperation and the establishment of synergies and mutual understanding between civil society groups and institutions.

A key topic of concern for many Member States is the financing of terrorism. Organised crime (often transnational) has been identified as one of the sources of terrorism financing, thus leading to a nexus between organised crime and terrorism. The nexus can go further than simply the financing of terrorism, however, particularly if we consider the entire continuum of alliance and convergence.¹⁵

Security Council Resolution 2195 (2014), on *Threats to international peace and security*,¹⁶ called upon Member States to better understand and address the nexus between organised crime and terrorism as a threat to security and development. In line with this Resolution, UNICRI has undertaken a number of initiatives on this topic. In May 2016, UNICRI organised a meeting in Bangkok, in partnership with the Thailand Institute of Justice (TIJ), to examine the nexus and the threat that it poses to security and development.¹⁷ Representatives of 15 Member States and prominent international experts in the field were invited to discuss the issue in depth. During the meeting, participants reviewed the current evidence basis and conceptual theories around the nexus, drawing from their knowledge of lessons learned and good practices, all with a view to defining better policy and programmatic responses.

Moreover, UNICRI worked in close partnership with the TIJ to carry out a research project concerning transnational organised crime in Thailand as a result of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) Economic Integration. Besides looking at forms and trends of current and emerging transnational organised crime, criminal groups operating in Thailand and illicit transit routes for trafficked goods, the question of the nexus between transnational organised crime and terrorism (both at local and international level) was explored.¹⁸

UNICRI implements a variety of methods in the area of rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremist offenders, and the Institute plays a key role in supporting Member States in translating the generalised good practices identified in the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCTF) Rome Memorandum¹⁹, which specifically addresses the rehabilitation needs of incarcerated violent extremists, into national policies.

In the field of rehabilitation and reintegration programmes of violent extremist offenders (VEOs) in prison settings, UNICRI has enhanced its cooperation with a number of countries (Jordan, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, the Philippines, and Thailand) to support them in the design and implementation of tailored programmes.

Prisons are a priority for this area of research. It is important to address the possible risks in prison environments where convicted terrorists can network, compare and exchange tactics, radicalize and recruit new members, and command and control operations beyond the prison and in the community, whilst at the same time realising that imprisoned or detained extremists will eventually be released. Thus, in order to reduce risk upon release, there is a universal need to find mechanisms to stimulate disengagement and/or de-radicalisation.²⁰ An initial step to tackle the issues mentioned above is to ground research in a sound theoretical framework.

VI. THEORY OF CHANGE: THE CONCENTRIC CIRCLE MODEL

The theoretical basis for UNICRI's work on rehabilitation and reintegration is derived from broader theories of behavioural change. Psychology focuses on the individual and individual agency in this process,

¹⁵ Makarenko, T. "The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism", *Global Crime*, 6(2) (2004).

¹⁶ United Nations Security Council Resolution 2195 (S/RES/2195) (2014) *Threats to international peace and security*.

¹⁷ *Breaking the Organized Crime and Counter-Terrorism Nexus: Identifying Programmatic Approaches, Meeting report*. The United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) and the Thailand Institute of Justice (TIJ).

¹⁸ For further information on this research, please ask UNICRI and/or TIJ for more information on the soon-to-be published comprehensive report.

¹⁹ GCTF, *The Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for the Good Practices of Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders*, available at: <<https://www.thegctf.org/Portals/1/Documents/Framework%20Documents/A/GCTF-Rome-Memorandum-ENG.pdf>>.

²⁰ Deradicalization and disengagement are tackled in more depth later in the document.

while social sciences incorporate various social environments.²¹ The concentric circles model in *Figure 1* shows the layers of social environments (family, friends, institutions, communities and beyond) that place the individual in their wider social context.²² The theory of change that UNICRI applies is that all of these circles matter when it comes to individual behavioural change.²³

In the PVE context, the aim is to change the behaviour of a radical individual through rehabilitation and reintegration efforts. These will only be effective and sustainable as long as the different layers (each concentric circle) are involved in the process. For instance, if the individual changes but does not have support from their family, they will probably revert back to their previous behaviour (green circle — red circle relationship). The theory posits that the same dependent relationships occur between all adjacent layers, which will eventually affect the individual's likelihood of maintaining his or her changed behaviour. Consequently, social environments at all levels need to ensure continuous support in the process, which will allow radical individuals a greater chance of succeeding in changing their behaviour.

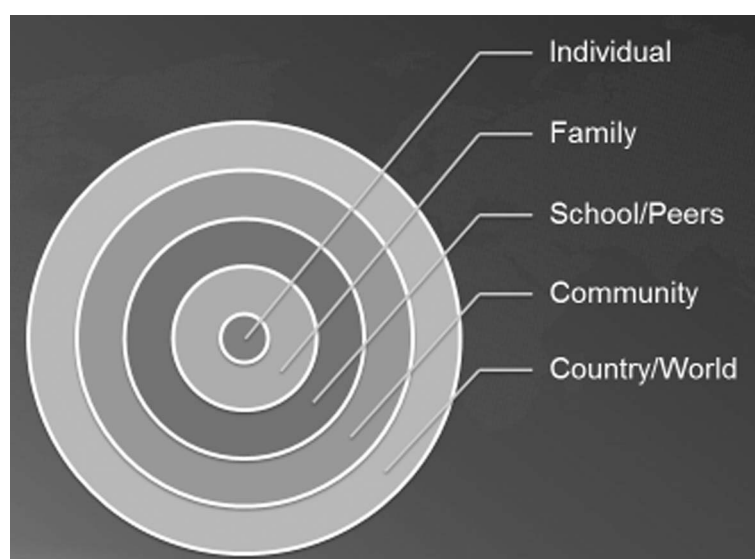


Figure 1: UNICRI's concentric circles model in rehabilitation and reintegration²⁴

Therefore, following UNICRI's theory of change, it can be said that the behaviour of an individual can most probably be changed when the family, peers, institutions such as schools, the community, local and national institutions and international organisations are jointly and actively involved in a coordinated process. Rehabilitation and reintegration are ways to facilitate this change, but these concepts need to be

²¹ See Durkheim, E. (1966). *The Rules of the Sociological Method*. New York: Free Press; McKay, C. & Shaw, H. (1969). *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Crenshaw, M. (1981). *The Causes of Terrorism*, Comparative Politics, vol. 13, pp. 379-399; Turner, J. (1984): 'Social identification and psychological group formation' in H. Tajfel (Ed.) *The social dimension: European developments in social psychology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 518-538; Bronfenbrenner, U. (1989). 'Ecological systems theory' in Vasta, R. *Annals of Child Development*, vol. 6. London, UK: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. pp. 187-249; Damon, W. & Eisenberg, N. (1998): *Handbook of child psychology*, vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development (5th ed.). New York: Wiley; Neff, J. A. & Macmaster, S. A., *Applying Behavior Change Models to Understand Spiritual Mechanisms Underlying Change in Substance Abuse Treatment*, *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, no. 31, 2005, pp. 669-684; Veldhuis, T. & Staun, J. (2009). *Islamist Radicalisation. A Root Cause Model*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2009, p. 24-26; Chan, W. Y., Espelage, D. L., Hollingsworth, M. A. & Mitchell, K. J. (2016), *Preventing violence in context: The importance of Culture for implementing systemic change*, *Psychology of Violence*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 22-26; Datchi, C., Barrenti, L., Thompson, C. M. (2016), *Family Services in Adult Detention Centers: Systemic Principles for Prisoner Reentry*, *Couple and Family psychology : Research and Practice*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 89-104.

²² Developed by Smith, C.J. UNICRI, see Klima, N. (forthcoming). 'Pathways towards an integrated and integral life-cycle approach on P/CVE in capacity building'. UNICRI, Turin.

²³ Klima, N. (forthcoming). 'Pathways towards an integrated and integral life-cycle approach on P/CVE in capacity building'. UNICRI, Turin.

²⁴ Developed by Smith, C.J. UNICRI, see Klima, N. (forthcoming). 'Pathways towards an integrated and integral life-cycle approach on P/CVE in capacity building'. UNICRI, Turin.

deconstructed in order to understand how they can be integrated into counter-terrorism strategies.

VII. REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION

Rehabilitation and reintegration are broad terms that encompass a variety of practices as well as different expected outcomes. Efforts can focus on the prevention of violent behaviour and enable inclusion and participation in society. Two concepts that underpin rehabilitation are de-radicalization and disengagement, which have generated debate as to their respective definitions and utility for rehabilitation programmes²⁵. Two commonly used definitions are as follows²⁶:

A) *De-radicalization*: the social and psychological process whereby an individual's commitment to, and involvement in, violent radicalization is reduced to the extent that they are no longer at risk of involvement and engagement in violent activity. De-radicalization may also refer to any initiative that tries to achieve a reduction of risk of reoffending through addressing the specific and relevant disengagement issues.

B) *Disengagement*: the process whereby an individual experiences a change in role or function that is usually associated with a reduction of violent participation. It may not necessarily involve leaving the movement, but is most frequently associated with significant temporary or permanent role change. Additionally, while disengagement may stem from role change, that role change may be influenced by psychological factors such as disillusionment, burnout or the failure to reach the expectations that influenced initial involvement. This can lead to a member seeking out a different role within the movement.

In other words, de-radicalisation represents an attitudinal change resulting from a psychological process. Typically, the de-radicalized individual adopts more moderate views and renounces violence. Disengagement refers to behavioural change whereby a person lessens their engagement in violent activities. Indeed, it is important to keep in mind that many Member States opt for disengagement as an outcome for their rehabilitation and reintegration programmes, since it is very difficult to really know if an individual is de-radicalized, whereas disengagement is possible to verify.

However, rather than being two clear-cut processes, de-radicalisation and disengagement interact, making it difficult to focus explicitly on one or the other in a rehabilitation programme. For instance, radical ideas are not dangerous in themselves, even though they may remain a risk factor for violent behaviour in some circumstances. While there is general consensus on the broad definitions A) and B), the nuances of these phenomena are not taken as given but continue to be disputed.

Rehabilitation and reintegration efforts need to be considered long-term (before detention, during detention and after release) and should be embedded in the general CT/CVE policy and practice structure. To design successful rehabilitation and reintegration programmes, expertise from different agencies (multi-agency) and disciplines (multi-disciplinary) are highly beneficial.

Furthermore, as the theoretical model demonstrates, families and communities play a crucial role in this process as well as other civil society actors. It may be the case that state actors are not used to working with civil society actors or do not maintain a mutual trust relationship that enables fruitful cooperation (civil society actor involvement), which is why UNICRI assists in the development of platforms for this cooperation to be strengthened and has an initiative based on this which will be discussed further in the following paper.

The UNICRI programme on Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders, developed within the framework of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force and supported by the United States of America's Department of State, is aimed at supporting Member States in their efforts to design, develop and implement effective rehabilitation and reintegration programmes for violent extremist

²⁵ See Horgan, J. *Walking Away From Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements*. (London: Routledge, 2009); Bjørge T. & J. Horgan, eds. *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement*. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009); Rabasa, A., S. Pettyjohn, J. Ghez, & C. Boucek. *Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists*. (Santa Monica, CA; Arlington, VA; Pittsburgh, PA: RAND Corporation, 2010); Mullins, S. "Rehabilitation of Islamist terrorists: Lessons from criminology." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 3, no. 3 (2010);

²⁶ From Horgan, J. *Walking Away From Terrorism*. pp. 152-153.

offenders and foreign terrorist fighters, and to address the broad range of issues related to radicalisation in prison settings and beyond, thus enabling inclusion and participation within societies.

VIII. PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT PATHWAYS

UNICRI works on developing comprehensive, end-to-end and long-term rehabilitation and reintegration programmes with Member states. When offering technical assistance, the approach is tailored to the cultural, national and regional contexts as well as the present needs while always involving the programme's actors and stakeholders. There are several pathways that the programme development can take; these include but are not limited to the following:

Pathway 1: The “traditional approach”

This approach is a linear consecutive process towards a comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration programme. A multi-disciplinary team is central in developing the programmes.

Pathway 2: Towards changing attitudes by experiencing results

This approach is a rather adaptive and non-linear process towards a comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration programme based on scientific research results. Scientific research is an important accompanying and informing element to the continual development of programmes.

Pathway 3: From framework to programme approach

This is a consecutive pathway where framework and programme development are strictly separated. The first focus lies in the development of a comprehensive and detailed framework, and the second one lies in the implementation of the framework towards a comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration programme.

Pathway 4: Targeted approach

Based on needs assessments and gap analysis in several countries, a targeted approach is applied. This approach is an adaptive way of dedicating support to specific gaps to complement already existing rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. This approach is non-linear, starting with identified gaps instead of a general situation assessment. This approach is applied by member states with a relatively advanced level of maturity in rehabilitation and reintegration work and/or interest in specific support instead of a total systemic revision of programmes in place.

Which pathway is most suitable in any given situation depends on many factors. The point to note is that approaches to the development of programmes on rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremist offenders need to be adaptive to the specific context.

IX. CONCLUSION

Action-oriented research combines research on issues of counter-terrorism with ways to put the results of the research into action. In the case of rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremist offenders, research and the programmes developed from research are key components of a counter-terrorism strategy. This is in part because many of these individuals will re-enter society at some point, but it is a complex process that involves all the social layers surrounding each individual offender. With this in mind, the development of a comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration programme is a step to encourage the individual behavioural change and, in some aspects of its programme, reach out to families and communities as well. With the action UNICRI is taking in the field of CT and P/CVE, the aims of the CTITF and more generally, of the UN goals are being advanced.

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